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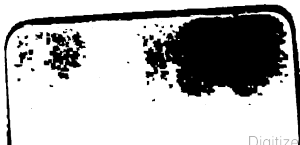
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THE
THEOLOGICAL WORKS



HERBERT THORNDIKE,

SOMETIME PREBENDARY OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST. PETER,
WESTMINSTER.

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A L E T T E R
CONCERNING THE PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION
AMONGST US;

**UNDER THE ACT OF ESTABLISHMENT, PROSECUTED BY THE ORDINANCES
• CONSTITUTING THE TRIERS, AND COMMISSIONERS FOR EJECTING OF
SCANDALOUS MINISTERS.**

THE PRINTER TO THE READER.

It is thought fit to reprint herewith^a two short discourses of the same author, to the same purpose. The one, concerning the establishment pretended by the late usurpation; that he might not seem now to disown it: though using it with that liberty, which all men use in new editions of their own writings. The other^b, because it toucheth more briefly some of those heads, which are more perfectly, though summarily, comprised in the premisses^c; being published to that purpose upon His Majesty's happy return in July 1660.

^a i. e. with *Just Weights and Measures*: at the end of which the following Letter, and the *Due Way of Composing Differences &c.*, were reprinted in 1662; and again in 1680.—The original edition of the Letter (8vo. pp. 24) has neither name, place, nor date, attached to it. It was however written in 1656 (see the following page, note b): and was apparently addressed to a brother of Thorndike's; as the words "*My dear brother in Christ no less than by birth*" are prefixed to it, and at the end (§ 28 of this edition) the text of it

has "*to serve my kinred*" (sic) "*and friends.*" The alterations in the editions of 1662, 1680, which are here followed, are of slight importance. A few epithets are softened or omitted; and three or four sentences more clearly written. Such changes as appear worth notice, will be found in the notes.

^b i. e. the *Due Way of Composing Differences &c.*, first published by itself, 8vo. Lond. 1660.

^c scil. in *Just Weights and Measures*.

307. LETTER CONCERNING THE PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION^b &c.

SIR,

I HAVE perused the Ordinance for ejecting of Scandalous Ministers^c: and, finding it likely enough to send you a pastor that shall have no authority from the Church, have thought it necessary for me to give you the reasons of that opinion which I declared unto you; that, in that case, you ought not, in conscience, to acknowledge such a one for your pastor, by going to hear him preach, and seeming to join in his prayers; much less to receive the eucharist at his hands, if such a one shall be so audacious as to celebrate it.

[Occasion
of this
Letter.]

^a The marginal paging is that of the edition of 1662; which hardly differs from that of 1680.

^b The date of the original publication of this letter must have been the end of the year 1656; as the Acts of Parliament referred to, date respectively, the Act of Establishment in September 1656, the ordinance respecting the Triers originally in March 1654, but confirmed by Parliament in September 1656, and the Ordinance for ejecting Scandalous Ministers originally in September 1654, but confirmed also in September 1656. The date 1656 is written in a contemporary hand upon the copy of the original edition in the Bodleian Library.

^c Act for ejecting "Scandalous, Ignorant, and Insufficient Ministers and Schoolmasters," A.D. 1654, c. 45 (confirmed A. D. 1656. c. 10), in Scobell, Pt. ii. pp. 335, sq.—After appointing Commissioners for the purpose in each county, the Act proceeds to define who are to be "accustomed scandalous in their lives and conversations;" viz. "such as shall be proved guilty of holding or maintaining such blasphemous and atheistical opinions as are punishable by an Act entitled" &c. (scil. that enacted A.D. 1650. c. 22, in Scobell, Pt. ii. pp. 124, sq.), "or guilty of prophane cursing or swear-

ing, perjury, subornation of perjury; such as shall hold, teach, or maintain any of those popish opinions required in the oath of abjuration" (scil. that enacted A.D. 1643. c. 15, in Scobell, Pt. i. p. 50, renewed in December 1656 in a larger form, *ibid.* Pt. ii. pp. 443, 444) "to be abjured; or be guilty of adultery, fornication, drunkenness, common haunting of taverns or ale-houses, frequent quarrelling or fighting, frequent playing at cards or dice, prophaneing of the Sabbath Day, and such as do allow the same in their families, or countenance the same in their parishioners or scholars; such as have publicly and frequently read or used the Common Prayer-Book since the first of January last, or shall at any time hereafter do the same; such as do publicly and prophane scoff at or revile the strict profession or professors of religion or godliness, or do encourage and countenance by word or practise any Whitson-ales, wakes, morris-dances, maypoles, stage-plays, or such like licentious practises, by which men are encouraged in a loose and prophane conversation; such as have declared, or shall declare, by writing, preaching, or otherwise publishing, their disaffection to the present government" (Scobell, Pt. ii. p. 340).

[Acts of
Parliament
for settling
of religion,
under the
Common-
wealth.]

§ 2. This that I may do, I must first propose the case, as it is stated by those Acts which pretend to settle religion among us. For, first, the Act whereby the present government is established, declareth, that "the Christian Religion contained in the Scriptures shall be held forth as the public profession of these nations^d;" and that "such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ," though differing from this profession in doctrine, worship, or discipline, shall be protected in the exercise of their religion; excepting "Popery" and "Prelacy," and those who "under the profession of Christ hold forth and practise licentiousness^e." In prosecution hereof an ordinance is issued forth, giving commission to certain persons, named in it, to examine and try all that have come into possession of churches since April 13. 1653; all that have augmentations from parliament; all that shall pretend to come into churches that shall be void^f. 208

^d scil. A.D. 1656. c. 6. (in Scobell, Pt. ii. pp. 378, sq.), entitled, "To his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging, the humble Petition and Advice of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses, now assembled in the Parliament of this Commonwealth." It established finally Cromwell's Protectorate, and the Commonwealth Parliament, Privy-Council, and great officers, &c.: and in § 11 (ibid. p. 381) enacts, "that the true Protestant Christian Religion, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and no other, be held forth and asserted for the publique profession of these nations; and that a Confession of Faith to be agreed by your Highness and the Parliament, according to the rule and warrant of the Scriptures, be asserted, held forth, and recommended to the people of these nations; that none may be suffered or permitted, by opprobrious words or writing, maliciously or contemptuously to revile or reproach the Confession of Faith to be agreed upon as aforesaid: and such who profess Faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ His eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, God co-equal with the Father and the Son, One God blessed for ever, and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the revealed will and word of God, and

shall in other things differ in doctrine, worship, or discipline, from the publique profession held forth, endeavours shall be used to convince them by sound doctrine, and the example of a good conversation, but that they may not be compelled thereto by penalties, nor restrained from their profession, but protected from all injury and molestation in the profession of the Faith, and exercise of their religion, whilst they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, or the disturbance of the publique peace: so that this liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, or to the countenancing such who publish horrible blasphemies, or practice or hold forth licentiousness or profaneness under the profession of Christ." The Act proceeds further to render all ministers holding the doctrines mentioned, although differing in discipline from the forthcoming National Confession of Faith, equally capable of holding preferment with those ministers who held that Confession: but *not* those who differ in Faith also (except of course the "Popery and Prelacy," &c., aforesaid, which are excluded altogether), who shall be capable of civil but not of ecclesiastical preferment.

^e See last note.

^f Act appointing "Commissioners for approbation of Publique Preachers" A.D. 1653. c. 16 (Scobell, Pt. ii. pp. 279, 280), i.e. March 20. 1653; confirmed A.D. 1656. c. 10.—It enacts,

But they are to try them by no other rule, than "the certificate of three godly" neighbours ("one at least" a minister) concerning their conversation in godliness "upon their own knowledge;" and the judgment of five commissioners, that "the grace of God" is in their hearts, and that they are "fit to preach^s." In further prosecution hereof issues forth this ordinance; whereby no man is made scandalous for his judgment, but he that is liable to the act against blasphemy of August 9. 1653^h. And with him is ranked he, "who shall frequently and publicly have used" the service since Christmas 1653ⁱ. Whereby it appeareth, that those, who have declared their perseverance in the religion, which they have hitherto professed, by reading the service, are therefore counted scandalous: but those, that can pass the trial proposed, are thereby qualified in law to be pastors of parishes; and, consequently, to succeed those, that adhere to the Christianity which hitherto they have professed; being cast out by the "commissioners for ejecting of scandalous ministers."

§ 3. In the first place then, I say, that the effect of these laws is to nullify and make void one article of the Creed, which hitherto we profess; to wit, the belief of "one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church^j." This word Church may signify two things: first, only the whole number of Christians; secondly, a communion and corporation of those, that profess true Christianity, founded by the will of God and the ministry of our Lord Christ and His apostles. That Christians, when they profess to believe the Catholic Church, do

[They make void the belief in one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.]

that "every person . . . appointed to any benefice . . . or lecture, . . . be judged and approved by the" 38 Commissioners thereafter named, "to be a person, for the grace of God in him, his holy and unblameable conversation, as also for his knowledge and utterance, able and fit to preach the Gospel." Otherwise his appointment is to be void. The Act is to apply to every one placed "since the first of April last past," i. e. April 1. 1653 (13 in the text above appears to be a mistake). It applies also to those who claim "augmentations by authority of parliament." The only formal document or testimonial recognized or required in it, is, that "there shall be brought to the Commissioners, or any five of them, a testimonial or

certificate in writing, subscribed with the hands of three persons of known godliness and integrity, whereof one at least to be a preacher of the gospel in some constant settled place, testifying upon their personal knowledge the holy and good conversation of the person to be so admitted." Five Commissioners to be a quorum for an affirmative judgment, nine for a negative.

^s See last note.

^h This should be Aug. 9. 1650. See above in § 1. note c; and Scobell, Pt. ii. pp. 124—126. There was a still earlier Act against "Blasphemies and Heresies," of May 2. 1648, c. 114. (Scobell, Pt. i. pp. 149, 150).

ⁱ See above in § 1. note c.

^j See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 5, sq.

not mean the first sense,—that there is in the world a number of men that profess to be Christians,—it is manifest: because all Christians hope to be saved by their faith, but they cannot hope to be saved by believing that which they see; now all men see, that there is such a company of men in the world. Therefore, when they say they “believe the Catholic Church,” as part of that faith whereby they hope to be saved: they do not profess to believe, that there is such a company of men; but that there is a corporation of true Christians, excluding heretics and schismatics; and that they hope to be saved by this faith, as being members of it. And this is that, which the style of the “holy Catholic and Apostolic Church” signifies; as distinguishing the body of true Christians (to wit, so far as ²⁰⁹ profession goes) from the conventicles of heretics and schismatics. For this title of Catholic would signify nothing, if heretics and schismatics were not barred the communion of the Church. And let no man imagine, that the schism, which the Reformation hath made between us and the Church of Rome, hath dissolved the obligation of being members of the Church. If that change, which is called reformation, preserve not such a Church as ought to be acknowledged for a true member of the whole (or Catholic) Church, it is no reformation, but the destruction of Christianity. Now when these laws enable soldiers, and justices of the peace, as well as those that call themselves ministers, to make public preachers; as well such as have received no ordination from the Church, as those that have^k: it is manifest, that all difference between clergy and people is by them dissolved and made void; and, by consequence, the corporation of the Church; which grounds and creates all the difference, which hitherto by all Christians hath been received, between

^k See above, § 2. note f.—By the Act establishing “the form of Church-government to be used in the Churches of England and Ireland,” A.D. 1648. c. 118, August 29 (Scobell, Pt. i. pp. 165, sq.), it is declared to be the office of “Classical Assemblies,” which are “made up of ministers of the word and other ruling officers belonging unto several neighbouring Congregations,” amongst other things, “to examine,

ordain, and admit ministers to the congregations respectively therein associated, according to the orders and directions hereafter following” (Scobell, *ibid.* pp. 170, 171). But in the formal ordination (so to call it), it is “the *presbytery or ministers sent from them*,” who “solemnly set apart” the minister to be ordained, by “laying their hands upon him.” (*ibid.* p. 172).

these two qualities. True it is, that, for the present, as well those, who have lawful authority to officiate the public service of God by ordination from the Church, are admitted to or maintained in their benefices by these laws, as those that have none¹: though it be well enough known, that those, who have such authority, do pretend to act by virtue of it, and not by this law; further than as, by submitting to it, they remove that force, which hinders their right, otherwise gotten, to take effect. But it is as true, that, supposing this law to continue an age, none such can remain. And when none such remains, then there shall be no Church in England, but by equivocation of words; if the premisses be true. And, therefore, those, that acknowledge such as have no other authority but from this power, for their pastors, cannot consequently profess to "believe one Catholic Church," nor hope for salvation by being members of it. For supposing for the present, though not granting, that the power which makes these laws is from God; yet can it not be pretended to be from our Lord Christ and His apostles. And, therefore, this authority, derived from it, cannot be
 210 derived from any act of theirs, constituting the Church, and enabling it to give this authority; by acknowledging whereof Christians presume, that they are members of the Church.

§ 4. Now, that you may see, why the belief of Christ's Church is an article of our Creed; I say further, that you cannot acknowledge such men for your pastors, because you are not secured by these laws that they are not heretics. For seeing the Act of Establishment pretends only to "hold forth the Christian religion contained in the Scriptures^m," and that all the heresies that are this day in the world do maintain themselves to profess "the Christian religion contained in the Scriptures;" it is manifest, that these laws provide not, that they shall not be heretics which are sent you for pastors. Here I must not complain, that, whereas all that profess "faith in God by Jesus Christⁿ," though

[They do not exclude heretics from becoming pastors.]

¹ In the same Act (ibid. p. 173) it is "ordained," that "every person formerly ordained a presbyter according to the form of ordination which hath been held in the Church of England, . . . do bring to the Presbytery" &c. "a testimonial of his ordination,"

&c., "and so without any new ordination he shall be admitted if he be approved as fit for" the place to which he is appointed. And see Epilogue, Conclusion, § 19. note n.

^m See above in § 2. note d.

ⁿ See ibid.

differing from the profession "held forth," are protected in the exercise of their religion, "Popery and Prelacy" are excepted; though it cannot be denied, that both profess "faith in God by Jesus Christ:" nor that those, who hold the profession established by the laws under which we were born, are refused that protection, which is tendered Socinians, enemies of the Trinity and satisfaction of Christ; who manifestly profess "Christian religion contained in the Scriptures," and "faith in God by Jesus Christ." For my business is not to say, what they that made these laws should have done, instead of making them; but what you are to do, now they are made. But if it be answered, that those, that make these laws, repose trust in them to whom they grant these commissions, that they will not take any to be "godly men" that are heretics; to this I say, that will not serve your turn, for several reasons. For those, that profess all that this law requires them to profess,—that is, "faith in God through Jesus Christ," and "the Christian religion contained in the Scriptures,"—cannot be judged ungodly for whatsoever they profess besides, by any power derived from this law; but [by] an arbitrary power, to be exercised at the will of the commissioners. And how are you assured, that no heretic shall obtain a certificate of three neighbours, and so answer their demands that they shall think him in God's grace? However, you are not warranted to trust your salvation, and the salvation of those that depend on you, either upon the judgment of these commissioners, or of them that make the laws. If it be demanded, why the 211 secular power and the commissioners thereof are not as well to be trusted with the salvation of the people, as those that may pretend authority from the Church; the answer is ready:—that, when you acknowledge a pastor sent by the Church, you neither trust his person, nor the person of him that sends him; but the laws which the Church hath received from our Lord and His apostles. For, limiting his profession, and undertaking to exercise the function which

* The words of the Act certainly exclude Socinians and all deniers of the Holy Trinity: see *ibid.* And the prosecution of Biddle and others is evidence, that Unitarians were inten-

tionally excluded.—Thorndike, as will be seen, has not quoted the precise words of the Act correctly in this point.

he receiveth, according to them, he becomes thereby qualified for his charge. But he, who acknowledges no such laws, because he acknowledges no Catholic Church, destroys the trust you are to have in those whom you acknowledge your pastors, that they are not heretics.

§ 5. And here I must not fail to give you notice, that those Presbyterians and Independents, who, having departed from the Church of England upon pretence of erecting Presbyteries and Congregations, do now make themselves commissioners to execute these laws which destroy both Presbyteries and Congregations, have thereby destroyed the ground of all trust which the Church might have had in them for conduct in Christianity. For what profession can it be presumed that they will stand to, when they stand not to that, for which they have destroyed the unity of this Church? Which is the reason, why heretics and schismatics, though they may be re-admitted to the communion of the Church upon repentance, yet, by the rules of the Catholic Church, cannot be re-admitted to be of the clergy^p. For these apostasies make them incapable of that trust, which the Church must necessarily repose in the clergy.

[Presbyterians and Independents have twice apostatized.]

§ 6. That you may see this is not for nothing: I say further, that there is among us a damnable heresy of Antinomians, or Enthusiasts; formerly, when Puritans were not divided from the Church of England, known by the name of Grindletons and Etonists^q. These do believe so to be saved by the free grace of God, by which Christ died for the elect, that true faith is nothing but the revelation hereof: and, by consequence, that, all their sins, past, present, and to come, being remitted by this grace, to repent of sin or to contend against it is the renouncing of God's free grace and saving faith^r.

[Antinomian heresy.]

212 § 7. Another opinion there is, which I cannot say the Presbyterians hold or require to be held, but in regard their Confession of Faith and Catechism disclaims it not, and therefore allows them that hold it to be of their faction, may well be said to maintain it;—that for a man to believe

[Heresy allowed by the Presbyterians, that assurance of salvation is saving faith.]

^p See Bingham, IV. vii. 7, 8: and above, Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. iv. § 15. note u; c. xxxiii. § 9. notes y—a: Bk. III. Of the Laws

of the Ch., c. x. § 30—32.

^q See *ibid.*, Conclusion, § 9, 10.

^r See *ibid.*, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. i. § 11. notes b—d.

that he is predestinate to life, and that Christ died for him, is that faith, which alone justifieth a Christian^a.

[Both opinions destructive to the foundation of the faith.]

§ 8. Whether of these opinions is the better or the worse, or what is the difference between them; let the parties dispute. This I say, that, allowing the merits and satisfaction of Christ to the elect for remission of sins and a title to everlasting life in no consideration but of their persons, it is more reasonable to say, that they can never become guilty of sin, than that the remission of their sins and their right to life should depend upon the knowledge of their predestination revealed by faith. For nothing is true because it is believed, but believed because it is true. And therefore I say, that both of these opinions are destructive to that foundation of faith, which the Church of England teacheth; when in the Office of Baptism, and the beginning of the Catechism, it requireth all that are baptized, not only to profess the faith of Christ, but to "renounce the flesh, the world, and the devil, and to fight with them till death, for the keeping of God's commandments;" assuring them hereupon, that they are "regenerate, and adopted God's children by His grace in Christ^b." For he, that is saved by undertaking and persevering in this, cannot be saved by believing that he is absolutely predestinate to life without it.

[The latter opinion so interprets predestination as to destroy the covenant of grace.]

§ 9. For I must say, that it is one thing, to be absolutely predestinate to life; another thing, to be predestinate to life by being absolutely predestinate to persevere till death^c. For he, that is predestinate to life by being absolutely predestinate to persevere in the covenant of grace till death, is predestinate to life in consideration of the covenant of grace, in which he is predestinate to persevere. And whether a man can be absolutely predestinate to persevere in it of his own free choice or not, is that which remains in dispute among divines; which I suppose not here to be either true or false. But to say, that a man is absolutely predestinate to life; and to say, that he is predestinate to life in consideration of the covenant of grace, which must be the act of his own free choice; is to say express contradictions. And to say, 213

^a See Epilogue, *ibid.* c. vii. § 7; &c.: and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. vi. § 7—9.

^b See *ibid.*, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. iv. § 17.

^c See *ibid.*, cc. xxvi. and xxxi.

that a man is predestinate to life without consideration of the covenant of grace, is to destroy the covenant of grace, and the hope of salvation; which is merely imaginary, if not grounded upon it.

§ 10. Seeing then, that the trial, upon which these commissioners proceed, is their marks of predestination, whether they be true or false; not supposing the covenant of grace, the undertaking of it, and persevering in it: I say, that you are no way secured by these laws, that the triers themselves, much less those whom they shall send you, are not complices of this damnable heresy. [The "trial" of the "triers" no warrant against heresy.]

§ 11. I must not forget to advise you, that Dell,—one so far of this heresy, that he is thought to have written the book called the Doctrine of Baptisms, against baptism itself,—is now, and is acknowledged by these commissioners, master of a college in the university⁷ (whereof several fellows have been notorious preachers of this heresy); who cannot be acknowledged a member of the Church by any good Christian. [Dell's Doctrine of Baptisms.]

§ 12. The like I allege in regard of the sect of the Anabaptists. In which point I must suppose two things: first, that the Christian faith supposeth original sin; secondly, that without baptism there is no cure for it. And this depends upon the premisses;—that there is no absolute predestination, without consideration of the covenant of grace; which baptism executing, cureth it. For whatsoever our Lord meant, when He said, "Unless ye be born again of water;" it is manifest, that, though no man can become a true Christian without the operation of the Holy Ghost, yet the habitual gift and endowment of the Holy Ghost, dwelling in a man, is not granted but in consideration of his entering into the said covenant, and that this gift is the only cure of original sin⁸. There is then no necessity of shewing an express precept in Scripture, that all infants be baptized; or that the Church from the apostles' time did baptize all while they were infants⁹. If the Christian faith [Anabaptists.]

⁷ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. vi. § 4, and references in the notes there.

⁸ Dell was Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, being put in

by the Commonwealth party in 1649.

⁹ See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Covenant of Gr., cc. ii., xix., &c.

⁹ See *ibid.* c. xix. § 12: and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., cc. vii., viii.

suppose original sin, if no cure for that but by the covenant of grace, if no execution of that covenant but the baptism of the Church (unless where the outward act is prevented by inevitable necessity, after the inward desire thereof was sufficiently resolved and declared): then is this necessity a constraining precept, and hath been so reputed by the Church, ever since the apostles; which always hath taken²¹⁴ order, not that all should be baptized infants, but that no infant should die unbaptized. For the diligent watch over all occasions that might carry infants out of the world unbaptized, observed by the Church from the beginning though neglected since, demonstrateth no legal assurance of the salvation of such as should die unbaptized; whatsoever might be presumed of God's goodness, over and above what He declareth. But as for those, that shall become obliged and engaged to the covenant of grace by being consecrated to God through the act of the Church, thereby obliging itself to shew them the truth of Christianity, which obligeth all to whom it is shewed; the necessity aforesaid, together with the practice of the Church, is a legal presumption of the cure of original sin, and the opening of paradise, which it only shutteth.

[They
render
their own
baptism
void of
effect.]

§ 13. If therefore our anabaptists do not believe original sin, they are Pelagian heretics. If, believing it, they believe notwithstanding, that it is cured by predestination without the covenant of grace; they fall into the heresy premised: and, voiding the baptism which they received of the Church, they seem to renounce the Christianity which it enacteth; but manifestly they render their own baptism void of effect towards God^b. For they, who re-baptize upon a ground, that allows salvation by God's predestination revealed by faith without undertaking and persevering in the covenant of grace, cannot pretend to baptize into the covenant of grace; that is, into the profession of the true faith, and of fighting against sin until death under the same.

[The
"triers"
no warrant
against
Anabap-
tism.]

§ 14. Seeing then, that the necessity of baptism cannot be denied, but upon such a ground as voideth the covenant of grace; and seeing the "triers" are either anabaptists themselves, or complices in the same commission with anabap-

^b See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 13, 54, 55.

tists (whereof there are divers in these commissions^c): it is evident, that by these laws you are no ways secured of having anabaptists for your pastors; who are expressly schismatics (forsaking the Church for that which the Church always did), and by consequence of the premised reasons heretics.

§ 15. As the baptism of those men, whom they pretend to send you for pastors, is by this reason void of effect; so the eucharist, which they may pretend to celebrate, will be void of the effect of a sacrament toward you, but not void of the crime of sacrilege towards God^d. The reasons are two. The first; because those, who have not received the order of priesthood, shall pretend to celebrate it. For the Scripture, interpreted by the uninterrupted practice of the Church, allows no man under the order of a priest to celebrate the eucharist^e. Not as if those, who call themselves ministers, did commit this sacrilege in consecrating the eucharist. For though the name of ministers signifies no more than deacons, and that it is truly sacrilege for deacons to celebrate the eucharist; yet they, whom they call "ministers," if ordained, were ordained priests, with power to celebrate the eucharist. For they call them "ministers," to impose upon the world an opinion, which they cannot prove by the Scripture;—that they are the only "ministers of the word and sacraments." The second; because they know not nor acknowledge the consecration, that is requisite to the celebration and being of this sacrament by the same Scriptures, understood according to the uninterrupted custom and practice of the Church^f. For the whole Church of God, allowing the elements consecrated to be the Body and Blood of Christ mystically or in the sacrament, alloweth this change to be made by the consecration; before which they were

^c This stood in the original edition of the Letter, thus—"whereof there are in the commission of triers five or six, that I hear of by name, and how many more God knows; and in the commission for ejecting of scandalous ministers in one county of Hertford, nine of fifteen, as I am credibly informed."—There were "two or three" anabaptists among the triers according to Neal: scil. their greatest author, Mr. John Tombes, Daniel Dyke, and (ap-

parently) Henry Jessey. See Crosby's Hist. of the Baptists, vol. i. pp. 307, sq., 356: and the list of the triers in the Act of Parliament, in Scobell, Pt. ii. p. 279.

^d See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 14—16, 55.

^e See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 13—37: and Review of Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. x. § 1, sq.

^f See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 21.

only bread and wine. Not as if, after the consecration, they were not so; but because they are then become that, which they were not afore: to wit, the sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, or the Body and Blood of Christ spiritually and mystically; that is, in the sacrament^s. This consecration being exactly maintained by the Church of England: they, that presume to celebrate the eucharist without acknowledging the same, and pretending to destroy the law by which it is exercised, must be presumed not to acknowledge the necessity thereof to the being of this sacrament; and, therefore, they, and their complices in the communion thereof, to be "guilty of the Body and Blood of" Christ; as not distinguishing a sign of man's institution from a sacrament of God's appointment and ordinance.

[1 Cor. xi.
27.]

[Mon-
strous im-
posture re-
specting
preaching.]

§ 16. As for the office of preaching and praying, which they pretend to in behalf of the Church, I will mark you out two monstrous impostures in all the sects of this time. The first is this ground of the now pretended reformation of religion in England; that the Church is not to assemble for the service of God but when there is preaching^h. This seems to stand upon a very gross mistake of those passages of the apostles' writings, which declare the necessary means of salvation to consist in hearing the Gospel preached¹: as if they were meant of sermons in the pulpit, which are only made to those that are already Christians; not of publishing the Gospel to those that knew it not afore, convincing them that it is true, and instructing them wherein it consists: or as if those, that are already Christians, wanted any thing necessary to salvation; supposing them to persevere in the Christianity which they have professed. Not as if their Christianity did not oblige them to hear sermons, when the authority of the Church assures them to be without offence: but because the offices of public prayers, and the praises of God, especially in celebrating the blessed eucharist, are the end of all that instruction in Christianity, which Christians receive from the Church; and, therefore, all preaching sub-

^s See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. ii. § 8, sq.; and c. iv. § 26, sq.: &c.

^h See *ibid.*, c. xxv. § 7: and Re-

view of Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 10, 11: and Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 96.

¹ See Epilogue as in last note, § 8, 9.

ordinate to the same, as the means to the end: and because they may be daily so frequented without offence, and to the increase of the reverence due to Christianity; as the experience of our time shews, that preaching cannot be.

§ 17. The second is, that the first day of the week, called Sunday, is the Sabbath by force of the fourth commandment^k. A mistake so gross, that it may well serve for an instance, what faction can do with men that are sober otherwise. That God, by commanding the Jews to keep the seventh day of the week, to wit, that day on which He ended the creation of the world, and for that very reason commanding it, should be thought to command Christians to keep the first day of the week, on which He began the creation, and our Lord Christ arose from the dead; that is, that the same words of the same commandment in writing, should oblige Jews to rest on the Saturday, which oblige Christians to rest on the Sunday: is a thing, which, when this fit of frenzy shall be past us, will scarce be believed that ever any man would believe. True it is, this first day hath been observed, in, and ever since, the apostles' time: but not by virtue of that law, which their office was to declare expired, and out of date; but by the act of their own authority, whereby they gave laws to Christ's Church^l.

[And that Sunday is the Sabbath of the fourth commandment.]

§ 18. Let us now only compare the daily morning and evening sacrifice of prayer and the praises of God, established by the order of the Church of England, together with the more solemn service of Lord's days and festivals; with a bare sermon upon Sundays, ushered in and out with a prayer of every man's own conceit (setting aside the heresy and false doctrine, the faction and schism, the blasphemy and slander, the ridiculous follies, which this sermon and prayer may, and which we have known them, contain^m): I say, comparing these together, the reformation pretended is and ought to be accounted "the abomination of desola-

[Contrast between the service of the Prayer-Book, and that now set up.]

^k See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxi. § 3, sq.

^l See *ibid.* § 19, sq.

^m See *Serv. of God at Rel. Assa.*, c. vii. § 9: Review of it, c. vii. § 4: Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxv. § 14, 15: and Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. i. § 11. notes c, d: and below in the Due Way of Com-

posing Differences &c., § 12.—It is almost superfluous to refer to Edwards' *Gangræna* for ample proof of the statement in the text. See also a notable specimen, in Dugdale's *Short View of the Late Troubles in England*, c. xxxiii. pp. 390, 391: and a choice selection of others, *ibid.* c. xliii. pp. 566—575.

tion," in comparison of that order which it destroyeth. And therefore, upon this account alone, those, who, not being invested with that ordinary power by which the Church is enabled to correct abuses in the Church, shall usurp the power of the Church to introduce this disorder, are thereby schismatics themselves; and those, that acknowledge them for their pastors, complices of schismatics.

[The Parliament has no power to make ministers of the Church.]

§ 19. It will be said, that these laws will be amended; as it was many times said awhile since, that "the Parliament would settle a ministry." To this I say, that those, who shall be sent you by virtue of these laws, have every way as good authority, as any [that] the power that made these laws, joined with a Parliament, can give to them, that are not otherwise qualified by the authority of the Church. That is, that this power, and the power of a Parliament together, though "advising with divines," can do no more, than this power, "with advice of" those "divines" which it useth, hath done: because both are secular, and able to make men *their* ministers, to maintain the interest of that government which their power constituteth; but not ministers of *the Church*, to maintain the interest of that faith and service of God which it is trusted with.

[Abuses at the Reformation authorized a violation of order: the case far otherwise now.]

§ 20. If it be said, that in most parts of the Reformation, those, from whom the ministry is propagated, had not received by their ordination power to ordain others; for answer, I suppose, that the abuses crept into the Church were so great, that particular Churches, that is, part of the whole, might and ought to reform themselves without consent or concurrence of the whole. I suppose, that, though there be in the Church a succession of persons, endued with 218 authority in behalf of it, as well as of faith and of rules or laws, yet the succession of persons is of less consideration; being subordinate to the succession of faith and laws, as the means to the end. And then I say, that, supposing a necessity of ordaining, because they who refused the reformation would not ordain to that purpose, and supposing the

* The original edition of the Letter added here—"how the qualities of those whom they make ministers are to be limited."—The Act of Parliament of Aug. 1648 (Scobell, Pt. i.

p. 171) establishes the form of ordination, &c., "by authority" of Parliament "(after advice had with the Assembly of Divines now convened at Westminster)."

reformation to be that which God requireth, there is cause to presume, that the intent, which those that agree in it declare, supplies by God's goodness that nullity, which the want of power to ordain would otherwise infer. For those mistakes of less consequence, which human weakness must needs commit in a work of such weight, as it were malice in man to justify, so it may well be thought mercy in God to excuse. This presumption there is, that the Churches thus constituted are true Churches; and the offices ministered by persons thus qualified, effectual to convey the grace of God to Christian people°. But we suppose, in our case, that Presbyterian ordinations tend no more to the exercise of true Christianity, than of that which the Church of England hitherto professeth. And we see with our eyes, that the authority that maketh them destroyeth itself; by destroying the authority of their bishops, from whom it claimeth.

§ 21. And, therefore, to imagine, that an assembly of divines, by being lawfully ordained to the office of priests or deacons according to the laws of the Church of England, can by commission from the secular power make ordinations, which the laws under which they were ordained forbid^p; is to imagine, that God can enable man to sin, or that a sovereign power can authorize the subject to rebel against itself. And therefore, though the qualities of persons, to be sent you for pastors, may be otherwise limited by Acts which Parliaments may make, yet these qualities (not being derived from the authority of the apostles founding the Church, by any act of the Church, but from secular power, and commission issued from it) make them no more ministers of the Church, that are made by assemblies of divines and presbyteries, than those that are made by commission of triers and for ejecting scandalous ministers. That is, both of them being by their creation schismatics, and their profession not clearing them of misprision of heresy, they can no more be acknowledged by those, that pretend to adhere to the Church of England, than Belial by Christ, or darkness by light.

[Absolute nullity of Presbyterian ordinations.]

° See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xiv. § 3 : posing Differences &c., § 47.
Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 56—62; ^p See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 19.
and below in the Due Way of Com-

[Presbyterian baptism no baptism.]

§ 22. Hereby then you may conclude, how to receive those, whom the Presbyterians may send you for pastors by any change in the secular power. For I charge not them, that they do not believe the Church; which they would be themselves. I acknowledge, that they secure you from all sects but themselves. But in as much as they maintain predestination to life, only in consideration of what Christ hath already done or suffered for the elect; in so much, I say, that they do not nor can baptize into the cross of Christ, that is to say, into the hope of salvation in consideration of the covenant of baptism. For that which is absolutely due,—as salvation is due to the elect by the gift of God's predestination,—cannot be burdened with any condition of Christianity afterwards. Nor can he, who is once sure to be saved without that condition which baptism enacteth, be bound to "fight against the flesh, the world, and the devil, for the keeping of God's commandments, under the profession of the Christian faith," for the obtaining of that which he is sure of before. And therefore their baptism is no effectual baptism before God, if baptism received in the Church of England be such (that is to say, it is no baptism, but by equivocation of words); in as much as the obligation of a man's Christianity is not declared or understood to take hold of him by virtue of it. For seeing the hope of salvation, which Christians have by their baptism, is grounded upon the condition of their Christianity; that baptism, which promiseth salvation without providing for this condition, is no baptism but by equivocation of words^a.

[Their service an imposture.]

§ 23. I say further, that the change, which they call reformation, visibly tends to introduce that monstrous imposture of two sermons every sabbath^r; instead of the daily and ordinary service of God, together with the more solemn service of God upon festivals and Lord's days and other extraordinary occasions, which the Church of England (with the whole Church of God from the beginning) hath maintained, so far as there was means to maintain it.

[Their dispossessing the bishops a usurpation.]

§ 24. I will not here insist upon the order of bishops, and their chief power in their dioceses, as of Divine right; that

^a See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 13, 55, &c.

^r Ibid., § 57, 72.

is, instituted and introduced by the apostles. Let the Presbyterians think themselves privileged to erect altar against altar, upon so desperate a plea as now they insist upon;—that the presbyteries are rather of Divine right than the chief power of bishops in their dioceses*. I insist now only, that this power of the bishops was not against God's law: which every man must grant me, that acknowledges a Church in England from the Reformation till now. In this case, they, who to introduce this Christianity and this public exercise of it, transgressing that authority to which they were called by the visible act of the Church of England, take upon them to share that power, from which they had their authority, among themselves, and to execute it by consent among themselves in their several precincts, cannot be said to constitute a Church by virtue of any act of the apostles, or any authority derived from such act; but by virtue of their own act, as all apostates and usurpers do.

§ 25. That is to say, that they do not constitute such a Church, by being a member whereof a man may reasonably assure himself of salvation, upon any principle of Christianity: but such a Church, as is indeed no Church, unless it be by equivocation of terms; but a conventicle of schismatics, with the misprision of the heresy aforesaid. And therefore their priesthood is no priesthood, their eucharist is no eucharist (unless it be by equivocation of words), but sacrilege against God's ordinance†. Besides that, what is requisite to the consecration of the eucharist, or wherein it consists, they seem to be as secure of, and as little to regard, as the most ignorant of those sects, into which the once common name of Puritans stands divided at this time‡. Neither is it in any secular power, though never so unquestionable, to cure these nullities and incapacities in the pretence, upon which they take upon them to be a Church. Though, for the present, they are not so much as authorized to the world by any privilege or penalty enacted by any secular power;

[And they are therefore no Church.]

* So e. g. the *Jus Divinum Ecclesiastici Regiminis*, quoted above in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 43. note a: and the Presbyterian party of that time generally; as may be seen in the debates of the Westminster Assembly.

And see Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xvi. § 8, sq.: Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii.: Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. iv.: &c.

† See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 12—16, 21, &c.

but only protected by that, which now possesseth. Whereby the world may see, that there is nothing but their own usurpation, and the consent of those, whom they have debauched to their schism, for them to subsist by, under the pretence of a Church: and that they will, by virtue of their original, be as malignant to any secular power, that shall not maintain and authorize them, as ever they were to that which they have destroyed, to introduce this shadow of a Church.

[Penalties to be undergone rather than comply with evil.]
[Acts v. 29.]

§ 26. If it be objected, that your estates will be liable to 221 penalties, that may be enacted against those that withdraw from the exercise of the religion publicly held forth: to this I have no answer, but that we are "to obey God rather than man;" to prefer the next world before this; and to bear Christ's cross, if we expect His kingdom. Only thus much I must observe; that these laws proceed from a profession, that it is not lawful to force men's consciences in matter of religion by penalties". And therefore, though the prelatical party are not protected in the exercise of their religion, yet cannot they be punished for it, but by denying that which is declared upon the public faith. Besides, acknowledging "the Christian religion contained in the Scriptures," and "professing faith in God by Jesus Christ," they are as much qualified for protection, as those that are protected by the act of establishment. And not to allow the exercise of that religion, the profession whereof is not disallowed, seems to be, to forbid men to be Christians, who are not forbidden to be such Christians; and to expose them to popular tumult (contrary to the public peace), whom no law punishes. If the Papists continue nevertheless liable to former penalties^a, perhaps it is because they are reputed idolaters. But because these laws, and the profession from whence they proceed, may change; I must confess, you cannot follow my advice but that your estate may become questionable: neither would I give it, could I assure you of the kingdom of heaven otherwise.

[Clergy and service of the

§ 27. If you demand, what means I can shew you to exercise your religion, withdrawing from the means which

^a See above in § 2. note d.

^{*} See *ibid*.

these Acts provide: I answer, that there are hitherto every Church where of the clergy, that adhere to the Church; who will find it their duty to see your infants christened, your children catechised, the eucharist communicated to all, that shall withdraw from churches forcibly possessed by them whom you own not for pastors. And if they cannot continually minister to you, so dispersed, the ordinary offices of God's service; you have the service of God according to the order of the Church, you have the Scriptures to read for part of it, you have store of sermons manifestly allowed
 222 by the Church to read, you have prayers prescribed for all your own necessities and the necessities of the Church. To serve God with these in private, with such as depend upon you, and are of the same judgment with you (leaving out what belongs to the priest's office to say), I do to the best of my judgment believe an acceptable sacrifice to God; which you cannot offer at the church in such case. And though I censure not my brethren of the clergy, that think fit to comply with the power which we are under, in holding or coming by their benefices (I suppose, in respect to their flocks, rather than to their fruits); yet, if they believe themselves and their flocks to be members of the Church of England, they must needs believe those flocks, that acknowledge such pastors, to be members of no Church; and therefore acknowledge you, and own your departure, and declare themselves to their own flocks, and instruct them to do the like, when the like case falls out: and so the refusing to hear "the voice of strangers" will unite us to
 [John x. 5.] make a flock under those, whom we acknowledge our lawful pastors.

§ 28. I have found myself pressed to print copies hereof for mine own use, thereby to declare thus much of my judgment to you and to the rest of my friends: because the consequence of owning such men for your pastors, will be, to make us members of several Churches; which must disable me to do any office of a clergyman towards you; unless it be the prosecuting of this by shewing you further reasons to justify what I say here, and to reduce you to it. Though it shall always be my study faithfully to serve my friends in all offices of civility. And I hope they will consider what
 [Motives for printing this letter.]

appearance there is, that any thing should move me to make myself liable to so much harm, as the public declaring of this opinion will make me liable to, but the discharge of my conscience to God and them, as the case shall require me to discharge it^y.

^y Part of a Letter on the same subject, and apparently of about the same date, with the above published Letter, is among the papers of Thorndike in

the Chapter Library at Westminster, and will be found below among the other Letters of his that have been preserved.

THE
DUE WAY
OF
COMPOSING THE DIFFERENCES ON FOOT,
PRESERVING THE CHURCH;
ACCORDING TO THE OPINION OF
HERBERT THORNDIKE.

&c.

I HAVE found myself obliged, by that horrible confusion in religion which the late war had introduced, to declare the utmost of mine opinion concerning the whole point of religion, upon which the Western Church stands divided into so many parties^b: and now, finding no cause to repent me of doing it, can find no cause why I should not declare the consequence of it, in settling of that which remains of our differences. For middle ways to so good an end are now acceptable merely as middle ways, and tending to drive a bargain, without pretending that they ought to be admitted. How much more an expedient pretending necessity, from reasons extant in public, and not contradicted?

[Occasion
of this tract
and of the
Epilogue.]

§ 2. The chief ground, that I suppose here, because I have proved it at large, is the meaning of that article of our creed, which professeth "one Catholic Church." For either it signifies nothing: or it signifies, that God hath founded one visible Church; that is, that He hath obliged all Churches (and all Christians, of whom all Churches consist) to hold visible communion with the whole Church in the visible offices of God's public service^c. And therefore I am satisfied, that the differences, upon which we are divided, cannot be justly settled upon any terms, which any part of the whole Church shall have just cause to refuse, as inconsistent with the unity of the whole Church. For, in that case, we must needs become schismatics; by settling ourselves upon such laws, under which any Church may refuse to

[Chief
ground
supposed
therein,
the belief
in one
Catholic
Church.]

^a The marginal paging is that of the edition of 1662: with which that of 1680 is almost identical. The differences of text between the editions of 1660, 1662, and 1680, are very few in

number, and of the most trifling kind.

^b Viz. in the Epilogue. See the Preface to that treatise, § 1—11.

^c See *ibid.*, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. vi., sq.

communicate with us, because it is bound to communicate with the whole Church. True it is, that the foundation of the Church upon these terms will presuppose the entire profession of Christianity, whether concerning faith or manners. For, otherwise, how should those offices, in which all the Church is to communicate, be counted the service of God ²²⁴ according to Christianity? And this profession is the condition, upon the undergoing whereof all men, by being baptized and made Christians, are also admitted to communion with the Church, as members of it.

[Unity with the whole Church not to be sacrificed in order to obtain unity with-in ourselves.]

§ 3. But nothing can make it visible to the common reason of all men, what communion they are to resort unto for their salvation, but the visible communion of all parts of the Church; which, having been maintained for divers ages of the Church, is now visibly interrupted by the Reformation, and, before, by the breach between the Greek and Latin Church. And therefore, though it be visible to reason rightly informed, what communion a man is to embrace for his salvation; yet it is not now visible to the common reason of all men that seek it. If this be true, then no power of the Church can extend so far, as to make any thing a part of the common Christianity, which was not so from the beginning; but it must needs extend so far, as to limit and determine all matters in difference, so as the preservation of unity may require. And therefore, the unity of all parts supposing the profession of Christianity whole and entire, we shall justly be chargeable with the crime of heresy, if we admit them to our communion, who openly disclaim the faith of the whole Church, or any part of it. For those are justly counted heretics as to the Church, by the canons of the Church, that communicate with those who profess heresy; though no heretics as to God, not believing it themselves. But, the unity of all parts being subordinate and of inferior consideration to the unity of the whole, we shall justly be chargeable with the crime of schism, if we seek unity within ourselves by abrogating the laws of the whole, as not obliged to hold communion with it.

[Unreasonableness of the Church]

§ 4. I confess I am convicted, that, as things stand, we are not to expect any reason from the Church of Rome, and

those who hold communion with it, in restoring the unity of the Church upon such laws, as shall render the means of salvation visible to all that use them as they ought. And this, and only this, I hold to be the due ground, upon which we are enabled to provide an establishment of unity in religion among ourselves (as heretofore a reformation in religion for ourselves) without concurrence of the whole. But if we should think ourselves at large to conclude ourselves without respect to the faith and laws of the whole Church, we may easily bring upon ourselves a just imputation of heretics, for communicating with heretics; but a juster of schismatics, if we abrogate the laws of the whole Church, to obtain unity among ourselves; as declaring thereby, that we are not content to hold unity with the whole, unless a part may give law to the whole. So far am I from that madness, which hath had a hand in all our miseries; of thinking the right measure of reformation to stand in going as far as it is possible from the Church of Rome. For were it evidenced (as it neither is nor ever will be evidenced), that the pope is antichrist, and all papists by their profession idolaters; yet must we either raze the article of "one Catholic Church" out of our creed, or confess, that the pope can neither be antichrist, nor the papists idolaters, for or by any thing which is common to them with the whole Church.

§ 5. I know some will think it strange, that the pope should excommunicate us on Maundy-Thursdays^d; that we should swear in the oath of supremacy, that "no foreign prelate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction or authority" ecclesiastical in this kingdom; and yet we be subject to do such acts, for which the Church of Rome may justly renounce communion with us. But the word "ought" in that oath is indicative, and not potential; not "*deberet*," but "*debet*." For it were a contradiction, for the Church of England to pray for the Catholic Church and the unity thereof, and yet renounce the jurisdiction of the whole Church and the general council thereof over itself. King

^d Scil. in the Bulla Cœnæ. See Fleury, Hist. Eccles., clxxi. § 22: and Bramhall, Replic. to Bp. of Chalcædon, c. viii. sect. 3: Works Pt. i. Disc. iii. vol. ii. pp. 242—244.

* The oath runs thus in Latin—"quod nullus extraneus princeps, vel persona, nec ullus prælatus, status, aut dominatus, habet aut habere *debet*" &c.

of Rome
our suf-
ficient
ground for
acting
without
her con-
currence
in matters
of reli-
gion.]

[The pa-
pal, not the
patriarchal,
power of
the Bishop
of Rome
rejected by
us.]

James, of excellent memory, acknowledgeth the pope to be "patriarch of the west;" that is, head of the general council of the western Churches. And the right reverend father in God, Thomas Lord Bishop of Winchester under Queen Elizabeth, in his answer to the Seminaries' Apology, being demanded why we own him not so in effect, answereth bluntly, but truly, 'Because he is not content with the right of a patriarchs.' For should he disclaim the pretence of dissolving the bond of allegiance, should he retire to the privilege of a patriarch in seeing the canons executed; the schism would lie at our door, if we should refuse it. ²²⁶ Now if they curse us, while we pray for the unity of the whole Church; is it not the case of the Catholics with the Donatists? For these rebaptized them whom those had baptized, whited over the inside of their churches when they became possessed of them, scraped over their altars (being tables of wood), in detestation of them, as apostates and persecutors; while the Catholics called them "brethren," and acknowledged them rightly baptized, and received them that were converted from that schism in their respective orders^b. The unity of the Church is of such consequence to the salvation of all Christians, that no excess on one side can cause the other to increase the distance, but they shall be answerable for the souls that perish by the means of it.

[Proposal
of terms of

§ 6. And, therefore, not departing from the opinion which

^a Apol. for Oath of Allegiance, Pref. to All Christian Monarchs; p. 46. Engl. edit. 1609: quoted above in Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 16. note m.—See Bramhall as above quoted, c. v. sect. 4. p. 175: Bp. Montague, Orig. Eccl., Pars Posterior, p. 158: and Bilson, as in next note.

^b This is the substance of Bilson's arguments on the subject.—"As for his patriarchship: . . by God's law he hath none; in this realm for six hundred yeares after Christ he had none; for the last six hundred, as looking to greater matters, he would have none; above or against the sword which God hath ordained, he can have none; by the subversion of the faith, and oppression of his brethren, in reason, right, and equity, he should have none." Bishop Thomas Bilson, True Difference betweene Christian Subjection

and Unchristian Rebellion, &c., against the Pope's Censures and the Jesuits' Sophismes, uttered in their Apologie and Defence of English Catholikes, Pt. ii. p. 321, 2nd edit. Lond. 1586: where (as likewise in Pt. i. p. 60) he admits the pope to be "patriarch of the west," but "not by Christ but by consent of bishops."—See also Bramhall's Just Vindic. of Ch. of Engl., c. iv.; Works, Pt. i. Disc. ii. vol. i. p. 152.

^b See authority for this in Dupin's Hist. Donatistarum, prefixed to his edition of Optatus, p. xi.: and in Optatus himself, De Schismate Donat., lib. vi. cc. 1, 6. pp. 91, 97; &c. &c.: and S. Augustin, as quoted below in § 17, note g; and Epist. cviii. Ad Macrobiun, § 14; Op. tom. ii. p. 312. E; and Sermo ad Caesar. Pleb., § 2; ibid. tom. ix. p. 618. C. &c. &c.

I have declared concerning the terms upon which all parties ought to reconcile themselves, until I shall have reason shewed me why I should do it: I shall now go no further than the matters that are actually questioned among us; not extending my discourse to points, that may perhaps more justly become questionable, than some of those which have come into dispute: professing in the beginning, that I believe they may and ought to be settled by a law of the kingdom, obliging all parties beside recusants; but that the matter of that law ought to be limited by the consent and authority of the Church, respective to this kingdom; and withal, that I think it ought to be held, and shall for mine own part hold it, an act merely ambulatory and provisional for the time. For though there is no hope of reconciliation with the Church of Rome, as things are; yet is there infinite reason for all sides to abate of their particular pretensions, for the recovering of so incomparable a benefit as the unity of the whole; if ever it shall please God to make the parties appear disposed to it.

§ 7. Now the errors which we are to shut out, if we will recover the unity of a visible Church (that is, of God's whole Church), are two, in my judgment. First, though some things have been disputed in other parts, from whence the same consequence may be inferred, yet England is the place, and ours the times, which first openly and downright have maintained, that there is no such thing as a Church, in the nature of one visible communion founded by God¹. But it is maintained by several parties among us, upon several

reconcile-
ment
merely
provisional
and for the
time.]

[Hobbiasts
and Inde-
pendents
agree in
denying
a visible
Church,
although
upon op-
posite
grounds: which is
the first
error
amongst
us.]

¹ "The whole body of men throughout the world, professing the faith of the Gospel and obedience unto God by Christ according unto it, not destroying their own profession by any errors everting the foundation, or unholiness of conversation, are, and may be called, the visible Catholique Church of Christ: although as such it is not intrusted with the administration of any ordinances, or have" (sic) "any offices to rule or govern in, or over, the whole body." Declaration of Faith and Order owned and practised by the Congregational Churches in England; agreed upon &c. at the Savoy, Oct. 12. 1658; c. xxvi. p. 18.—"Members of the mili-

tant visible Church," when duly combined in particular Churches, "enjoy, besides spiritual union," &c., "moreover an union and communion ecclesiastical political:" and in this sense "we deny an universal visible Church." Platform of Church Discipline &c., agreed upon in New England in 1649, c. ii.: in Mather's Eccles. Hist. of New Engl., Bk. v. p. 24.—For the authority (or rather want of authority) of a particular Church over its members according to the Independents, see above in Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. iv. § 13. note f; and Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 8, c. v. § 86, sq.

grounds. For some do not or will not understand, that there can be any ecclesiastical power founded by that act of God which foundeth Christianity, where there is secular power, founded also by those acts of God, whereby He authorizeth and enforceth all just sovereignties^k. Though all times, all parts, all nations of Christendom since Constantine, profess to maintain the Church in that power, in which they found it acknowledged by Christians, when he first undertook to maintain that Christianity which he professed; all this must be taken, either for mere hypocrisy, or mere nonsense. Others there are, that do not think themselves obliged to the unity of God's Church, upon far different principles. There are of our Enthusiasts, such as are themselves every one a Church to themselves, and by themselves; as being "above ordinances," and the communion of the Church provided only for proficients^l. But all Independent Congregations make the same profession, and are manifestly grounded upon the same. For how can they imagine themselves members of one visible Church, who profess that they cannot be obliged to hold communion with any congregation but their own^m?

[Both agree in supposing, that a man may be heir to Christ's kingdom without belonging to His Church.]

§ 8. And yet, with favour, the same consequence ensuing upon so different pretences, there must be some supposition common to both, upon which both do ground themselves. And it is easily visible what that is. Both opinions must suppose, that a man may be heir to Christ's kingdom, and endowed with God's Spirit, without being, or before he be, a member of God's Church. And the Independents indeed do manifestly profess, that, knowing themselves and others to be God's children and endowed with His Spirit, they are in a capacity to join in ecclesiastical communion with those whom they know to be suchⁿ. So they become members of a

^k Selden, Hobbes, Du Moulin, &c. See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ii. § 9, 10; c. xi. § 9, sq., and 35, sq.: Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 10, sq.

^l See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii. § 24: and Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ii. § 8.

^m See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., cc. iv. § 8, v. § 86; &c.: and above in note i.

ⁿ "The members of these (particu-

lar) Churches are saints by calling, visibly manifesting and evidencing (in and by their profession and walking) their obedience unto that call of Christ, who being further known to each other by their confession of the faith wrought in them by the power of God, declared by themselves or otherwise manifested, do willingly consent to walk together, according to the appointment of Christ, giving up themselves to the Lord, and

Church, being God's children before, without considering how they shall be members of the whole Church. The others are satisfied, that by being members of a state, which professeth Christianity, they are also members of that "one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church," which by our Creed we profess to believe: a ground which holdeth accidentally, so long as that state constituteth a visible member of the whole or the Catholic Church; but not imaginable to serve the turn, when states differ in point of Christianity, and may every day appeal to force, whether is the true Church and whether the false.

§ 9. For is it not manifest, that the professions of the Lutherans, the Calvinists, the Greeks, the Abyssines, are protected by sovereign powers, as well as the profession of the Church of Rome, or the Church of England? Is it not manifest, that the powers, that profess them, maintain them respectively to be God's truth? Why then do we dispute any longer, which is the true religion and which is the false; if it be enough for Christians to resolve all the doubt they can have concerning religion into the command of their sovereigns, only professing Christianity? Is it not manifest, that sovereigns do use to punish their subjects, that conform not to their laws concerning religion, but follow that religion which is in force under other sovereignties? Is it possible to imagine, that subjects can be obliged by one and the same will of God to follow contrary religions under several sovereigns? Or that sovereigns can be enabled by one law of God to punish their subjects for serving God according to contrary professions? True it is, subjects that suffer in a good cause shall be gainers thereby; gaining heaven by their losses of this world. But what shall become of the sovereigns that persecute them, being in a good cause? Or how shall not some of them be persecuted in a good cause, who are persecuted in contrary causes?

§ 10. I know not whether this peremptory difficulty was the cause: but I am sure recourse hath been had to a more desperate answer;—that every subject is bound to profess the religion of his sovereign, yea, though it enjoin him to

[The Hob-
bist doc-
trine,—
that the
Church is
absorbed
into the
Christian
state,—
overthrown
by the
facts.]

[Horrible
position of
Hobbes—
that a man
may deny
Christ and

to one another by the will of God, in
professed subjection to the ordinances
of the Gospel." Savoy Declaration of

Faith &c. of Oct. 1658, Of the Insti-
tution of Churches &c. § viii., p. 24.

yet (so
denying
Him) be
saved as a
Christian.]

renounce Christ with his mouth, remaining bound all the while to believe in Him with his heart; and that by this belief he shall be saved as a Christian^o. Neither is this position tenable but upon this answer, nor doth this answer import any less than the utter renouncing of Christianity. I know, that in the records of the ancient Church, those, who only professed to believe Christianity (who were called *catechumeni* or scholars to the Church), are sometimes called by the name of Christians^p. But I know withal, that they were never counted in the state of salvation, till they had taken upon them the profession of Christianity by being admitted 229 to the sacrament of baptism^q. I know also, that this baptism, though it was not counted void when it was ministered in due form, yet it was never counted effectual to salvation but when a man is baptized into the true faith, and that in the unity of God's Church^r. For though the names of heretics and schismatics have been made only bug-bears to fright children with, in this time of our troubles^s; yet, so long as Christianity continues, those, that separate themselves from the Church upon pretences concerning the substance of faith, shall be properly counted^t heretics; but if the cause concern not the substance of Christianity, schismatics. And therefore, Christianity consisting not only in believing or purposing with the heart, but also in professing with the mouth (first sincerely, then the true faith, and lastly by being baptized), he, that professeth himself free to renounce his Christianity as far as the mouth, hath effectively renounced it; because he hath effectively drawn back that promise, upon condition whereof he was baptized, of professing Christianity to the death.

[Rom. x.
10.]

[Disagree-
ments be-
tween

§ 11. And truly, if every Christian state be the Church of God within the territories thereof, then cannot all Churches

^o See Hobbes, as quoted in the Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ii. § 10. note 1: and see the Epilogue itself, *ibid.* and c. xix. § 18, 19.

^p So the Councils of Elvira (A.D. 305), can. xxxix. (ap. Labb., Conc., tom. i. p. 975. A); and of Constantinople (A.D. 381), can. vii. (*ibid.*, tom. ii. p. 951. C). See Bingham, I. iii. 3.

^q "Quod signum crucis in fronte habent catechumeni, jam de domo magna sunt: sed fiant ex servis filii." S. Aug.,

Tract. xi. in Joh. Evang. c. lii. § 4; Op. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 376. G: and see the whole tract; and Bingham as just quoted.—See also Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. vi. § 4.

^r See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 14—20; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 31.

^s See *ibid.*, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxv. § 8. notes i, k.

^t "called" ed. 1660.

concur to make up that one visible Church of God which our Christian states dis-abled them from being the one visible Church.] creed professeth. For there is nothing more evidently true than the saying of Plato^a—that all states are naturally enemies one to another, especially those that are borderers. And this enmity in our days consisteth visibly in those differences of religion, upon which the neighbour sovereignties of Christendom are now at distance. It is therefore no way imaginable, how all Christian states should concur to make up that one visible Church, whereinto by being baptized, we obtain the spiritual and eternal privileges of Christians. But that it is the profesaion of the whole rule of Christianity, that makes any people or state a part of the visible Church; being governed by such rules in the exercise of God's service, as may make it the same society with that, which was once unquestionably God's Church or part of it. For, otherwise, how should the visible Church continue one and the same from the first to the second coming of our Lord?

§ 12. And here you have the second part of our differences. [The second error amongst us, is the doctrine, that the condition of good works is inconsistent with the freedom of God's grace in Christ.] For all our sects, under the title of God's "free grace," do
 230 maintain, that the promises of the Gospel, and our right in them, depends not upon the truth of men's Christianity. As if God were not free enough of His grace, if He should reserve Himself a duty of being served as by Christians, upon those whom He tenders life everlasting to, upon such terms. It is no new thing in England to hear of those, who profess, that God sees not nor can see any sin in His elect: so that, in their opinion, there is no mortal sin but repentance; because that must suppose, that a man thought himself out of the state of grace by the sin whereof he repents^x. I think I am duly informed of a malefactor dying upon the gallows, that professed, to the strengthening of his brethren, that he had overcome all temptation to repentance; acknowledging, that since his being in prison he had been strongly moved to repent. And one^y of Hacket's three conspirators, when he was come to himself, continued to profess, that he thought

^a "Ἦν γὰρ καλοῦσιν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰρήνην, τοῦτ' εἶναι μόνον ὄνομα, τῇ δ' ἔργῳ πάσαις πρὸς πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἀεὶ πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι." Plat., Legg., lib. i. § 2: Op. tom. ii. p. 626. A. ed. Stephan. But of course it is not Plato's own sen-

timent; nor does the saying of "vicinorum odia" appear to come from him.

^x See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. i. § 11. notes b—d.

^y So in ed. 1680. The editions of 1660, 1662, read "And that one."

himself in the state of God's grace all the while^a. But I will go no further than the words, which I have quoted in another place^a, out of a pamphlet written to satisfy the godly party in Wales, being offended at the late usurper's proceedings: which allegeth, that we are not to be judged at the last day either by our works or by our faith, but by God's everlasting purpose concerning each of us; by virtue whereof Christ being alive at the heart, the violation of all his engagements to them, by usurping over them as over others, made no difference in his estate towards God. Whosoever writ this, I think I am duly informed, that himself caused it to be published^b. But I am certain, that, to the everlasting infamy of a Christian nation if reparation be not made, it is supposed to be the sense of all the godly in it. And to the same effect, my memory assures me to have read in one of his speeches, that there are at this day inspirations of God's Spirit "besides the Scriptures," though not "against the Scriptures^c." Now certainly, that which a man hath by virtue of the Scriptures, that is, of Christianity, can by no means be understood to be "besides the Scriptures." And certainly he, that presumeth upon any motion of God's Spirit, not supposing Christianity, that is, not supposing

^a In the pamphlet entitled Arthington's Seduction and Repentance, at the end of Richard Cosin's Conspiracie for Pretended Reformation &c. (viz. the authorized account of Hacket's Conspiracy), 4to. Lond. 1592, the writer, being then still in prison although pardoned, and writing under order of the council, declares (p. 24), that "the Holy Ghost did assure" his "hart that" he "was no reprobate: but that" his "case in effect was much like St. Paule's, both wishing to doe God good service, yet when we thought ourselves best occupied, then we did most dishonour His name:" and (p. 30), that as Hacket's sin was the "greatest ever committed by any reprobate, so" he takes his own "to be absolutely the greatest that ever was done by any of the elect." He conceives however, that, although "elect" all the time, he was nevertheless under the influence of Satan while conspiring with Hacket: and also that it is a great sin and "dangerous" to live in sin, and yet "presume of mercie."—The Act of

Parliament against "Atheistical, Blasphemous, and Execrable Opinions," August, A.D. 1650. c. 22 (Scobell, Pt. ii. p. 125), specifies, among other kindred atrocities, the tenet, that "such men or women are most perfect, and like unto God, . . . which do commit the greatest sins with least remorse or sense."

^b Epilogue, Conclusion, § 10.

^c The pamphlet is anonymous, but has the appearance of being an answer from authority to the Welsh petition. See, however, below in Thorndike's tract on the Forbearance or Penalties which a Due Reformation requires, c. vi. It is "published for further information," and contains documents placed in Cromwell's "own hands;" but these, it is true, were also published separately by the petitioners themselves, before the reply to them.

^d "The Spirit of God, Who speaks without a written word sometimes, yet according to it." Cromwell's Speech upon dissolving the Parliament, January 22, 1653; in Whitelock, Memorials, p. 598.

the Scriptures, may by the same reason presume of his own salvation, not supposing that he believes and lives as a Christian.

§ 13. The same is the consequence of a position, I will not <sup>[Perni-
cious con-
sequences
of the posi-
tion, that
justifying
faith con-
sisteth in
believing
oneself
absolutely
predesti-
nate to life
eternal.]</sup> say enjoined by any party, but notoriously allowed among us; —that justifying faith consisteth in believing, that a man is one of them that are predestinate, whom God sent our Lord Christ to redeem, and none else^d. For how can he think himself obliged to make good the profession of a Christian, who thinks himself assured of all that he can attain to by so doing, not supposing it? Indeed it may be said, that our Antinomians and Enthusiasts and other sects among us (whom no conceit without this could have seduced to their several frenzies), do think themselves justified from everlasting by God's decree to send Christ for that purpose; whereas this opinion dateth justification from the instant that God revealeth the said decree by His Spirit, in which revelation they think that justifying faith consisteth^e. And certainly there can be no reason, why God, receiving men into grace only in consideration of Christ's obedience, should suspend their reconcilment upon that knowledge of His purpose, which He giveth them by faith. For what can be more unreasonable, than that God should justify a man by revealing to him that he is justified? But the opinion is not the less destructive to Christianity, because it is the more unreasonable. Now it is possible, that the effect of this position may be stifled and become void in some, by reason of other truths, which contradict the same indeed, and yet are believed by them, not seeing the consequence of their own persuasions. But those, who besides this position do pertinaciously hold absolute predestination to glory, those, I maintain, are in an error destructive to Christianity, that is, in a heresy. And therefore, this doctrine being such, it is no way enough, that it is no way enjoined to be taught, but it is requisite, that it be disclaimed; by those, that pretend to recover the unity of a visible Church. For there can be no Church, where any thing destructive to Christianity,

^d See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. vii. § 7; c. xxxi. § 42. note r, § 49. note u: &c.

^e See *ibid.* c. vii. § 7. notes h—k; and c. i. § 8. note a.

which the being of the Church supposeth, is notoriously allowed to be taught.

[Vast difference between the two errors here specified.]

§ 14. Now between these two points of our differences I am to observe a vast difference. For this latter is necessary for all Christians to know; as being the principle of all those actions, which, being just for the matter of them, must render the men acceptable to God in order to life everlasting. And therefore he, that thinketh he can be regenerate or justified or the child of God or endowed with God's Spirit, ²³² not supposing that he undertakes and performs the profession of a Christian, renounces the article of his creed concerning "one baptism to remission of sins." But the being of God's visible Church consisteth in that unity, which ariseth upon the agreement of all Christians to hold communion in the visible offices of God's service. And therefore, though it be an article of our creed to believe one Catholic Church, yet can it not concern the salvation of every particular Christian to understand the nature of that society or corporation, which the bond of this unity createth. Nay, even they, who are best seen in that government by which this unity is preserved, may well fail in comprehending the reason thereof by reflecting their discourse upon it. In the mean time, it is necessary for all, that believe their creed, to think themselves tied by this article to maintain the unity of the Church, according to their estate; that is, for every one's part, not to be accessory to any schism that dissolveth it. And, therefore, to deny the crime of schism is to deny this article.

[What rule the Church should use in reconciling Hobbists.]

§ 15. The consequence of this observation will be the difference, which the Church hath reason to use in reconciling parties at distance from it to the unity thereof; according to the difference of those pretences, upon which they are at distance. For those, who have only disputed against the being of the Church upon misunderstanding the right of secular power, which they think the being of the Church inconsistent with, shall be sufficiently reunited to the Church, by conforming to the law, by which the Church is and was and may be established. For that there ought to be provision against such disputes for the future, it concerns not me to give warning. Only, where wilfulness hath proceeded so far

in maintaining a false position, as to make no bones of denying Christianity and teaching atheism (by obliging to renounce Christ, if the sovereign command it), it concerneth the Christianity of the nation to see reparation made^f.

§ 16. But where the heretical positions mentioned afore ^[What in reconciling Anabaptists, Independents, &c.] have notoriously been maintained, especially where congregations have been framed and used for the exercise of religion upon pretence of them; there will it be absolutely necessary, that they be expressly renounced and disclaimed, either ²³³ by persons in particular, or in body by congregations. To this head I reduce all Anabaptists, and congregations of Anabaptists; those of the fifth Monarchy, and congregations of the fifth Monarchy; Quakers, and congregations of Quakers. Nay, all Independent congregations, in my opinion, ought to be reduced under this measure: not only because their profession is grounded upon the denial of one visible Church; but because they suppose themselves children of God, and endowed with His Spirit, before they be members of God's Church; that is, setting aside their baptism, and the covenant which is solemnly enacted by it between God and each soul. And though I do refer myself to the wisdom of superiors, in what form this reconciliation be solemnized; yet I must express my opinion thus far, that there can be none so fit, as that which the wisdom of the Catholic Church from the beginning hath always frequented: by granting them the blessing of the Church with imposition of hands, renouncing for their part their several sects and errors; that is, by the prayers of the Church for the Spirit of God to rest upon them, who have barred their baptism from giving It by opposing the peace of the Church, which now they retire unto. For how shall the unity of the Church be secured, but by declaring them who violate the same accursed of God?

§ 17. Nor let it be thought, that, our sectaries of their ^[These sectaries should be called upon to renounce their heresies.] own accord retiring themselves unto the communion of this Church, it will be requisite for the Church to admit them without taking notice of any thing that hath passed. For neither is it to be presumed, that they, who have made their own wills their law for so many years, will so much as profess conformity to the rule of the Church: and if they did

^f See above, § 10. note o: and also in the Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxx. at the end.

profess it, there is no reason to think, that they should stand to it; having a dispensation dormant, of the Spirit, to stand to their profession as the interest of their faction shall require. So their coming to church would be only an advantage for them to infect others. And how should that communion be counted a Church, which entertains heretics as heretics, and schismatics as schismatics: that is, without renouncing positions destructive to the faith; without obliging themselves for the future to hold unity with the Church? Certainly there is no just answer for this, if the Church of Rome should object it for the reason why they refuse to hold 234 communion with us. Certainly St. Augustin, when he was charged by the Donatists, that the Church received their apostates without rebaptizing them and in their respective orders, could have had no answer, if he had not had this;—that the Church received them not as Donatists, but as converted from being Donatists; they not refusing to profess so much^s.

[The secretaries to be tolerated by the state; but, if so, then the popish recusants to be tolerated also.]

§ 18. Certainly it may be and perhaps is justifiable for the secular power to grant them the exercise of their religion, in private places of their own providing, under such moderate penalties as the disobeying of the laws of a man's country might require. For persecution to death for that cause, the whole Reformation condemneth in the Church of Rome; and I conceive there is no reason for that, which will not condemn persecution to banishment. But this would require the like moderation to be extended to recusants of the Church of Rome. True it is, in mine opinion, those papists, that think themselves tied by the bull of Pius V. against Queen Elizabeth^b, or that they may be tied by the like acts of his

^s "Isti cum ad radicem Catholicam veniunt, nec eis quamvis post erroris sui poenitentiam honor clericatus vel episcopatus aufertur," &c. S. Aug., De Correctione Donatistarum Lib. ad Bonifacium, seu Epist. clxxxv., § 44; Op. tom. ii. p. 660. G. And elsewhere also.—"Quid si corrigitis et mutatis, quomodo tales vos suscipimus quales eratis? . . . Dic mihi, quomodo talis est qualis fuit, qui veneratur Ecclesiam quam blasphemabat," &c. &c. Id., Cont. Cresconium Donatistam, lib. ii. cc. viii., ix. § 10, 11; Op. tom. ix. p. 414. C, D; in which and the succeed-

ing chapters the question in the text is argued at length.

^b Bulla cxxxviii. Pii V., "Regnans in excelsis;" ap. Bullar. Roman., tom. iv. P. iii. pp. 98, 99 (Rom. 1746); dated Feb. 25, 1570: excommunicating and deposing Queen Elizabeth. See also the two Brevia Pauli V., Sept. 21. 1606, and Sept. 21. 1607, forbidding Romanists to take the oath of allegiance, in the Resp. Torti, pp. 168, 169, 192, 193; in fin. Apolog. Bellarmini, 4to. Rom. 1609 (or in Bellarmine's Works). And the two still earlier Briefs of Clement VIII., mentioned

successors against hers, are justly liable to the utmost of penalties, as professed enemies to their country. But,—besides that it is manifest, that all papists are not of that opinion which the said bull presupposeth¹,—the state may easier be secured of papists against all such power in the pope, than of our sectaries against that dispensation to their allegiance, which the pretence of God's Spirit may import when they please. And whereas it is manifest, that many papists hold against those equivocations and reservations, which destroy all confidence of the sovereign in his subjects' allegiance^k; how shall a state be secured against that infamous falsehood of the late usurper, in any man that pretends God's Spirit upon his terms, which I mentioned afore^l? Besides, the recusants, being for the most part of the good families of the nation, will take it for a part of their nobility freely to profess themselves in their religion, if they understand themselves; whereas the sectaries, being people of mean quality for the most part, cannot be presumed to stand upon their reputation so much. So, if they cannot be tolerated in the exercise of their religion, it must be provided upon what terms they may be received by the Church.

§ 19. And by that which hath been said, it may appear, what my opinion will require of the Presbyterians for the
 235 condition of reconciling ourselves into one Church again; namely, in the first place, their submission to the act, or decree, or order, according to which the sectaries ought to be

[What the Church should require of the Presbyterians in order to their being reconciled.]

ibid. p. 191, in 1600, described by Bellarmine as urging the Romanists in England "ad regem orthodoxum et pium constituendum."

¹ See Just Weights and Measures, c. xx. § 1.—The reference is to the "Large Examination of Mr. George Blakwel" (scil. the Archpriest Blackwell), Lond. 1607; and to the "Decachordon of Quodlibets," by William Watson, a secular priest, 4to. 1602; and a previous book of his in 1601, entitled "Important Considerations" &c. &c. against the Jesuits in defence of Queen Elizabeth's acts towards Romanists: and to the several publications of Roger Widdrington alias Thomas Preston on behalf of the Oath of Allegiance from 1611 to 1618. See also Camden, Annal., in an. 1570, p.

186; and in an. 1602, p. 845; ed. 1639: and Collier, Eccles. Hist., vol. ii. p. 697. See also the Protestation of Allegiance of January 31. 1603, signed however by only thirteen out of about 400 secular priests then in England, in Tierney's edition of Dod, vol. iii. p. 56.

^k Thorndike writes this in 1660: therefore but a few years after the publication of Pascal's Lettres Provinciales, and the controversy thereto belonging. Blackwell, however, in England, appears to have approved the book called A Treatise concerning Equivocations: see Andrewes, Tortura Torti, p. 14. note a, Anglo-Cath. edition.

^l Above in § 12. note c.

tied to renounce the damnable positions which they have notoriously set on foot. For if they should refuse this, what reason could be alleged, why they should be counted strangers to that infection, which they will not exclude? As for the other article of the creed, concerning one visible Church, it is evident that they cannot belong to that Church, supposing the premisses. For it is evident, that there was a time, when the whole Church was governed by bishops; and that not against God's law, for then there had remained no Church. And, therefore, for them to break the unity of the Church upon pretence of governing this Church by presbyters, is to break unity; unless a part may give law to the whole; which whoso do, are for so doing schismatics. And the Church of Rome would have due cause to cast us off for schismatics, if we should admit this pretence. But this is a point, the knowledge whereof cannot belong to the substance of Christianity, for the reason alleged before. And, therefore, I do not think the Church tied to exact the express profession of it, or the disclaiming of the error that is opposite to it. On the other side, the Church, maintaining the ordinations of presbyters alone to be mere nullities in themselves, can never own their ordinations with renouncing the catholic Church; yet may it consent in the persons, upon their consent to the order, which shall be established for the future^m. And, indeed, what can they challenge by the mere consent of certain presbyters, which the ministers of congregations may not pretend to by the consent of their respective congregations? And yet, I suppose, both parties are agreed not to own them in that power, which the celebration of the eucharist importeth. Let any man, that is capable to judge of such matters, think upon the madness of the Lancashire Presbyterians without prejudice; of whom I am duly informed, that they caused those, who were ordained only deacons in the Church of England, to do the office of presbyters (which they had no title to) in celebrating the eucharist: and tell me what reason there can be, excluding the ordinations of

^m Compare Bramhall's Life, prefixed to his Works, vol. i. pp. xxiv., xxxvii.:—and Mant, Hist. of Ch. of Ireland, c. ix. sect. 1; vol. i. pp. 623—626:—

and Thorndike's own Just Weights and Measures, c. xviii. § 4; and Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xiv.

the Congregations, to admit the usurpations of the Presbyterians. As for the form and solemnity, in which the consent of the Church to their ordinations shall be celebrated, therein I refer myself to the wisdom of superiors; thinking it would be a greater impertinence in the Presbyterians, if, finding a necessity of submitting those, whom they have already promoted, to the judgment of the Church, for the condition upon which they are to minister (which without doubt is the principal), they should insist upon the accessory, which is the form and solemnity by which the power is visibly conveyed^a. And thus I think the second great difficulty, concerning their ordinations, may be composed.

§ 20. Now, supposing these great difficulties set aside, [Of our original differences with the Presbyterians, about the order of bishops, and the service.] the composing of our first differences, about the order of bishops, and the service, cannot seem difficult, if the parties be content to give up their engagements, to the advantage, which the Christianity of the nation may have by it. For what reasonable Christian can think much to acknowledge, that by reason of those partialities, which at length have produced this schism, the ecclesiastical laws of the land are capable of amendment in those two points? On the other side, doth not dear experience tell all parts, that the change of them by force, though it must be called reformation if the law of the land call it so, yet is not likely to be that which it is called? Besides, consider the kindness which his majesty's return, and God's goodness, That hath overruled men's hearts in it, hath bred in all parties consenting to it. For can we have this before us, and not hope, that it will be enough to subdue all prejudices and animosities to the interest of our common Christianity? Had the peace of the Church never been questioned, it might be charity in a discreet Christian not to call it into question by proposing what might be amended; because the hope of amendment might not countervail the danger of that peace. But now that unity is not to be had without settling of agreement in matters of difference, to propose what may seem best for the community of God's Church, in the cure of our breaches, is not to give offence but to take it away.

§ 21. I will therefore premise here one consideration, [Of forsaking all

^a See below in the Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xii.

things, according to our Lord's precept.] which I mean to assume for a supposition, to ground that which I shall propose to this purpose. It shall contain that, which I observe in the New Testament, and the primitive practice of God's Church pointing out the meaning of it, concerning the difference between the clergy and people in all Churches, and the ground of it. For though the edict of ²³⁷ our Lord in the Gospel be peremptory, that whoso forsaketh not all things, "cannot be My disciple," that is, a Christian (for they, who were otherwhiles called "disciples," were "called Christians at Antiochia," as we read in the Acts); yet common reason evinceth, that all disciples professed not to forsake the world (which we all profess to forsake at our baptism) according to the same rate. For we see by the Gospel, that the voluntary oblations of those who followed our Lord, ministering to Him, made a stock of money, which Judas was trusted with, for charity to the poor after that His followers were provided for. But it is against the evidence of common sense to imagine, that all those, who professed to follow Christ and to be His disciples, were provided for out of this stock. It is true, our Lord promiseth in the Gospel, that "whosoever shall forsake kindred or wife or house or goods for the Gospel, shall receive an hundred-fold here, and in the world to come life everlasting:" a thing visibly fulfilled in the primitive state of the Church; when whosoever was persecuted for Christianity, all Christians acknowledged themselves bound to provide for his support. Neither can it be said, how St. Paul's saying,—that "godliness hath the promises of this life and of that which is to come,"—could be otherwise fulfilled; when those, who had undertaken Christ's cross, were subject to powers that did or might persecute Christianity at their pleasure. But though all Christians, in case of persecution, are bound by their baptism to leave all they have, that they may carry Christ's cross after Him; yet it was something more that St. Peter meant, when he said, "Lord, we have left all to follow Thee; what shall we have?" For though a net and a fisher-boat were no great thing to leave; yet so firm a faith as to forsake a man's whole course of living, casting himself upon the word of Christ for his very being, whether here or in the world to come, is suitable to the promise that follows, of

[Luke xiv.
26.]

[Acts xi.
26.]

[Luke viii.
2, 3; John
xii. 6.]

[Matt. xix.
29; Mark
x. 29, 30;
Luke xviii.
29, 30.]

[1 Tim. iv.
8.]

[Matt. xix.
27; Mark
x. 28;
Luke xviii.
28.]

“sitting upon twelve thrones to judge the twelve tribes of [Matt. xix. 23.] Israel.” The Christians of Jerusalem, who parted with their estates, that the disciples might be maintained in their daily attendance upon God’s service, cannot be said to have obtained thereby any common rank in the Church. But it must be said, that, quitting their former course and state of living by quitting the means of maintaining it, they became 238 from thenceforth either of the clergy or of the poor which were always maintained out of the stock of the Church°. For by St. Paul’s instruction to Timothy, 1 Tim. v., it appeareth, that those widows, which were employed and maintained by the Church for the common necessities of it, were to be taken out of such as were destitute of means to live otherwise.

§ 22. Herewith agreeth an infinite number of examples in [The state of the clergy imports the forsaking of the world.] the primitive Church, of godly bishops, priests, and others of the clergy: who, taking upon them such professions, divested themselves of their worldly goods; whether applying them to the property, or only to the use, of the Church, as reserving themselves power to dispose of them in favour of friends or kindred at their death. And from the same reason and ground proceed all the canons, whereby it was provided, that they should not dispose of the Church-goods to such uses at death; but of their own, well and good^p. For whatsoever their estates were, though they renounced them not, yet it became necessary for them to live as others of the clergy lived^q; who were generally poor when they were promoted, and therefore professed to content themselves with mere necessities, because the Church-goods, of which they lived, were due to the maintenance of the poor as well as of the clergy. From whence we may see, what truth there is in those sayings of the fathers, which make the precepts of our Lord in His Sermon upon the Mount matters of counsel^r.

* See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. x. § 6; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 41, sq.; Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 5—7; and Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xvi. § 22, sq.

^p See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. x. § 6: and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxii. § 32: and S. Augustin and others quoted by Bingham, V.

vi. 4, 6.

^q So S. Aug., Serm. l. de Diversis sive De Communi Vita Clericorum, i. e. Serm. cccvi. ed. Bened., § 13: Op. tom. v. p. 1389. F: quoted by Bingham, *ibid*.

^r See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxii. § 32. note r.

[Matt. v.
39, 40;
Luke vi.
29.]

For if all Christians be to leave all things that they may follow Christ, it is certain that they are commanded, and not only advised, to "turn the other cheek," to quit a man's "coat" to him that "takes away" his "cloak," to undergo the rest of those precepts whereby our Lord describeth the duty of a Christian; provided they be so understood, as the maintenance of a man's estate in the world, and the obligations which it inferreth, even by virtue of that Christianity which alloweth the same, will require. But if there be another estate in the Church, of disciples which profess to follow Christ, leaving the employment of the world for that purpose; and, therefore, to forbear the pleasures and profits thereof accordingly: that strict rate and that high degree, in which they profess to leave the world to follow Christ, must needs be mere matter of counsel; because no man is commanded to undertake that estate, but invited to it, for the securing of his salvation, who knows he may be saved without it. Whereby it appears, that this estate imports a²³⁹ profession of abstinence from the pride, the revenge, the lusts and pleasures, of the world, as well as from the riches of it; as well of the humility, the patience, the continence, the meekness, and obedience of our Lord, as of the mean estate in which He lived: but that, for the means to compass this end, it imports, first, a profession of renouncing the rank and estate which every man holds in the world, and of dedicating himself to the service of the Church, and that employment which tends to the common good of Christians.

[How far
it also im-
ports the
state of
single life.]

§ 23. If it should be inferred from hence, that the state of the clergy, importing the forsaking of the world at this extraordinary rate, must therefore import the profession of single life, as some of the Church of Rome would have it; the answer is, that it will not follow*. And the instance is peremptory;—that the apostles themselves, who thus left the world, did not profess it. And if, by undertaking the clergy, a man was not obliged to renounce his goods; as appears by those canons, which enable the clergy to dispose of them at death[†]; much less doth that estate import a profession of single life; being more difficult to perform, than to live as a clergyman

* See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxii. § 24, sq.

† See above, § 22. note p.

upon the Church-goods. For it is possible for them, who have wives, to live as if they had them not, according to St. Paul; no otherwise than it is possible for them, who have the dispensing of Church-goods, to use them as if they used them not. The reason of single life for the clergy is firmly grounded by the fathers and canons of the Church upon the precept of St. Paul, forbidding man and wife to part, unless for a time, to attend upon prayer. For priests and deacons being continually to attend upon occasions of celebrating the eucharist, which ought continually to be frequented; if others be to abstain from the use of marriage for a time for that purpose, then they always*. And this is the reason, that prevailed so far, even in the primitive times, that the instances, which are produced to the contrary during those times², seem to argue no more than dispensation in a rule, which had the force of a law, when an exception took not place: that is, when those, that were thought necessary for the service of the Church, thought not fit to tie themselves to live single.

[1 Cor. vii. 29.]

[1 Cor. vii. 5.]

§ 24. But this profession was evidently the ground for that discipline, which was used all over the Church, in breeding youth from tender years to such a strict course of life, as only use and custom is able to render agreeable to man's nature. And to this education and discipline, all the authority and credit of the clergy over the people is to be imputed; the dissolution whereof is the true occasion of the miseries which we have seen. For did the people think themselves tied to depend upon the clergy for their instructions, to admit their admonitions and reproofs in matter of religion (that is, did the discipline and education of the clergy maintain them in that authority with the people); it is not possible, that the pride, which hath been seen in setting up new religions and giving new laws to the Church, should take place. But this authority is not to be preserved without retirement from the world; that is, from conversation with the people, of what rank or degree soever, whether upon pretence of profit or pleasure. And, therefore, being once lost by the debauches of the clergy before the

[Discipline of the early Church in the education of clergy.]

* See S. Jerom, as quoted in the Epilogue, *ibid.* § 28. note i.

* See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 35. note q.

Reformation, it is not to be restored without restoring the ground of it, the said education and discipline: nor, by consequence, the Reformation to be counted complete otherwise; supposing always the Reformation to be the restoring of that Church which hath been, not the building of that which hath not been. The same education and discipline is, by the express canons of the Church, the ground of that title, upon which promotion is due to the clergy in their respective Churches⁷. For what is more against the rules of the Church, than to take such men for priests and bishops of such Churches, as men know not how they behaved themselves in lower degrees? Those, that talk of the interest of the people in ecclesiastical promotions without supposing this ground, do allege nothing but their own dreams, to bring their own dreams to pass.

[Concurrence of presbyters with their bishop not hard to settle aright.]

§ 25. Having this premised, I must needs say I see no manner of inconvenience in that, which the Presbyterians pretend for the chief cause of their distance; that is, the concurrence of presbyters with their bishops in ordinations and the jurisdiction of the Church: provided it be settled in that form, which, being grounded upon the rule of the Catholic Church, may tend to restore and advance the common Christianity.

[The primitive rule constitutes each city a Church.]

§ 26. Now I take the rule of the Church to be as evidently this, as the common Christianity is evident; that every city, with the territory thereof, be the seat, and content of a Church⁸. For though it hath been used with so much difference in several parts and times of the Church, that those 241 countries, which somewhiles and somewhere might have been cast into fourscore Churches, have otherwhiles and elsewhere been cast into four; yet these are but exceptions to a rule, which the law saith do not destroy but confirm it. For in matters concerning the whole, the unity of the whole may as well be preserved by the concurrence of four, as of fourscore.

[English dioceses]

§ 27. The Churches (that is, according to this rule, the

⁷ See Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxii. § 35. note t: and Just Weights and Measures, c. xxiv. § 4.

⁸ Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. iii.: Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. xi. § 2, 10; Rt. of

Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii.: Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. vi. § 18; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xviii. § 8: &c.

dioceses) of England, have been constituted and distinguished upon occasion of the sovereignties, in which, and by consent whereof, the Christianity of the nation was first planted. He, that considers with half an eye, shall easily see, how the conversion of Kent, of the East, and South, and West Saxons, of the East Angles, and Mercians, and lastly of Northumberland, produced the foundation of English Churches^a. For of the British foundations in the west parts of the island, from the two Forths to the Land's End, the same account is to be kept; the dominion of the Britons being for some time divided into several sovereignties^b.

§ 28. He, that is convicted of this truth (which no man can be convicted of but he that considereth the case, but whoso considereth the case must needs stand convict of it), will easily grant me, that when the monarchy prevailed, and England came to be divided into counties, the general rule of the Church would have required another course to have been observed. For had the head town of every county been made the seat of a Church containing that county, no man, that surveys the division of the Roman empire into Churches (made without the secular power, as before Constantine^c), will deny, that the division so made would have been more correspondent to the primitive form, tending to the unity of the whole.

§ 29. But let no man think, that, for the love of such a correspondence, I have any itch to call in question the unity of the whole. The alteration is great, and must needs pro-

arose from the several original Saxon kingdoms.]

[And should now follow, were it possible, the division of counties.]

[Proposed colleges of presbyters in each shire-town]

^a Scil. in Kent, Canterbury the metropolitical see, and the bishopric of Rochester; in the East Saxon kingdom, London; in Sussex, Selsey (afterwards transferred to Chichester): in Wessex, Dorchester (in Oxfordshire), divided ultimately into Lincoln, Winchester, Sherborne and Sarum, Crediton and Exeter, Bath and Wells, Ely, and the still later sees of Oxford and Peterborough: and probably also Worcester, Hereford, and finally Bristol and Gloucester: in the East Anglian kingdom, Dunwich, transferred successively to Elmham, Thetford, Norwich: in Mercia, Lichfield, out of which came the sees of possibly Worcester, and ultimately Chester, and others: in Northumberland, York for the southern division of the kingdom, and Lindisfarn

and Hexham (planted from Scotland), and ultimately Durham, and long after, Carlisle, for the northern. See Godwin, *De Præsulibus*.

^b The coincidence of civil with ecclesiastical divisions in Wales is not so clear as in England. See Godwin, *ibid*. The Cornish Britons were under a bishop of S. Petroc and then S. German's from the year 905. Previously to that time there had been British sees in the West, as e.g., that of Congresbury, of which the last bishop, Daniel, died A.D. 721 (*Ussher, Antiq. Brit. Eccl.*, cc. v., xiii.; *Works*, tom. v. pp. 87, 540).

^c See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xix. § 8. notes r, s; c. xx. § 8, sq.

that has no
cathedral
church.]

duce a great motion to ingraff it into the laws of the kingdom. And, therefore, I am not of opinion to change the law for hope of amendment, with so much appearance of danger to the being of the whole. But I am of opinion, that it would be easy to erect presbyteries, that is, colleges of presbyters, in all shire-towns which have no cathedral churches, for the ecclesiastical government of the respective counties 242 with and under the bishops; and that so the rule of the Church would be set on work to the best effect and purpose^d. For those towns have commonly churches altogether unprovided of means, through the horrible sacrileges that have passed; and yet, in common reason (agreeing with the wisdom of God's Spirit, from whence the rule of episcopacy issued), ought to be nurseries of Christianity to the respective counties. And that intent cannot so well be brought to effect, as by planting the wisest, and those that have most of the clergy in their lives, in the most eminent places, with authority next to the chief over their respective bounds. By the ministry of such persons, the offices of God's service might so be performed in the chief places, as might be a pattern for their country-churches to follow. These presbyters might grow up, by education, in that discipline of the clergy, which I have recommended upon the experience of the whole Church. They might live a collegiate life in common, exercising a care and inspection over inferiors; together with the charge of instructing, or seeing them instructed, in the Scriptures. The canon of the whole Church, confining all degrees of the clergy to their respective Churches, might be revived by their means; the superseding whereof, being certainly one of the irregularities of the papacy, hath conducted much to the dissolution of discipline in the Church*. For, in conscience, how can he, that is obliged to any Church, give account of himself to another, to which the first is not subordinate? And, therefore, though the presbyteries which I propose be not Churches, yet may they take account of their respective clergy, and render it to their bishops^f. The promotion of inferior orders, belonging unto their account,

^d See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xiv. c. xxiv. § 1, sq.

^e 5, 6.

^f See Just Weights and Measures,

^f See the Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxiii. at the end.

may proceed upon the account which they give. The censures, that are requisite to pass *in foro exteriori*, may pass them in the first instance; and from them being transmitted to the bishop, be either enacted or voided: always with right of appeal to the synod of the province in cases of weight, and in the intervals thereof to their deputies; to which purpose and in which nature, the High Commission^s ought to be revived. For as it is by no means to be allowed, that the bishop's negative be any way questioned; so is it no way fit, that the consent of bishop and presbyters both be concluded
243 in one and the same instance.

§ 30. As for those dioceses which are concluded within only one county; there, I suppose, I need not say, that the chapter of the cathedral are by inheritance this presbytery. [The chapters such colleges where there are cathedrals.]

§ 31. Now these colleges of presbyters consisting of those only, that shall have run the whole course of their lives in the education and discipline of the clergy; is there any possible pretence of burden upon them, if the condition of single life should be required to qualify them for their places? [The condition of single life to be required of them.] For this were not to tie any man to single life; seeing, who will, may go forth, and be provided of a country church; but it were to maintain the discipline of the clergy in the most eminent places, wherein there is a course proposed to them, who embrace it, of ending their days in it. And the course of a collegiate life, which I propose, seemeth a sufficient means and advantage to overcome those temptations, which in these days may seem too difficult for all the clergy to undergo.

§ 32. As for the means of supporting these presbyteries, wherein the cure of all parishes within the shire-towns is provided for and included: it is no difficulty to him, that considers with conscience, that originally the endowment of the diocese was the patrimony of the mother-church; and afterwards appropriated to parish-churches, by abating the right of the mother-church, upon particular contracts, appearing to be for the good of the parts. For if the mother-church have abated so much of her common right, when it was for the good of the parishes; is it not necessary, that the parishes now abate of their property in their respective

^s See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. iv. § 18; and Review of it, c. iv. § 14. note t.

endowments by pensions to these colleges, now they appear to be for the good of the diocese?

[Advantages of the proposed plan.]

§ 33. And this I am now bold to profess, though superiors do not go before in it^b: because I am confident, that by this position I abate not a hair of that power which the bishops in England now use; but I add much to the strictness of discipline (that is, in effect, of Christianity), by requiring all ordinations, all acts of jurisdiction *in foro exteriori*, to pass both the presbyters and the bishop in several instances. And further than this I extend not the opinion of a divine to particulars, but leave the rest entire to the wisdom of superiors. And this may serve to shew, that there is no cause, why the difference on foot concerning the government of the Church may not settle into a change conducing to the advancement of the common Christianity.

[Of the other difficulty, respecting the service of God in church.]

§ 34. Which will hold still stronger in the other, concerning the service; if men take their measures by the common interest of Christianity, not by their particular prejudices. For I conceive I may well suppose, that the sectaries' pretence of praying by the Spirit is content to be buried in oblivion and silence; considering, that the excesses are evident and horrible, which that pretence hath brought forth: besides that no man now stands to that dangerous position, —that the offices of God's service are of no effect, when they are ministered by such as are not in the state of grace. For I presume it is not nor can be supposed on any hand, that all, whom the Church must employ, are endowed with God's Spirit; that is, are in the state of grace.

[What may be taken for granted in the matter.]

§ 35. I suppose further, as not questioned on any hand, that the public service of God is to consist of the praises of God (by the Psalms of David, and other hymns of God's Church), of the reading of the Scriptures, of the instruction of God's people out of them; in fine, of the prayers of the Church, and, in the chief place, of the sacrament of the eucharist, and those prayers which it is to be celebrated with. Some of our sects have been bold to pretend, that the Psalter or Psalms of David are impertinent to the devotions of Christians; as concerning the particular condition

^b "Before the judgment of superiors be declared"—ed. 1660.

of David, and composed with regard to it^l. Whereby they overthrow the foundation of Christianity: standing upon this supposition,—that the Old Testament is the figure and shadow of the New, and that Christ hath “the key” of the writings as well as of “the house of David^k.” For, seeing Christ and His mystical body the Church are all one, the meaning and intent of the Psalms cannot concern Christ but it must end in His Church. But seeing the Church is but shadowed in the Psalms, being part of the Old Testament; I can expect no dispute of the necessity of other hymns, composed under Christianity, in the solemnizing of God’s public service. And seeing the question on foot concerns the settling of the form of God’s service by a law of the kingdom; there can remain no dispute concerning the necessity of a settled order in reading the Scriptures, and using the Psalms and hymns of the Church. Nor do I know any man, sincerely professing the Reformation, that could not wish with all his heart, that the whole order and form to be settled^l, with the circumstance of the same, might be accord-
 245 ing to the primitive simplicity and naked plainness of the ancient Church; supposing the difference between the state in which the Church lived under persecution, and now, that, being protected by the secular power, it receiveth all the world to take part in the service of God. For what difference this will infer in the order and rule of God’s service, to be enacted by a law of this kingdom, common reason, and the perpetual practice of God’s Church, together with the precedents recorded in Scripture, must be admitted to witness.

§ 36. These things supposed, no man doubts, that the form of service now in force by the law of this land may be acknowledged capable of amendment, without disparagement either to the wisdom of the Church that prescribed, or of the nation that enacted it. For what positive law of man is there that is not? Nay, what arrogance can it be in a particular person (having bestowed more consideration upon it, than it is possible that those who had the framing of it should have leisure to do), to think, that he knows some particulars, in which it might be mended? For neither doth it follow,

[Isai. xxii.
22: Apoc.
iii. 7.]

[Our present Service-Book may be acknowledged capable of amendment.]

^l See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Church, c. xxii. § 20. note 1: and Just Weights and Mea-

sures, c. xv. § 3.

^k See Epilogue, ibid. § 21.

^l “which shall be settled”—ed. 1660.

that it is better to endanger the spoiling of it by calling it in question, than to let it rest as it is: and that particular person, whosoever he is, that should think his own opinion necessary to be followed without compromising it to the public, would justly incur the mark of arrogance. Since, therefore, that this is the time for such a debate, if any change be pretended; and that the reasons mentioned afore are of sufficient consideration to oblige all sides to prefer unity before prejudice: what remains, but that either it be left entire in that state wherein it stands, or that nothing be changed without sufficient debate of reason upon the whole, what is fit to be changed, what not.

[The Presbyterian Directory as great an abuse as the Romish form and order of Service.]

§ 37. But one thing I must here expressly stand upon; because the form of God's service, which hath been usurped during the schism, protesteth against the law in force. I acknowledge, that the whole Reformation protesteth against the insufficiency and defects of the Church of Rome in the course which it taketh for the instruction of Christian people in the duties of their Christianity; against the abuses there practised in celebrating the eucharist without any pretence of a communion, in private masses, and in serving God in a language which the people understand not. For these abuses are a principal part of the ground for that change, which we ²⁴⁶ justly maintain to be reformation: the boldness of those, that opposed it, being come to such a height, as openly to maintain, that it concerneth not Christian people to know or to mind what is done at the mass (being the ordinary service of God, for which they come to church), or what is said; but that the intention of the priest is enough to apply the sacrifice of Christ to all that are present (which they think it doth no less to them that are absent, and therefore leave us unsatisfied why people should come to church), who need do nothing but say their *Paters* and their *Aves*^m. These abuses I do acknowledge. But be the world my witness, and all that know what hath passed for the matter of religion in the world; was it ever protested by those, who demanded reformation in the Church, that the eucharist ought to be celebrated but four times or twelve times in the year?

^m See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. iv. § 24; and c. xxiv. at length.

that by God's law there ought to be two sermons every Sunday in every church? that other festivals beside the Sunday, and set times of fasting, ought not to be solemnized with the service of God? that the church-doors ought not to be open but when there is preachingⁿ? Take the primitive practice of the Church along with the Scripture, and they shall tell you another tale;—that prayer, and the praises of God, is the more principal end of Christian assemblies, than preaching. The reason is unanswerable; for the one is the end, the other the means. That the celebration of the eucharist is the most principal office of God's service under Christianity, is no less evident^o. For other offices are common to Judaism: this, consisting most in prayers, consists of those prayers which are proper to Christianity; that is, to those causes wherein our salvation consisteth. And can there be question, how frequent it ought to be? Shall not the practice of the whole Church from the beginning decide the question, if any remain? The single life of the clergy prevailed for this end, that they might be always ready to celebrate the eucharist; say the fathers and the canons, which I alleged afore^p. It is a question in Gennadius, *De Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis*^q, whether every man ought to communicate every day or not: but therefore no question, that it ought to be celebrated every day, that whoso would might communicate. In conscience, would they be bound to preach every day, 247 that are so much for preaching? After the reading of the Scripture follows the sermon, and after that the eucharist. This is the primitive order of the whole Church at that solemn service, when the eucharist (on fasting-days in the evening, on other days before noon) was celebrated^r. After the Scriptures were read, the people were taught their duty out of them. A thing necessary and possible. Not that every curate should be bound to declaim by the glass; but that he shall be bound to instruct his parish out of the Scrip-

ⁿ See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii.; and Review of it, c. viii.; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 96; Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., cc. xxi.—xxiii., xxv.

^o See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. vi. § 17, c. vii. § 7; Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. i. § 2:

&c. &c.

^p § 23.

^q Quoted in Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxv. § 20. note f.

^r See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 36—43.

tures which are read. If he be tied to preach as often as the church-door opens, the church-door must be shut; because no sides can hold out, so oft as Christians ought to meet for God's service. I call the world to witness; is it not as much a work of lungs and sides, as an office of God's service, which takes up the time of their Church-assemblies? Is not the way opened by this means to declaim of public government in Church and state, to entertain the hearers? For alas, should men confine themselves to that which the generality of their audience might edify by in their Christianity, the trade would be obstructed.

[Horrible evils of the fashion both of preaching and of praying among the Sectaries and Presbyterians.]

§ 38. For let me freely say, the undoubted truth of the common Christianity (which no sermons ought to exceed, because they pretend the edification of the generality of Christians) is contained in so narrow a compass, that no eloquence (much less the eloquence of all that must come into the pulpit) can change the seasoning and serving of it, so as to make it agreeable to men's palates, without fetching in matter impertinent, if not destructive, to the common Christianity. And the same is, for more peremptory reason, to be said of arbitrary prayers. For the very posture of him, that pretendeth to prefer the devotions of God's people to the altar which is above, strongly impresseth upon the hearts of simple Christians an opinion, that thereby they discharge to God the duty which He requires at their hands*. Which, if the matter of those prayers be such as the common Christianity requires, they may do indeed. But if it be possible, that rebellion, slander, nonsense, and blasphemy, may be the matter of them, as well as Christianity; then is it not religion but superstition, which such devotions exercise: nor can that kingdom stand excused to God, which shall gratify that licentiousness, whereof they see the effect before their eyes. All reason of Christianity concurs with the practice of the whole Church, to witness†, that the interest of Christianity requires the service of God to be maintained and exercised daily (yea hourly, were it possible), not only by particular Christians, but by assemblies of Christians, so far as the

* "which their creation and redemption requires at their hands"—ed. 1660.

† See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the

Laws of the Ch., c. xxi. § 56, 57; and Just Weights and Measures, c. xvii. § 1.

business of the world will give leave, and as there is means to maintain men's attendance upon it. There may come abuse in the order, the form, the matter, of that which is tendered to God for His service. But, instead of reforming those abuses, to take away the means, the rule, the obligation of such meetings, is mere sacrilege, in destroying (under pretence of reforming) God's Church.

§ 39. And though I charge no such design upon those, who maintain the obligation of the Sabbath to consist in two sermons; yet I do maintain it is manifest to common reason, that the form which that opinion introduceth necessarily tends to that effect. Strange it is, that a nation capable of sense, in an age improved by learning, should be entangled with the superstition of so vain an imagination;—that God by the same fourth commandment should oblige both Jews to keep the Saturday and Christians the Sunday:—especially, no man daring to maintain, that both were or are tied to the same measure of resting^u. And therefore, though, rather than cross the stream of such a superstition (for let no man think, that all superstition can be shut out of God's Church), there may be reason to live conformable to the rules which such superstition produceth^v; yet, provided that the ecclesiastical laws of England, agreeing with the laws of the whole Church, be not abated, so as to stick an evident mark of schism upon the Church of England. For the law that is, recommending the celebration of the eucharist upon all Sundays and festivals, but commanding the service to be used as well on festivals and fasting days as upon Sundays (besides the week days) at the public assemblies of respective congregations^x; to change this order for two sermons on the

[Sunday not the Sabbath, nor doth its obligation consist in two sermons.]

^u See Epilogue, Bk. I. of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxi. § 10—13; Bk. III. of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxi. § 2—26: and Just Weights and Measures, c. xxiii. § 6.

^v "I am ready to conform to the order that shall take place, so far as the strength of my body shall inable me"—ed. 1660: instead of the sentence from "there may be" to "produceth."

^x See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 44.—The first Book of Edw. VI. orders, that the Communion Service up to the Offertory inclusive shall be

said by the priest "*upon Wednesdays and Fridays*," and also upon "all other days whensoever the people be customarily assembled to pray in the church, and none disposed to communicate with the priest" (1st and 2nd rubrics after Communion Service). But the 2nd Book of Edw. VI. altered this into merely "the holy-days." And so it stood when Thorndike first published this tract in 1660. In the review after the Restoration, i. e. before the second edition of the tract, the rubric was altered into "the Sundays and other holy-days."

Sunday alone, what is it but to renounce the whole Church, for the love of those, that have divided from the Church of England upon causes common to it with the whole Church.

[A greater number of services, so that all may attend church, the proper way to keep Sundays.] § 40. They, that would have the reformation of the Church to be indeed that, which the law of the land calleth it, should first provide a course to be established for law, by which all Christian souls (who have equal interest in the common salvation) might serve God in public all Sundays and festivals. 249 For seeing there was a course in law before the Reformation, for all servants, as well as others, to be at mass all Sundays and festivals⁷; and the Church was enabled to require account of it at their hands: it will not be reformation to abrogate the abuses of the mass, till a course be taken, that all Christians may frequent that, which shall appear to be indeed the service of God instead of the mass. Let no preachers flatter themselves with an opinion, that they shall ever make Christians so perfectly Jews, as to persuade them to dress no meat on the Sundays^a. If servants must stay at home to dress meat on Sundays (and for other occasions they must stay at home, besides that), will not the way to repair that breach be, to enjoin several assemblies in all parish-churches upon all Sunday mornings; that several persons, of several estates and qualities, may have opportunity to attend the public service of God at several hours of the same Sundays and holy-days? For though I understand very well, that this would impose upon the Church (that is, upon my brethren of the clergy) a greater burden than an afternoon's meal of a sermon (which, all men know, is furnished of the cold meat of the forenoon); yet it is necessary, that the world should be cleared of this imposture that reigneth,—that two sermons every Sunday is the due way of keeping the Sabbath among Christians, or of advancing God's public service.

[The Lent-fast.] § 41. I will not here dispute, that the Lent-fast was instituted by the apostles^a. But this I maintain to be evident, that the fast afore the resurrection of Christ is and was as ancient as the feast of His resurrection; and that more ancient than

⁷ See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 71. note i.

^a See *ibid.*, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxv. § 21.

^a See *Serv. of God at Rel. Ass.*,

c. viii. § 22—24; and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxi. § 32—38: and *Just Weights and Measures*, c. xviii. § 6.

the keeping of all Lord's days in the year, being merely the reflection of that one all the weeks of the year. Nor will any man, that knows what he says, ever question, that the enlarging of it to forty days is a just law, voluntarily undertaken by the whole Church, not to be condemned without the like mark of schism. For since the world is come into the Church, is there not manifest reason, that more time should be taken for the expiating of more sins, which are the sins of more people? to prepare, as well the elder, to renew their Christianity by communicating at Easter; as the younger, to be confirmed, and come first to the communion at Easter, now they are baptized infants? Which, in former ages, was the time of their first coming to baptism^b.

250 § 42. As for the Wednesdays and Fridays^c: if we "shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven, unless" our "righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees;" and if it be evident, as evident it is, that the Scribes and Pharisees prescribed Mondays and Thursdays for days of less solemn assemblies than the Sabbath: how shall we "enter into the kingdom of heaven," if, in despite of the whole Church, which hath hitherto used Wednesdays and Fridays in lieu of Mondays and Thursdays used by the synagogues, we void the law of England by which they are in force^d?

§ 43. Of the ceremonies the same is to be understood^e. Not because it can be within the compass of common reason to imagine, that the same ceremonies have continued, from the time that the Church was persecuted into "holes" and "caves of the earth," to this time, in which the question is of settling Christianity by the law of this kingdom. It were want of common understanding to think that the same could serve. But because so few and so innocent as we use, cannot be condemned, without condemning, not only God's whole Church, but also God's ancient people; who will evidently be found in the same cause.

§ 44. One thing hath been cast forth in bar to all this; which

^b See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. iv. § 10.

^c See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 20, 26, 33—36; and Review of it, c. viii. § 9; and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxi. § 53.

^d See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., as

in last note, § 33; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 14; Epilogue, as in last note.

^e See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. ix.: and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxx. § 6.

[The Wednesdays and Fridays.]

[Matt. v. 20.]

[Ceremonies.]

[Isai. ii. 19.]

[Four forms of

Reformation extant, those of Luther, Calvin, the Church of England, and the Bohemian Brethren.]

we must not swallow whole, unless we mean to impose upon ourselves. It is the pretence of complying with the Reformed Churches'. For it is evident, that there are four forms of Reformation extant; one according to Luther, another according to Calvin, the third is that of the Church of England, and in the last place (though first for time, because least known, and protected by no sovereign) I name that of the Union in Bohemia. For we are to know, that, the followers of John Huss having sent deputies to the council of Basil, they accorded to reunite the nation upon four articles; the chief whereof was the communion in both kinds. They, that stood to the accord, are to this day called thereupon *Calixtini*, or *sub utraque*, in Latin^s. But another part of those that were at distance, thinking themselves betrayed by their deputies in that accord, proceeded to settle themselves in a form of religion and the service of God, by that which they held the pure truth of God in all points that had been disputed. The emperor Ferdinand I. king of Bohemia, having subdued his subjects there, that rose with the Protestants in Germany, cast a good part of these out of the country: who, finding shelter in Polonia and Prussia, there planted and 251 propagated their form till the troubles of our time; when, by the emperor's victory in Bohemia, and the late troubles in Poland, they seem to be at a low ebb, though they impute it to the decay of their first discipline^h.

^f See Epilogue Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxv. § 7.

^g See Dupin, Eccl. Hist., Cent. xv. c. 7. p. 124, and Cent. xvi. Bk. ii. c. 31. pp. 185, sq.—The party opposed to the Calixtines were called Thaborites, and under their general Ziaca freed Bohemia from the dominion of the emperor Sigismund, 1418-24.

^h A short account of the Moravians may be found in the Christian's Miscellany for 1841, from the pen of the late Rev. A. P. Percival, entitled an Enquiry into the Episcopacy of the Moravians. The chief authorities are Crantz and Holme, who both wrote Histories of the Brethren; of which the former has been translated into English by Latrobe, 8vo. Lond. 1780: Joach. Camerar., Narrat. Histor. de Fratr. Orthod. Eccl. in Bohem. Morav. et Polonia, Heidelb. 8vo. 1605: Adrian Regenvolsch, Systema Historico—

Chronologicum Ecclesiarum Slavonicarum, 4to. Traj. ad Rhen. 1652: J. A. Comenius, Hist. Persecut. Eccl. Bohemicæ, 8vo. 1648; and Ratio Disciplinæ &c. Fratr. Bohem., 8vo. Amst. 1660: J. T. Elsner, Brevis Conspectus Doctrinæ Fratr. Bohem., ap. Gerdes. Miscell. Groning. tom. vi.: and the Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia, 1749.—The Moravians are descended from the Thaborite branch of the Hussites, who separated from the Calixtines and formed themselves into a Unitas Fratrum at Lititz on the borders of Silesia and Moravia in 1457. See Mosheim, Hist. Eccl., Bk. iii. Cent. xv. Pt. ii. c. iii. § 6, 7: and Bk. iv. Cent. xvi. sect. iii. Pt. ii. c. ii. § 24.—"Sed eheu! cum religionis libertate (ut fieri assolet) paulatim quoque succrescere cœpit vitæ licentia, disciplinaque (etiam apud quos viguit ante) dissolvi mirum in modum." &c. &c. . . . Et nos quidem

§ 45. They, that would reform the Church of England, professing already that reformation which it found best; will they not first shew us reason, why we are to leave Luther for Calvin? For if they mean his form, when they talk of conforming us to the Reformed Churches, because of the Scots' presbyteries; they must have better arguments, than either the learning or the Christianity of the Scottish presbyterians will yield, to persuade us. They say, those that framed the reformation in England, being bred under Melancthon among the Lutherans, followed them much an end in the order and form which they prescribed¹. But is that any reason for any change, before it appear which is in the right? I freely profess I find Melancthon the better learned, and the more Christian spirit. But the Church of England, which in divers points differeth from both; why should it be thought to follow either for any reason, but as either agrees with the Catholic Church? And for that I prefer the Unity of Bohemia before both². For they had the rule of Vincentius³ given them, to take their measure by the consent of the Catholic Church, and those things which have always and every where been professed and practised in it. And had they done nothing but what is justifiable by that rule, I should not blame them for that which I blame in them most. But where they agree

[Luther (or rather Melancthon) better than Calvin, but the Unity of Bohemia better than either.]

Omnipotentis iram, quæ supra gentem nostram juste adducta est, juste toleramus" &c. J. A. Comenius, in the *Eccl. Slavon. Brevis Historiola*, § 123, 127, &c. pp. 58, 60; prefixed to his *Ratio Discipl. &c. Fratr. Bohem.*, 8vo. 1660; proceeding to describe what he calls the "Ferdinandiana horrenda tempestas," and the "Ecclesia Bohem. plene dissipata, ab omnibus derelicta."—At the end of Comenius' book, which is dedicated to the English Church, is a tract by him, entitled *De Bono Unitatis et Ordinis Disciplinæque ac Obedientiæ in Ecclesia recte constituta vel constituenda Ecclesiæ Bohemicæ ad Anglicanam Parænesis*, Amst. 1660; dedicated to Charles II., and written expressly to aid the settlement of the English Church at the Restoration, "cui, cætera concordi, unica integro jam sæculo moleste jam agitata quæstio, de optima Ecclesiastici regiminis forma." Comenius adds, that "a me sane tale quiddam . .

a viris aliquot apud vos eximiis utriusque partis requisitum est, communicatio nempe regiminis Ecclesiarum nostrarum, quale fuit dum fuit." Possibly Thorndike himself was one of his correspondents. Comenius signs himself "Reliquiarum Ecclesiæ FF. Boh. Episcopus indignus, solus adhuc superates:" but that this last expression was not quite correct, see below in § 46. note m.

¹ Evidence for this may be found collected in the notes to Laurence's *Bampton Lectures*, Sermon i. and ii.

² "What the Convocation is doing, is but little as yet. There hath been something to do to bring Mr. Thorndike amongst us; for he doth not agree with them in all things, speaking much of the orders of the Bohemian Churches, called *Unitas Fratrum*." Worthington, *Diary and Letters*, p. 315.

³ See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the *Pr. of Chr. Tr.*, c. v. § 39, c. vii. § 20, sq.

not with Luther and Calvin, wherein do they not agree with the Church of England?

[Of the
succession
of bishops
in the Bo-
hemian
Unity.]

§ 46. In particular, they sent all over the world to inform themselves of a visible succession of bishops, whose profession was such, that they might derive the ordination of bishops for their Churches from their hands^m. They took the superstitions of the Greeks to be such, that they could not own it from them. In that I think they were in the wrong. For I doubt not the Greeks would have granted them ordination only under the profession of the Catholic Church; and that had been enough. But, thinking themselves in a strait of necessity, they chose twelve by lots; and, hearing that the Waldenses lived in Austria under bishops, deriving their succession from the time of Constantine (and therefore from the apostles), they sent them thither to be ordained, protesting 252 against their weakness in going to mass for fearⁿ. The protestation was admitted, and the persons ordained bishops. Now I take not upon me to maintain the truth of that in-

^m In 1467, being "afraid that it might not be a regular ordination, if a presbyter should create a presbyter, and not a bishop," the Moravians from Bohemia and Moravia, assembling at Lhota near Richnow, sent *three* men, chosen out of *nine*, by means of *twelve* lots, to seek a bishop: who "found Stephen bishop of the Waldenses," and after that he, "sending for the other bishop and some of the ministers, declared to them their descent from Constantine's time" &c., were created by them "bishops by imposition of hands" (Acta Unit. Frat., pp. 112, 113, from J. A. Comenius). This episcopacy after 1557 was divided into two lines: one, the original line, in Bohemia, which expired in 1670 at the death of J. A. Comenius; the other in Poland, which continued still in 1749, the present Moravians claiming through one Jablonsky, chaplain to the king of Prussia in 1710. "In 1650 there were three bishops living; one of the Bohemian line, J. A. Comenius, and two of the Polish, Martin Gertichius, and John Bythner" (ibid. p. 114).—Comenius, in his *Historiola* (as quoted above in § 44. note h) § 129. p. 60, speaks of the Bohemian Churches as "hinc papali inde Turcico jugo pressæ, aut etiam multiformibus Ecclesiæ Græcæ superstitionibus obrutæ:" and ibid. § 46.

p. 19, he relates an attempt in A.D. 1450 on the part of the Hussite archbishop Rokyzain to obtain union with and orders from the Greek Church, which was broken off.—Also in § 66, 67. p. 26, he relates a subsequent mission (in 1486) of the Brethren, consisting of four men, who "iverunt . . . primus Græciam, alter Muscoviam et Russiam, tertius Thraciam et Bulgariam, quartus Asiam, Palestrinam, Ægyptum, lustraturi: qui omnes domum reversi, nihil præter corruptissimam omnia, Christianosque ceu ex composito in vitia et superstitiones effusos nuntiarunt."—And in § 68. ibid. another mission is mentioned to the Waldenses in Italy and France, whom they found almost annihilated by persecution.

ⁿ "Placuit doctrinæ puritas" (scil. of the Waldenses), "vitæque Christianæ studium, summe. Dispicuit autem quod veritatem occultarent, nec profiterentur libere: quin evitandi persecutiones studio, papistica templa frequentarent sacrisque idololatricis communicarent." J. A. Comenius, *Historiola* as above quoted, § 62. p. 24. The Bohemian Brethren, however, carefully distinguished themselves from the Waldenses. They had received orders from them, but no more.

formation concerning the succession of these bishops, whereupon they proceeded. But they being reasonably persuaded of it, and not knowing how to proceed otherwise (through a mistake or an exigent, which they could not overcome), and settling themselves upon an innocent presumption; why should the effect of these ordinations seem questionable? For under these bishops they have subsisted from that day to this.

§ 47. And with what conscience is it demanded, for conformity to the Reformation, that we acknowledge them priests who are ordained against bishops?—if we do not, we shall condemn those Reformed Churches, which have no bishops.—Is it the fashion, that a man quit his cloak because his fellow hath none? Or is it any thing else, to renounce a good title because they cannot plead it? There was a good expedient in the ancient Church, to refer things to God, which could not be decided without a breach in the Church. Let their zeal against the abuses of the Church of Rome be counted pardonable with God, which caused them to think the order of bishops a support of antichrist; whenas the Papacy is visibly raised upon the rights of bishops, which it engrosseth. Let the difficulty of procuring ordinations and having bishops render them excusable to God^p. Those that are ordained by presbyters against bishops, on purpose to set up altar against altar, how can we count them ordained, refusing the concurrence of the Church to their ordinations? They, that would tie us to comply with the Reformation, are first to shew us, that the Unity of Bohemia is no part of it; and that their reformation is not to be preferred, either before that of Luther, or that of Calvin. For can we acknowledge the ordinations of presbyters against their bishops, and not condemn them, that sought all over the world for bishops to ordain them bishops, that the bishops so ordained might ordain them presbyters?

[The Church of England should comply with *their* reformation rather than with theirs who are ordained by presbyters against bishops.]

§ 48. But not only in this prime point of our differences, but also in the difference of the clergy from the people, in the three orders of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, in the mat-
 253 ter of justification, and the eucharist, of confirmation, and penance, of the festivals and fasts of the Church, and of

[Other points of resemblance between the Church of England and the

* See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 65.

^p See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xiv. § 3;

Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 56—62: Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxv. § 7.

Bohemian
Unity, and
especially
in the mat-
ter of pen-
ance.]

divers orders and institutions of less consequence, their profession agreeth with the ancient Church, and the Church of England, where it departeth from both Luther and Calvin^a. In the matter of penance (though with much humility) they tell the Lutherans roundly they have but one of the keys, viz. that of loosing, but bind not; as pronouncing absolution without enjoining of penance^r. The discipline of Geneva they magnify indeed, as they find it described by Bodine, in his *Method of Histories*^s; but they distinguish not, whether they mean the civil discipline, which the laws of that state enforce, or that which the power of the keys, exercised there according to Calvin, doth constitute. For the civil law of a Christian state (especially, no bigger than that of Geneva) may settle such a discipline over the outward man, as may restrain from the outward act of sin, without mortifying the inward man to the inward love of God. The late usurper's army we have seen well disciplined against the ordinary vices of the camp; who, appearing now to have been then enemies to their country, are thereby discovered not to have followed the reward of Christians, but of soldiers. And the laws of Christian states, by the means of Christianity which they maintain, may reach to the mortifying of sin, and the quickening of righteousness at the heart; but of themselves, being civil laws, and proposing no further reward or punishment than that good which a man's country signifies, they reach no further than the outward man, for the better or for the worse. Nor is it of any greater consequence to Christianity, that the outward act of sin or virtue is repressed or encouraged by the rewards and penalties of civil laws. But when the dis-

^a For the order of the FF. Bohemi, see Comenius, *Ratio Disciplinae* &c. For their doctrine respecting the eucharist, see Elsner's tract quoted above in § 44. note h. And for these and the other points mentioned in the text, see the Confessions of Faith of the Bohemian Brethren, under the titles of *Confessio Bohemica*, *Consensus Poloniarum*, &c., in the *Corpus Confessionum Fidei*, Genev. 1654: and the abstract in Dupin, as quoted above in § 44. note g.

^r See Comenius, *Historiola*, § 77. p. 30: and Crantz., *Hist. Pt. iii.* § 24. pp. 42—45. in Latrobe's translation.—The original papers addressed by the Brethren to Luther appear to be in Lasi-

tius' *Hist. of the Bohemian Brethren*, printed in 1660 at Amsterdam. This book is mentioned by Comenius, *Ratio Disciplinae* &c., Pref. § 22. p. 13; and no doubt was Thorndike's authority. The present Editor cannot meet with it.

^s Joannes Bodinus, *Methodus ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem*, c. vi. p. 220, second ed. 1695: where the "pontificum censura," scil. the ecclesiastical discipline, is eulogized in unmeasured terms. Yet previously, in the same page, Bodinus describes the Genevese as labouring "privatis occultis odiis, . . ac metu magis in officio quam amore contineri dicuntur."

discipline of the Church takes place, he, who forfeiteth his Christianity by gross sin that is notorious, forfeiteth also communion with the Church; and recovereth it not, till the presumption be no less notorious, that he hath recovered his Christianity. Now communion with the Church is the consequence of our baptism, which entitleth us to life everlasting. Therefore it is not duly forfeited, without forfeiting the effect of baptism, our right to life everlasting. So, our right to heaven depending upon the communion of the Church, the
 254 discipline of the Church must needs reach the inward man as effectually, as any outward application can reach the heart, which is invisible. For the presumption is grounded upon visible works of penance; the effects of that invisible disposition, without which they could not be constantly brought forth. Whether or no this discipline be visible at Geneva, I will not pronounce. This I undertake; that, comparing the doctrine of Calvin with their orders, they need not set a value upon the power of the keys exercised according to his doctrine, in comparison of the same exercised according to their own orders. So that, supposing, not granting, that the laws of the Church of England (being the laws of the primitive Catholic Church) are to be changed for conformity with the Reformed Churches; it followeth not therefore, that they are to be changed for those of the Churches reformed according to Calvin.

§ 49. Certainly, the receiving of the communion kneeling [And of having been one of the orders of their reformation from the beginning, and so stiffly insisted upon by them in Poland;* the receiving the communion kneeling

* "Procumbimus autem in genua sacram sumendo cœnam, non superstitione idololatrica, sed quod per temporum conditionem aliter hactenus non licuit (majores quippe nostri anno 1494 stando communionem introduxerant, sed excitata ob id atrociori persecutione, desistere fuerunt coacti): quum et ipse hic in genua procumbendi ritus, pie a piis usurpatus, devotionem ipsam" &c. "augeat." J. A. Comenius, Ratio Discipl. &c. Fratr. Bohem., Forma S. Cœnam Celebrandi, p. 49.—But the synod of Cracow speaks much more emphatically. "Monitis tamen fratribus si qui sessione in Sacra Cœna utuntur, ut eam ceremoniam Arriano-baptistis propriam relinquunt." Syn. Cracov. § 6: in the Consensus in Fide et Relig.

Christ. inter Ecclesias majoris et minoris Poloniæ &c. &c. (scilicet quæ juxta Confessionem Augustanam, Fratrum Bohemorum, et Helveticam, aliquo modo a se dissentire videbantur); Heidelb. 1605: or in the Corpus Confess. Fidei. The synod was held A.D. 1673.—"We are used in some chapels to prostrate ourselves (at the Holy Eucharist) in awe of (God's) tremendous Majesty; . . . but in order to avoid misrepresentations, we have referred it to a critical moment proper for thanksgiving." Acta Unit. FF. in Anglia, p. 97. (in an. 1749).—See also, for all points connected with the original Bohemian Brethren, Balthazar Lydius, Waldensia, tom. i. Roterod. 1616. tom. ii. Dordr. 1617.

they, that pretend to change the law of England in that point for conformity with the Reformation[†], think they have not men but beasts to deal with.

[Necessity
for restor-
ing the dis-
cipline of
penance in
the Church
of Eng-
land.]

§ 50. The Church of England, in the Commination against sinners, hath declared a great zeal for the renewing of that ancient discipline of penance, which was in force in the primitive Church^u. And, certainly, the Church of England is not the Church of England but in name, till the power of excommunication be restored unto it; which there was not nor ever can be sufficient cause to take from any Church^v. But the discipline of penance, though depending upon the power of excommunication, is as much to be preferred before it, as it is more desirable to bring men to the Church than to shut them out of it. If prejudice and faction have not more to do in the pretences of this time, than the truth of Christianity, and zeal to advance it; it is a point, that cannot be neglected in any deliberation of reforming the Church. I cannot render a more visible reason, why so godly a zeal in those, that first prescribed our reformation, to the restoring of penance, hath not been improved by their successors; than the partialities, which sprung up in it like tares in the wheat, and have now prevailed to choke even the power of excommunication, wherein the being of a Church consisteth. And though many sins of this nation may be alleged for the 255 cause, why God hath taken this sharp revenge upon us: yet can no reason be so proper, why He should permit the hedge of the Church to be cast down (for all sects to devour and tread His vineyard under foot) by suffering the power of excommunication to be taken from it; as the neglect of improving it, in and to the discipline of penance. True it is, not only all capital, but all infamous crimes, whereof men are convicted by law, are thereby notorious, and require this discipline, no less than those which the law of this land punisheth not otherwise than by penance. And if the Church did make a difference among those that die by public justice, owning only those, who approve their desire to undergo regular penance in case they might survive; then were this discipline visible, no visible crime escaping it. For all capital

[Ps. lxxx.
12.]

[†] See Just Weights and Measures, c. i. § 5. note h.

^u See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 34: and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the

Laws of the Ch., c. xi. § 21, c. xxi. § 38.

^v See *ibid.*: and below, in Just Weights and Measures, c. xviii. § 5—7.

and infamous crimes, that are not actually punished with death, must by that reason remain unreconciled to the Church, though free of the law, till penance be done^x. And seeing crimes, that are not known, cannot be cured upon easier terms than those that are; would not the judgment of the law, authorizing the Church in the cure of known sins, move even them, that believe their Christianity no further than it is authorized by law, to submit invisible sins to the same cure? For what is it but the slighting of this cure, that makes men's sins fester and rankle inwardly, and break out into greater and greater excesses? And, therefore, to debate of ceremonies, and words in the service, and may-poles, and Sabbath-days-journeys^y, not considering the power of the keys, upon which the Church is founded, and the restoring of the same; is to neglect a consumption at the heart, pretending only to cure the hair or the nails.

§ 51. Now if any of our sects insist upon a pretence that deserves to be insisted upon, far be it from us to cast off the consideration of it, because they have unduly separated from the Church for it. Our Anabaptists, it is known, insist upon two points: the baptizing of infants; and that, by sprinkling, not by dipping. In both, they have neglected St. Peter's doctrine; that "baptism . . . saveth us, not the laying aside of the filth of our flesh, but the answer of a good conscience to God." For were the profession of Christianity, celebrated by the sacrament of baptism, believed to be that which saveth us, men would not go to baptize them, as not baptized, who by their profession (which they acknowledge by seeking the communion of the Church) are under that bond, which entitleth them to the salvation of Christians. Nor can there be any greater presumption, than the voiding of baptism so celebrated, that they expect salvation upon other terms. But in making void baptism ministered by sprinkling alone without dipping, they neglect St. Peter again: when he maketh the baptism, that saveth, not to consist in cleansing the flesh, but in a due profession of Christianity; signifying this to be the principal, that only the accessory ceremony, which it is

[Of baptism of infants, and by sprinkling.]

[1 Pet. iii. 21.]

^x See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xi. § 21—25.

^y See the Exceptions against the Book of Common Prayer, in Baxter's "Accompt of all the Proceedings of the

Commissioners of both Perswasions appointed by His Sacred Majesty . . . for the Review of the Book of Common Prayer" &c. Lond. 1661.

solemnized with. And, therefore they are to acknowledge this difference, by acknowledging baptism so ministered to be good and valid, not void. But, this being acknowledged, well may they insist, that it is unduly ministered. For it is evident, that neither the Scripture nor the practice of the whole Church can by any means allow the sprinkling of water for baptism; though the pouring on of water, in case of necessity, be allowed. Nor doth the law of the Church of England allow any more than "pouring water" upon a child that is "weak," commanding therefore "dipping" otherwise¹. And therefore this law, being much weakened by the tenderness of mothers and friends (supposing all infants weak, which the law supposeth not) and by undue zeal for foreign fashions, ought to be revived and brought into use by all ordinaries, that there may remain no colour for such an offence. And, therefore, reparation is to be made for the sacrilege of the late wars, in destroying the fonts of baptism in churches, and bringing in christening out of basins by force.

[Conclusion.]

§ 52. I cannot say that I have touched all that is fit to be touched. But I hope I have said nothing but that, which followeth upon the ground, which I have justified. That which is proposed, and is not so justified, seems to demand the consent^a of those who propose it, as able to hold the Church divided, if they be not contented. But that calls to mind a reason on the other side,—that men use to get a stomach with eating in such cases. The due measure is not the satisfying of men's appetites, but the improvement of our common Christianity.

^a In the 1st and 2nd Bk. of Edw. VI., and in that of Elizabeth, the rubric upon the subject in the service for Public Baptism of Infants enjoins, that the priest shall "dip" the child "in the water:" but "if the child be weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it." The only difference made by the trifling change in the rubric upon the subject at the review in 1661 was (in the words of Wall, Hist. of Inf. Bapt., P. ii. c. ix. vol. ii. p. 404), that, before, "the priest was to dip, unless there was an averment or allegation of weakness; now he is not to dip, unless there be an averment or certifying of strength sufficient to endure it:" the priest judging for himself before, but now the godfathers and godmothers. A change, however, in the opposite direction to Thorndike's

view, although a trifling one in extent. The Presbyterian Directory lays down, that it is "not only lawful but most expedient" to use pouring or sprinkling: and also enacts, that baptism should not be performed "in the places where fonts in the time of popery were unfitted and superstitiously placed."—That the practice of sprinkling gradually superseded that of dipping in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and that for the two reasons alleged in the text, viz. the fondness of mothers and friends, and the imitation of Calvin and other foreign reformers, may be seen at length in Wall, as above quoted, pp. 399—404.—See also below in Just Weights and Measures, c. xiv. § 3.

^a "content"—ed. 1660.

JUST WEIGHTS AND MEASURES:

THAT IS,

THE PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION

WEIGHED IN THE BALANCE,

AND

MEASURED BY THE STANDARD OF THE SANCTUARY;

ACCORDING TO THE OPINION OF

HERBERT THORNDIKE.

TO ALL CHRISTIAN READERS.

I HAVE heard, that in the time of our late troubles the Presbyterians were put to *nonplus* by the Fanatics, demanding of them a ground in the Scripture for a national Church^a. I let pass that mistake of both parties, which the term of “national” involveth. For the state of the question must needs concern that part of the Church, which every respective sovereignty containeth. Now one sovereignty may contain several nations; as there are two in this kingdom of England. But we need not marvel, that they could give no answer to a demand, which their own title allowed them no ground to answer. Had they believed the Creed (which they thrust out of the Church), and that article of it which professeth “one Catholic Church,” they might have had an answer to it; but such a one, as would have destroyed the pretence of their presbyteries. For were the unity of the Church, which that article professeth, merely invisible, with God, by communion in His Spirit; the usurpers of sovereign power might make presbyteries Churches by as good a title, as that by which they make themselves sovereigns. But the unity which that article professeth is visible; with that Church, which is, or ought to be, always one and the same, from our Lord and His apostles (by communion in the offices of God’s service, especially the eucharist), to distinguish it from heresies and schisms, whom the title of Catholic visibly distinguisheth from the Church. That title the Presbyteries cannot pretend to; because it is as visible, that their authority is derived from the Long Parliament, and their own consent, as it is visible, that the authority of the whole Church is derived from our Lord and His apostles.

[The Presbyterians excluded from the visible unity of the Catholic Church.]

^a So Dr. Owen, Of Schism, c. viii. in Chr. St., c. i. § 8. note d, c. ii. § 2. § 24. pp. 241, sq.—And see Rt. of Ch. note n.

[That unity derived from our Lord and His apostles, not from Christian states.]

§ 2. For the unity of the Church is not derived from Constantine, but from our Lord and His apostles, and the law imposed by them upon all Christians, to maintain communion among themselves upon those terms, which the common Christianity, supposed in the said communion, may allow; whereby the Church is visible, by being Catholic.

[By what title and with what effects Churches become established in Christian states.]

§ 3. It is manifest by what title, and therefore upon what terms, Constantine first in the empire, and after him all Christian powers in their respective sovereignties, do make religion a law to their subjects. For being to be baptized and made a member of the Church by the act of the Church; if all Christians by their baptism do consecrate themselves to the service of God in His Church, then must he also, by being baptized, consecrate the power of the empire to the maintenance of that Christianity into which he was baptized; part whereof is the unity of the Catholic Church. And as the effect of this obligation is visible, in bringing the world into the Church; so is it a visible advantage for the Church, that the profession thereof is a law to Christian states, by the rewards and penalties, whereby it is enacted. For when all are constrained to be Christians according to the laws of the land, so much the more will be Christians according to the laws of God and of His Church. And as it is evident, that without such laws unity in religion will not prevail in the world, which cannot prevail with the help of them; no less manifest is it, that without unity Christianity will soon come to nothing. He that considers the decay, which a little time of disunion hath visibly made in the Christianity of this kingdom, is past cure by reasoning, if he question this consequence.

[The unity of the Catholic Church the only principle for true re-union.]

§ 4. This is that principle, which must justify the Reformation which we profess, by maintaining the due bounds and terms and measure of it. This is that, which must reunite the parties, which hitherto are at distance: if we will have them united to the purpose of saving souls, out of satisfaction in the laws which they are to execute; not only to the purpose of public peace, for hope or fear of the rewards and penalties, which they are enacted with. This is that, which must secure the conscience of the kingdom, that those rewards and penalties will be allowed, as for the service of

God, at the great day of judgment. And how much this concerns the present case, now that religion is to be re-established by the law of the land; it is manifest enough. Let the Presbyterians submit to the due terms, upon which the Fanatics may be acknowledged members of this Church; as acknowledging the covenant of baptism for the condition of holding the state of God's grace: and the Recusants^b shall stand bound to own the faith of this Church for the faith of the Catholic Church. Let the laws of this Church be ruled by the laws of the Catholic Church in those times, which he, that owneth one Catholic Church from the beginning, cannot disown; and all shall appear bound to be of this Church, as visibly the same Church with that which was from the beginning. For the Church is visible by the laws of it: and therefore, if the laws be the same, the Church is visibly the same; and all, that are not of it, shall be evidently liable to such penalties, as belong to them that disobey those laws of their country, which the common Christianity requireth.

§ 5. Let no man then marvel, that, being settled in this opinion upon all the consideration which our long distractions have allowed me time to take, I am not afraid to publish this brief view of it; referring myself, for proof of the particulars, to that which I have published heretofore. Let it not seem strange, that I deliver it sometimes with that resolution and assurance, which seems to admit no contradiction to it. For though the faith of God's Church be always the same: yet I profess of myself, that the laws of this Church are to be ruled by the laws of the primitive Church; with that allowance, which the difference of the present time, and that state of Christianity which it hath introduced, from that which then was, may require. And, by professing this, I do really (and not only for a formality) submit myself to the authority of superiors, as well as to the judgment and censure of every Christian. For how far the present times are capable of those rules, which all times are to go by, that would be one and the same Church with that which was from the beginning; I take not upon me to judge, as belonging to the account of superiors. Nay, before I have done, you shall see I compromise my opinion itself (and not

[Motive and justification of the following discourse.]

^b See below, in c. iii. § 6.

only my own proceeding, according, or not contrary, to it) to the authority of superiors and to better judgment. And, therefore, let it be lawful to plead for the improving of the laws of this church, so long as it is lawful to plead for the abolishing of the laws of this kingdom. For as it is manifest, that our ecclesiastical laws are the laws of the kingdom; so would I not open my mouth for improving them, were it not to make them the laws of God's only true Church.

CHAPTER I.

IF THE CHURCH OF ROME BE A TRUE CHURCH, REFORMATION IS THE RESTORING OF THAT WHICH HATH BEEN. IF THE POPE BE ANTICHRIST AND THE PAPISTS IDOLATERS, THE CHURCH OF ROME NO TRUE CHURCH. IF NO VISIBLE CHURCH, THEN NO SIN OF SCHISM. ANTICHRIST MAY BE AN IDOLATER, BUT CANNOT BE THE HEAD OF A CHURCH. 'THOUGH IT WERE IDOLATRY TO WORSHIP THE HOST, YET TO KNEEL AT THE COMMUNION WOULD BE HOLY. THAT WHICH THE CHURCH OF ROME PROFESSETH IS NOT IDOLATRY, IF IT BE A TRUE CHURCH. THEY, THAT SEPARATE FROM THE CHURCH OF ROME AS IDOLATERS, ARE THEREBY SCHISMATICS BEFORE GOD.

SINCE^b the time that I could understand the dispute about religion, when it was demanded, on the behalf of the Church of Rome, Where was your Church before Luther's time? the answer hath always been, Even where it is now^c. The answer was, that it is the same Church that it was: a Church which was sick, and is now cured; which was corrupted, and now is cleared of her corruptions. This answer supposeth, that the Church of Rome was a true Church, when that change, which we call reformation, was made; and therefore granteth (as it hath always been granted), that so it is at present^d. For it cannot be questioned, that it is the same Church now which then it was; though the council of Trent may have increased the corruption of it. And, upon these terms, all dispute of choice in religion comes to trial upon

If the Church of Rome be a true Church, reformation is the restoring of that which hath been.

^a The marginal paging is that of the edition of 1662: from which that of 1680 differs very slightly.

^b The MS. of cc. i.—xxiii. (inclusive) of this tract is in the Chapter Library at Westminster: but such differences, as occur between it and the printed text of the first edition of the work in 1662 (here followed), arise manifestly from the author's own alterations in correcting the book for the press. The edition of 1680 is merely a republication after Thorndike's death of that of 1662.

^c See Walton's Life of Sir Henry

Wotton, in Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. iv. p. 95; and the lives of Latimer and of Bp. Hall, in the same collection, vols. ii. p. 603, iv. pp. 285, 286, and note; and the extracts and notes, *ibid.* vol. i. pp. 416—418: and Bramhall, *Just Vindication*, c. vi. § 3; Works, Pt. i. Disc. ii. vol. i. p. 199; Replic. to Bp. of Chalced., c. vi. § 6, *ibid.*, Disc. iii. vol. ii. p. 207; &c.: and Field, *Of the Church*, Bk. III. c. viii. pp. 84, sq.

^d See Field, *Of the Church*, Appendix to Bk. V. Pt. iii. pp. 880, sq.: and above in the Epilogue, Conclusion, § 44.

CHAP. this issue; whether the change that is made hath restored
 I. that which was in the beginning, or not: an issue not to be tried, but by going to trial upon the particulars, in which the change consisteth.

If the pope be anti-christ and the papists idolaters, the Church of Rome no true Church.
 [1 Kings vi. 7; Gen. xi. 7.]

§ 2. But are we all content to go to trial upon this issue? It were good that we did understand one another, whether we be agreed upon it or not. For if we be, then may we expect to build Solomon's temple, without any noise. If not, we shall be the builders of Babel; we shall never "understand one another's language." For, of a truth, there is another reason alleged for the breach between us and the Church of Rome; to wit, that the pope is antichrist, and the papists idolaters. If this pretence be true, we need not seek further for the reason of the distance. We are to own the separation for our own act, and to glory in it. For it is done by God's express command,—“Come out of her, My people:”—as to the Jews in the captivity of Babylon, so to the Christians in the Apocalypse; if it be the Church of Rome, that Babylon there signifieth*. But if this plea be good, it may be inconsistent with that which the former plea supposeth. And though we cannot go to trial upon the truth of it without going to trial upon the particulars in difference; yet it is necessary to provide, that we contradict not ourselves. It is necessary also to consider the importance and consequence of it; whether the reason of the distance amount to so heavy a charge or not. It is necessary, that we understand ourselves; whether we admit the consequence of our own supposition or not.

[Jer. li. 45; Rev. xviii. 4.]

If no visible Church, then no sin of schism.

§ 3. And indeed it concerns us to the purpose. We all believe “one Catholic Church” for an article of our Creed, upon which the hope of our common salvation hangeth. If any man be allowed to say, I believe it not; I must be allowed to say, I must not be of that Church in which he is allowed to say it. It were good to understand, whether the unity of the Church (out of which no man is saved) be the visible unity of those, that communicate in the offices of God's service; or whether it be enough, that, being invisibly united to

* See Review of Rt. of Chr. St., c. i. § 16, c. v. § 31—53: Epilogue, Conclusion, § 41: Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c., cc. ii., vii.: and below in the tract of Thorndike's, en-

titled The Reformation of the Church of England better than that of the Council of Trent, first printed in the present edition of his Works, cc. vii.—xii.

Christ, they are invisibly united to one another by Christ. CHAP.
I.
For if the visible unity of the Church be not founded by God, then is there no crime of schism in breaking that unity; but only of heresy, in breaking it upon an error in the faith. If there be such an unity, and therefore such a crime in breaking it; care would be had, that we ground not ourselves, in this state of separation, upon that which will render us accessory to it.

§ 4. Now I do not doubt, that whosoever hath gone about or shall go about to persuade the Jews, that he is the Christ whom they expect, must needs, *ipso facto*, be antichrist. For the word signifies no more than one, that pretends to be Christ, in opposition to the true Christ. And, therefore, to Christians, who believe in the true Christ, a "false Christ" and an "antichrist" are both one¹. And St. John, 1 John ii. 18, 22, iv. 3, 2 John 7, signifies nothing else by that name but those, whom our Saviour calls "false Christs," Matt. xxiv. 24, Mark xiii. 22. And, therefore, he that pretendeth to be such a prophet and a prince, as the Jews expected that their Christ should be, in opposition to the true Christ in whom Christians believe; as he is a "false Christ," so is he "antichrist." For there is no other mention of antichrist in all the Scriptures but this. Other scriptures are only supposed to speak of antichrist. But presumption without evidence must not be taken for truth. I do not doubt then, that Mahomet is really antichrist, though the Mahometans expected no Christ; because he is the author of a law which they take for God's law, and of a power founded upon that imposture: as the Jews expect, that their Christ shall restore Moses' law, and the power which God first founded upon it. But neither can the Jews' antichrist, nor the Mahometans' antichrist, be idolaters, without rooting up the Alcoran, or the Law of Moses; which was not the way to win, either the Jews, or those whom Mahomet had to do with. Notwithstanding, I believe Manicheus was antichrist and an idolater both. I believe he taught the idolatry of the Persians in his two gods; the principles, one of good, the other of evil. He pretended, indeed, to come from Christ, as having His Spirit; and therefore sent out his twelve apostles, as our Lord Christ

Antichrist may be an idolater, but cannot be the head of a Church.

¹ See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 37: and below, c. xxi. § 15: and the references above in § 2, note a.

CHAP. had sent His^s. But yet, that he brought in his own new
 I. law instead of Christianity, no man that knows his positions
 can doubt. And is not he antichrist, that pretends to do
 what Christ indeed hath done? Therefore I deny not, that
 the pope may be antichrist, though the papists be idolaters.
 But I do not grant, that the pope can be antichrist, granting
 the Church of Rome to be a true Church. For to be a true
 Church presupposes the profession of so much Christianity
 as is necessary to the salvation of all Christians. But the
 salvation of no Christian can stand with the profession of a
 false Christ. And therefore, granting the pope to be anti-
 christ, they that own him can be no Church. So this plea
 will be inconsistent with the former, which supposeth the
 Church of Rome a true Church, when the separation fell out.

Though it
 were idola-
 try to wor-
 ship the
 host, yet
 to kneel at
 the com-
 munion
 would be
 holy.

§ 5. As for the charge of idolatry, it is at present alleged
 in bar to the law of this kingdom, and the effect of it, that
 the worship of the host in the papacy is idolatry; therefore
 we must not receive the communion kneeling^b, if we would
 be commended for breaking the brazen serpent, with Heze-
 kiah. I say nothing to the consequence; though it were
 easy enough to say, that the people committed idolatry to
 the brazen serpent till that very day, 2 Kings xviii. 4: and
 to allege the practice of the Catholic Church; who, while
 there was appearance of offence, did not make use of idol
 temples for churches, but when the offence began to cease,
 as in the time of Honorius, common reason obliged them to
 do it¹. Let them pursue the consequence of their own reason;
 that is, let them mete by their own standard; and then they
 must pull down all the churches in the kingdom. I shall
 prefer the wisdom of St. Gregory of Rome, by whom this
 nation received Christianity; ordering the pagan festivals of

[See Deut.
 xxv. 13,
 14; Prov.
 xx. 10.]

^s See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 39.

^b See *ibid.*, Bk. III. Of the Laws of
 the Ch., c. xxxi. § 1—10: Rt. of Ch. in
 Chr. St., c. v. § 8: and below in c. xix.
 § 2.—And see also the "Two Papers
 of Proposals concerning the Discipl.
 and Ceremonies of the Ch. of Engl.
 humbly presented to His Majesty by
 the Reverend Ministers of the Presby-
 terian Persuasion," pp. 22, 23. Lond.
 1661: and Baxter's *Accompt &c.* (as
 quoted above, in the *Due Way of Com-
 posing Differences*, § 50. note y), Ex-
 ceptions to Bk. of Common Prayer, p.

19, and Papers that passed between the
 Commissioners &c., p. 89.

¹ The reference is to the two laws
 of Honorius in the Theodosian Code
 forbidding the destruction of heathen
 temples; and to the author under the
 name of Prosper Aquitanus, *De Pro-
 missa. et Prædict. Dei*, lib. iii. c. 38,
 that the same Honorius gave them to
 be Christian churches. See Bingham,
 VIII. ii. 4. Theodosius had set the ex-
 ample in a particular case, a few years
 before: see Bingham *ibid.*

CHAP.
I.

our ancestors to be converted to the assemblies of Christians¹. For if Christianity sanctify not all times, places, and gestures, that may pretend in common reason to advance the service of God; wherein differeth it from Judaism?

5 For in Judaism, the day, the place, the circumstance prescribed by the Law, sanctified that action to be to the service of God, which it had been abominable to tender God for His service at another time, or in another place, or other wise: as rest on the seventh day of the week, dwelling in a booth at the feast of tabernacles, was the service of God according to the Law of Moses; but to pretend to serve God thereby at another time, had been to usurp upon God, and His power Which gave the Law. On the contrary, the service of God according to Christianity sanctifieth all times, all places, all gestures, all circumstances, that can pretend to express, to procure, to advance that attention of mind, that devotion of spirit, wherewith Christians profess to worship God "in spirit and truth." Otherwise, the kingdom of God must consist in making a difference of "meats and drinks," in despite of St. Paul (and, for the same reason, of times and places and gestures): not for unity in the service of God, or increase of devotion, as all reason requireth; but as the subject-matter, wherein the service of God according to Christianity consisteth.

[Levit.
xxiii. 42.][Joh. iv.
24.]
[Colosa. ii.
16.]

§ 6. But I set aside this consequence; though I could not let it pass without setting this mark upon it. The assumption, who will undertake to prove? Who will take upon him to shew us, that the worship of the host in the papacy is idolatry? They, who grant the Church of Rome to be a true Church, and salvation to be had in it and by it, may, if they see cause, spare contradicting those, that take it for granted before it be proved; but they cannot take it for granted

That which
the Church
of Rome
professeth
is not ido-
latry, if it
be a true
Church.

¹ "Præcepit quoque (Gregorius) ut in Anglorum gente idolorum fana non destrueret (Augustinus), sed sanctificatis aquis respersa in basilicas dedicaret. Et quia solebant Saxones in sacrificio dæmonum boves multos occidere, jussit ut in die dedicationis, vel natalitiis sanctorum martyrum, quorum reliquæ illie ponerentur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias, quæ ex fanis commutatae sunt, de ramis ar-

borum facerent, et religiosis conviviis solemnitates debitas celebrarent." Joh. Diaconus, in Vita S. Greg. M., § xxxvii.; Op. S. Greg., tom. iv. p. 56, A, B.—See also the Life of S. Gregory by the Benedictine editors, lib. iii. c. viii. § 4, 5; *ibid.* p. 269: and S. Gregory's own Letters, lib. xi. Indict. iv. Epist. lxi. and lxxvi.; Op. tom. ii. pp. 1165. A, 1176. C, D.

C H A P. themselves. A Church is a company of Christians ; and all
I. Christians profess the true Christ ; and all, that profess the true Christ, profess the true God ; and, professing the true God, if they believe that which they profess, they cannot honour any creature as they honour God : for they profess, that there is only one true God ; and that there is infinite distance between Him and all creatures, so that they cannot esteem any creature to be God ; and therefore they cannot so honour any creature, as if it were God. Christianity supposeth the belief of one true God, and the being of the Church supposeth Christianity. It took away idolatry in point of fact ; which Judaism could not do, though it shewed reason enough to take it away. And, therefore, let no man think it easy for a Church to build up that (either by express law or by silent custom), which the profession upon which it is built destroyeth. Let us be as careful as you please, that idolatry, which is put out at the great gate of the Church, get in at no back door of it. The true God of Israel, and our Lord Christ, might be idols to them, that professed not one true God. If they, who profess the true Christ, can be bred in such ignorance, as not to acknowledge the difference between God and His creature ; all their religion may come to be idolatry in God's sight, however the Church be obliged to esteem it. For, certainly, some witches commit idolatry to the devil, though there be witches of all religions. And so there may be idolaters of all religions, supposing that men may act contrary to that which they profess. But that is not the question, which we have in hand ; when we dispute, whether we are to forsake the Church of Rome as idolaters or not. For it is the public profession thereof, that we are to forsake. We are not to forsake it for the actions of private persons, contrary to that which they publicly profess. Now they, which profess the only true Christ, and, therefore, the only true God, do necessarily profess to detest all idolatry ; which the profession of Christianity effectively rooted out of the world, wheresoever it prevailed. And so doth the Church of Rome still as seriously profess, as they who charge them to be idolaters ; and, therefore, cannot easily be convinced to profess idolatry. For, without expressly renouncing this profession, they can-

not expressly be idolaters: without renouncing it by such consequence, as may convince common reason that they contradict themselves, and renounce all of them that which all of them profess, they cannot be idolaters by consequence. And, therefore, it is not easy to make it appear to common reason, that they are idolaters (and so, that we are to forsake them as idolaters); because then it must appear to common reason, that so great a part of Christendom doth, by their profession, contradict that which themselves profess.

§ 7. And what will they, that stand upon this plea, say to me: who pretend to have proved^b, that the nature of idolatry consisteth in that which I have said; and, therefore, that the papists are not by their common profession idolaters? Can they pretend so much charity to me, as to have attempted the answering of my reasons, and the rectifying of my mistakes? Or will they shew me who hath answered them; and so, that they need not be troubled for me? If they will not be tied to this, would they have the law of the land changed upon a supposition, which I have destroyed, and they cannot pretend to have restored? Nay, would they have it changed to no better effect, than to make me, and all that are satisfied with the reasons which I have advanced, schismatics in the sight of God, allowing and consenting to the change that shall be made for their sake? This were indeed an incomparable piece of charity, to purchase peace and unity with them, at the charge of answering for all the mischiefs which our schism with the Church of Rome produceth. For, in plain terms, we make ourselves schismatics by grounding our reformation upon this pretence. For, on the one side, we profess the separation to have been our intent; not a consequence of the reformation, by the fault of the Church of Rome in not complying with it: because we give such a reason for it, as if it be true, we cannot, without renouncing our Christianity, hold communion with those whom we charge with it. Whereas reformation is indeed, and always was, the thing intended. Division in the Church, which it hath occasioned, is the crime of those, that refuse to come into it upon such terms as the common Christianity requireth. On the other side, this cause (which would be more than suffi-

They, that separate from the Church of Rome as idolaters, are thereby schismatics before God.

^b scil. in the Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxvi.

C H A P. I. cient to justify separation, did it appear to be true) charges the mischiefs of the schism upon those, that proceed upon it, before it be as evident as the mischiefs are, which they run into upon it. So that, should this Church declare, that the change which we call reformation is grounded upon this supposition, I must then acknowledge that we are the schismatics. For, the cause not appearing to me (as hitherto it hath not, and, I think, will never be made to appear to me), the separation, and the mischiefs of it, must be imputed to them that make the change. And as they who justify the Reformation by charging the pope to be antichrist and the papists idolaters, so, on the other side, they who overcharge the Reformation to be heretics, make themselves thereby schismatics before God.

CHAPTER II.

8

THE SUPPOSITION OF ANTICHRIST AND IDOLATRY PREJUDICIAL TO THE TRUTH. THE SUPPOSITION OF ONE VISIBLE CHURCH THE GROUND OF COMMUNION, AS WELL WITHIN THE REFORMATION, AS IN THE WHOLE CHURCH. WHAT THE ROMISH MISSIONARIES GET BY THE CHARGE OF HERESY, AND THE PRETENCE OF INFALLIBILITY. WHAT WE GET BY THE CHARGE OF IDOLATRY AND ANTICHRIST. IMMODERATE CHARGES VAIN ON BOTH SIDES. THE CHARGE OF SCHISM ON BOTH SIDES MODERATE, AS TO THE CHURCH. THE SIN OF SCHISM, AS TO GOD, HORRIBLE. THE SCHISM OF THE DONATISTS, IN CHARGING THE CATHOLICS TO BE APOSTATES. THE SAD CONSEQUENCES OF THAT SCHISM.

The supposition of antichrist and idolatry prejudicial to the truth.

FURTHER, as I began to say before, supposing for dispute's sake, but not granting for truth, that the pope is antichrist, and the papists idolaters; and that, thereupon, we are to have no communion with the Church of Rome: are not the particulars to be decided by the same reasons (and therefore upon the same terms), as if neither the pope were antichrist, nor the papists idolaters? For, this being clear beyond dispute, what do we gain by a supposition, so impossible to be set in the light of competent evidence? Even that which we see is come to pass: an unchristian, rather than an unreasonable, apprehension; that, the further we run from them, the nearer we shall come to the truth of Christianity. Whereas we are to take no less heed, that we run not beyond the Church of God; the unity whereof, if it be indeed 9

ordained by God, is ordained to no other purpose, than to render the true bounds of Christianity (that is, the means of salvation) visible to all Christians. For the truth of the particulars in difference stands where it would stand, whether the pope be antichrist and the papists idolaters, or not. But they, that believe them so, must needs thereupon incline to believe them further from the truth, than indeed they will appear to be, if it be not true: and therefore must needs have a hand in the schism, in departing further from them than they ought to do. He, that takes the pope for antichrist and the papists for idolaters, can never 'weigh by his own weights, and mete by his own measures,' till he hate papists worse than Jews or Mahumetans, who cannot be idolaters; which some, but few of them, profess to do¹. Is not he, that runs from Rome with this opinion, in danger to forget the proverb,—“*Ita fugias ne præter casam*;¹” —and run by the door of God's Church?

[See Deut. xxv. 13, 14; Prov. xx. 10.]

§ 2. Now suppose we can have no communion with the Church of Rome, because it appeareth that the pope is antichrist and the papists idolaters; yet ought we to hold communion with all Christendom besides, that own not antichrist nor his idolatries. I say, if the visible unity of the Church appear to be the ordinance of God; in the next place to holding the truth of Christianity, we shall stand obliged to hold communion with the rest of the Church. But this communion cannot be maintained without an express profession, that the visible unity of the Church is the express will of God and His ordinance; though the will of man render it frustrate. This profession it is, that obligeth all to stand to those grounds and those terms, upon which it is to be maintained; whatsoever differences may arise, to render it questionable. And it is the not acknowledging of those grounds, that hath made way for those divisions, which have succeeded within the Reformation in several parts of it. For as they have all proved incurable, for want of this principle of unity: so it is not possible, that ours, which have

The supposition of one visible Church the ground of communion, as well within the Reformation, as in the whole Church.

¹ The unhappy couplet in the Hymn once subjoined to the old Version of the Psalms, praying for deliverance “*from Turk and Pope*,” may be compared with the opposite extreme of violence in

Reynolds' formal book upon the other side, entitled *Calvino-Turcismus*.

¹ Terent., *Phorm.*, V. i. 3.—See Erasmus, *Adag.*, Chil. 1. Cent. v. Prov. 3; *Op. tom. ii. p. 182. C—E.*

CHAP. II. come to pass in the last place, should be cured upon any other principle of Christianity to the salvation of souls; however the benefit of public peace may prevail, to keep them from doing that mischief in the world, which they have done.

What the Romish missionaries get by the charge of heresy, and the pretence of infallibility.

§ 3. The truth is, they of the Church of Rome have over-10 charged us, in calling us heretics; taking that charge to signify division upon matter of faith. But they, that would have the pope antichrist and the papists idolaters, have revied it upon them, and taken their revenge beyond the bounds of blameless defence. For the profession of idolatry necessarily signifies utter apostasy from Christianity to paganism. There is nothing else known by the name of idolatry in the Scriptures; by which they must prove, if they do prove them idolaters. For the idolatry of the Gnostics (which, I am confident, is mentioned in divers texts of the New Testament^k) may well be accompted the idolatry of the pagans, though pretending to be Christians: because they did not stick to exercise the same idolatries with the pagans, when occasion was offered; though they had their own idolatries besides, whether peculiar to their several religions or as magicians. This is the reason of that which I said before; that we need not dispute, which side is the true Church, if we can prove them idolaters. But it is to be feared, that the Romish missionaries do advantage themselves more by the pretence of heresy, than they by the pretence of idolatry or antichrist. For having obtained this great truth, that there is no salvation out of God's Church; and then, that the Church of Rome is God's Church (which, as I said in the beginning, hath always been granted): how easy is it to infer, that there is no salvation but in communion with the Church of Rome? For how many of them, whom they deal with, can distinguish *a* Church from *the* Church; or give a reason, how, God having founded one Church, it may nevertheless stand so divided, that salvation may be had on both sides? Which reason being once overseen, the infallibility of the present Church is swallowed *ipso facto*; and all the

^k See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. vii. § 27; xxvi. § 26—29: Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xii. § 2—5; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxvi. § 29, 30: and Review of

Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 40.—So also Burton's Bampton Lectures: and (somewhat beyond reason) Hammond in his Commentary and elsewhere.

decrees of the Council of Trent must down, with the same assurance as the Holy Trinity. Nor need you distinguish between heresy and schism, when once the Church shall have pronounced. Thus save they the labour of proving transubstantiation, purgatory, prayers to saints, Latin service, the half-communion, and other points of difference, all of them too tough to be overcome. All of them are clearly gained, by the prejudice, which men have imposed upon themselves, that the Church which enjoins them cannot err.

- 11 Whereas nothing can be more evident than that which I proposed at the beginning;—that it cannot be tried which side is the true Church, but by going to trial upon the particulars in difference.

§ 4. But they who charge the pope to be antichrist and the papists idolaters, the higher their charge, the more to do must they have to persuade common reason, that so great a part of mankind should expect to be saved by professing to contradict that which themselves profess. And suppose that a prejudicate zeal can transport a man, to think the wisest people upon earth (those that govern the see of Rome), and all those whom their wisdom carries along, so far out of their wits, as to contradict by their profession that which themselves profess:—when all this is done, every text of the Scripture, that cannot be expounded to this supposition, will be a peremptory bar to their pretence. And how much is there of the Apocalypse itself, that is acknowledged not to be fulfilled, as yet, in that sense? how much of the rest of the Scripture, that cannot without violence be reconciled to it? And when a novice, grounded upon this supposition, is forced from his ground upon remonstrance of such reasons; how ready is he to fall into the snare of the missionaries? Whether or no this be the reason of that, which wise men have observed,—that the passage from the one extreme to the other is more easy and frequent amongst us, than from the mean to the extreme;—let men of discretion judge. Let not them lead the people by the nose, to believe that they can prove their supposition when they cannot: and then expect, that it be maintained by them, that own the Church of Rome

What we get by the charge of idolatry and antichrist.

¹ See Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 29—52: Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxiii. § 1—29; and Conclusion, § 41: and below,

Reformation of the Ch. of England better than that of the Council of Trent, c. xi.

CHAP. for a true Church; and therefore must contradict themselves
II. if they maintain it.

Immoderate charges vain on both sides.
 [2 Sam. xvi. 21.]

§ 5. It is then Achitophel's counsel that hath prevailed on both sides. For make the quarrel irreconcilable, and nothing but conquest must end it. But what joy have they of their expectation, on either side? In all troubles of Christendom since Luther's time, what gaping hath there been for the sack of Rome, and the downfall of the pope, upon a prophecy, ten for one more probably fulfilled in the sack of Rome by the Goths and Vandals many hundred years ago^m? And all the civil blood, all that abominable desolation in religion, which we have seen, our late usurper seemeth to have accompted mere godliness, in order to that work, which God had designed him for; as he thought himself inspired to believeⁿ. 12 Nay, did not some of the Reformation prick up their ears, and begin to think well of his Christianity for that work's sake^o? And yet this expectation hath not been more vain, than the deep designs of the see of Rome, to reduce the Reformation to the obedience thereof by conquest, do now after a long trial appear desperate for the future. Now if the parties be willing to abate of their charges, as they have reason to do, there is a way for both to come off with credit. For the charge of heresy naturally shrinks into the measure of schism, whensoever they shall be pleased to explain themselves. And they seem to do it; at least, as many of them as now insist upon the charge of schism^p. Let our people follow their example, and extend the idolatry they charge them with to all superstition: and I will undertake to find them idolaters in all professions; namely, all those that commit idolatry to their own imaginations.

The charge of schism, on both sides, moderate, as to the Church.

§ 6. As for the mutual imputation of schism, it is a civil and a moderate challenge, in comparison of those. For schism is nothing but civil war in the Church. And in civil wars,

^m See Review, &c. as in last note, § 35, 49, 51.

ⁿ See Cromwell's Speech upon dissolving the Parliament January 22. 1653, in Whitelock, pp. 592, sq.

^o That Cromwell, especially after his interference on behalf of the Vaudois, was regarded as the leader of the Protestants of Europe; see Morland, Hist. of Evang. Churches in Piedmont, Bk. iv. cc. 3, sq. pp. 552, sq. Lond. 1658; and compare the grand project formed

by Cromwell of a Protestant Congregation *de propaganda fide*, in Burnet, Hist. of His Own Time, Bk. i. vol. i. p. 132. Oxf. 1823. Morland was Cromwell's "Commissioner Extraordinary for the affairs of the Piedmontese valleys."

^p e.g. the Bishop of Chalcedon, Dr. Holden, Knott, Soot, Serjeant, &c., and especially Sancta Clara. See Life of Abp. Bramhall (prefixed to his Works vol. i. Oxf. 1842), p. xxvii. notes e, f.

as in all wars, though it be rather impossible than difficult to name a war that shall be just on both sides, yet it is easy to find a war that is unjust on both sides. St. Augustin commends the saying of one in his time, that declaimed upon the rape of Lucrece; "*Mira res,*" said he, "*duo fuerunt et adulterium unus commisit*"—"A strange thing," that, a man lying with a woman, only "the one should commit adultery¹." I will not compare war with adultery; which carries sin in the name of it. For I will not say, that all war is sin. But he, that can look upon the mischiefs either of civil war in the world or of schism in the Church with the heart of a Christian, will not think strange, that both sides should be schismatics to God, though only one part can be schismatics to the Church. For when the cause may be visibly decided (as in the schism of the Donatists), then the one side are schismatics, the other is the Church. But when it cannot (as perhaps it will prove between the Reformation and the Church of Rome); then, if the blame of the schism fall on both sides, both sides shall be schismatics to God, neither to the Church.

- 13 § 7. But though I make it a moderate charge, as to the Church, when one side challenges the other to be schismatics; yet, as to God, the sin of schism is of a horrible tincture. For a heretic or an apostate, in the sight of God, destroys only his own soul. But he, that causeth division in the Church, either peremptorily destroys, or probably hinders, the salvation of all that are parties to it. So the authors of schism must answer for all the souls that perish by it. How the means of salvation depend upon the unity of the Church, is a thing, that must appear by proving that God hath ordained it for that purpose. But if so it prove, then may every man see, how heavy a charge the crime of schism will prove in God's sight. The mischief of heresy will lie in the schism which it involveth, when division falls out upon a point of faith. Now breach of charity, in hindering the salvation of all that divide, is abundantly enough to destroy salvation; though more than enough, if upon a point of faith, which is heresy to the Church.

§ 8. But he, that would consider first, how much the excessive charges on both sides contribute to the division of the

The sin of schism, as to God, horrible.

The schism of the Donatists

¹ De Civit. Dei, quoted in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 37. note p.

C H A P.
II.

in charging
the Catho-
lics to be
apostates.

[2 Macc.
vi. 18—31,
vii. 1—42.]

Church ; then, how much the division of the Church to the ruin of Christianity : let him compare our present divisions with the schism of the Donatists ; the case whereof is thus to be stated^r. It was pretended, that Cæcilianus was made bishop of Carthage by traitors and apostates. For those, that were called "*traditores*" for delivering the Scriptures and other utensils of God's service to their persecutors for present safety, they accompted no less than apostates, for betraying the common Christianity. And that upon this accompt. If Eleazar and the Maccabees had redeemed their lives by eating swine's flesh, their crime had not been the bare breach of that precept ; it had been apostasy : because done at the instance of him, that pressed them to forsake the Law. So the crime of those, that delivered such goods to persecutors, they justly took to be the crime of apostasy ; as done at the instance of persecutors, that pressed all to depart from Christianity. And when the rest of the Church did acknowledge Cæcilianus and communicate with him as bishop of Carthage, then did they openly forsake the whole Church ; as guilty of the same apostasy, for communicating with apostates, and rejecting them, because they rejected apostates. And had they 14 not reason on their side, if the Church of Afric under Cæcilianus had been really apostates ? Admitting the visible unity of the Church, it is not to be avoided. For this unity must be founded upon supposition of Christianity. If Christianity be evidently renounced, they, who acknowledge manifest apostates members of God's one Church, must be accompted apostates themselves by them, that would indeed be members of it. But there was great difference between professed apostasy, and the crime of those, who, dissembling their Christianity to save their lives, had been permitted to hold their degrees in the Church ; professing it as well as the best when the danger was past. For though the rule of the Church allowed not, that they should hold their degrees in the Church ; yet it was found necessary to abate of the rule, that unity (for which the rule was provided) might be preserved. And, being allowed to hold their degrees in the Church for that

^r See the history in Optatus, De Schism. Donatistarum, lib. i. cc. 16, sq. pp. 16, sq. ed. Dupin : and Dupin's

Hist. Donatistarum, prefixed to that edition ; or that of H. Valesius subjoined to his Eusebius.

reason, there was difference enough between them and apostates. All this, supposing the matter of fact ;—that those, who ordained Cæcilianus, were indeed such as had given up such goods ;—which, if it were true, never appeared to the Church to be true. Whereas they, who began the schism by ordaining another bishop of Carthage against him, were divers ways convicted to be such themselves.

§ 9. But it is strange to consider, how the Donatists abhorred the Catholics, merely upon this supposition, without any other occasion of difference either in faith or in the rites and customs of the Church. For it is the ground, why they rebaptized all those whom they seduced from the Catholic Church ; as baptized by apostates*. Whereas the Catholics, taking them for schismatics, as they were, sought only to win them upon such terms as the reconciling of schismatics to the Church requires*. But it is hard to relate the slanders, the murders, the violences, the mischiefs, which this division brought forth ; and that, so far as I can understand, till Christianity was utterly destroyed in Afric by the Mahumetans.

CHAP.
II.

The sad
consequences
of this
schism.

CHAPTER III.

THEY THAT HOLD BY ONE VISIBLE CHURCH ARE TO OWN THE CONSEQUENCES OF IT. NOTHING TO BE CHANGED BUT UPON THAT GROUND. WE CANNOT BE THE SAME CHURCH WITH THAT WHICH WAS, OTHERWISE. THOUGH THAT WHICH SHALL BE SETTLED WILL FIND ADVOCATES. CIVIL LAWS OF RELIGION TO BE CHANGED, TILL THIS RULE BE ATTAINED. THE BEGINNING AND RISE OF OUR DIFFERENCES. THE PRESENT STATE OF THEM. WHAT TERMS OF AGREEMENT WITH THE PRESBYTERIANS WE OUGHT TO ALLOW. THE LAWS OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH THE STANDARD OF ALL CHANGE. OUR PRESENT CASE IS NOT THE CASE OF OUR FOREFATHERS. THE ACTS OF HENRY VIII. NO ACTS OF OUR FOREFATHERS IN RELIGION. IMPERFECTION OF LAWS IN RELIGION, NO IMPUTATION TO OUR FOREFATHERS. THE PRETENCE OF TENDER CONSCIENCES IS NO RULE. IT SERVES PAPISTS AS WELL AS PURITANS.

ALL this while, you see, I take it not for granted, that it is one visible Church which our Creed professeth. But I say, those who take it for granted and admit not the due consequences

They that
hold by
one visible
Church are
to own the

* See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. viii. § 6, 7, 24, 25, c. x. § 40 ; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the

Ch., c. x. § 32 : Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 5. note h, § 17. note g : and below, c. xxv. § 11.

C H A P.
III.

conse-
quences
of it.

[Deut.
xxv. 13,
14; Prov.
xx. 10.]
[Exod. xxx.
13: &c.]

quence of it, are they, that 'weigh not by their own weights, nor mete by their own measures;' but keep "a weight and a weight, a measure and a measure:" which must needs be a thing accursed, because they cannot both be the weights and 16 measures of the sanctuary. The order of bishops and the right of the Church-goods have both recovered their possessions by the law of this land. In both these points the law of this land acknowledgeth the authority of the whole Church of Christ; the evidence whereof is indisputable in both titles. They, that are not content to go by the same weight and measure both with papists and puritans in all other matters, they must answer God for weighing and measuring by their own weights and measures in other things, weighing and measuring by His weights and measures in these.

Nothing to
be changed
but upon
that
ground.

§ 2. The rest of our differences seem to consist in two points. The one, concerning the covenant of grace and the dependences of it¹, seems to be of great consequence to the substance of Christianity. The other must comprehend all the noise, that is made, of ceremonies and forms of praying and power of discipline, and, in fine, all that is questioned concerning the laws of this Church². These are punctillios indeed, one by one; but all together they make a great sum. And, take them one by one, it is considerable, that the changing of any one is the changing of a law of this kingdom. But if the change should be made without providing for the substance of our Christianity in that, which is notoriously questionable amongst us; then must we think of a new answer to the papists' demand, Where was your Church before Luther's time. And in all cases, if the laws of our Church be changed for peace' sake, without regard to that truth, which made it reformation to change the laws of the Church of Rome; may it not become questionable, whether the Church of England remain the Church of England or not? For I am well assured, that there is so much in question amongst us, as, if it were decided for the paritans, would cast the advantage on the papists' side. And therefore they, who believe no salvation out of God's Church, are to change nothing for other reasons, than such as the visible unity of it may justify, in case it appear to be founded by God.

¹ Epilogue, Bk. II.

² Ibid., Bk. III.

§ 3. For that principle, as it is evidence in matters of faith questionable amongst us, so it is the standard in matter of Church-law, to measure the distance between the true point of reformation and the present Church of Rome, by that which is visible in the Catholic Church; allowing for that difference, which the change of time may have brought forth.

C H A P.
III.

We cannot be the same Church with that which was, otherwise.

They, that find themselves bound by this principle to be visibly one and the same Church with the Catholic, will find it easy to imp and to ingraff the faith and laws of this Church into the original and Catholic faith and laws of God's whole Church by this rule; but impossible to make us visibly the same Church with it upon other terms.

§ 4. I do no ways doubt, that, though a change should be made for the worse (which God forbid), there would be found men to maintain it. For the laws of kingdoms and common-wealths are of great force to frame the opinions and manners of particular persons; and that, in matter of religion, in this estate, where Christianity is settled by the laws of sovereignties. And the Church-goods, which are now recovered out of the hands of usurpers, must then be the reward of those, that shall have most to say for the laws that shall be made. And therefore, while we are upon this plea for ourselves against the Church of Rome, I find it no unreasonable freedom that I take, to set forth the consequence of it in the change that is or may be pretended.

Though that which shall be settled will find advocates.

§ 5. I know it is a maxim necessary to the quiet of all states, that laws are not to be changed for hope of amendment. But it is no less necessary to enter an exception to it for those laws, by which the Reformation is to be settled in several sovereignties of Christendom. For if the visible unity of the Church be God's ordinance, then they ought all to have been made of necessity ambulatory, as provisions only for the time; and not to be taken for settled, till all had been agreed upon a rule, whereby communion might be maintained amongst them all, whatsoever differences might fall out any where. And I am well assured, that they could never have attained any such provision without supposing the visible unity of the whole Church; the grounds and consequences of which supposition, being taken for God's ordinance, first brought it to pass. And having attained it, I

Civil laws of religion to be changed, till this rule be attained.

C H A P. am well persuaded, that the breach between the Reformation
III. and the Church of Rome could not have subsisted. Now, that several sovereignties have made their several changes without communicating with one another (that is, as not tied to the visible unity of the whole) ; it is become infinitely more 18 difficult to unite them without expressly agreeing in this principle, than it would be to unite all, agreeing in it. For the grounds and consequences of it would be, necessarily, the scale to balance and the standard to measure all differences.

The begin-
 ning and
 rise of our
 differences.

§ 6. They, who for the present are not divided about religion as we are, may perhaps think these considerations too far fetched to trouble themselves with. We, that cannot make up the present breaches without new provisions, are only to advise, whether we will trust God and our Lord Christ with the success, ' weighing by our own weights and meting by our own measures.' For our case is evidently this. The Reformation under Edward VI. raised a party against it, not as preferring Luther before Calvin, but as preferring unity with the Catholic Church before difference from the present Church of Rome. The relation of the Troubles at Francford, published by the Puritans^v, shews, that they were as much divided about obedience to their sovereign, persecuting the Reformation which they professed, as about obedience to their bishops and the power of erecting Churches of themselves. When the bull of Pius V. against Queen Elizabeth came forth, the Papists, who from the beginning of her reign had outwardly conformed to the exercise of religion established by her laws, withdrawing

^v A Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort in Germany, anno 1554, about the Common Prayer and Ceremonies, and continued by the Englishmen there to the end of Q. Mary's Reign; first published in the year 1575; republished in the Phoenix, vol. ii. pp. 43, sq. It is a puritan account of the proceedings there of the English refugees for religion in Queen Mary's reign; and contains (as the Preface to the Phoenix truly says), "not only the types, but the true original source and cause, of all the dissensions which have ever since" rent the Church of England.—For the particular point in the text, of obedience to civil government, John Knox's Blast of a Trumpet against

the Monstruous Regiment of Women, A.D. 1558, and Christopher Goodman's Tract, entitled "How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed of their Subjects, and wherein they may lawfully by God's Worde be disobeyed and resisted" (Geneva, 1558), both came from the foreign refugees. And see Maitland's account (in his Essays on the Reformation, Essays v.—x. pp. 85—224. Lond. 1849) of the opinions of the Puritans on the subject, and of the difficulties of Aylmer, when he was about to return to England under Queen Elizabeth, and was called upon to write his Harborowe &c. in reply to the doctrines upon the subject held in Knox's book and by his former partners in exile.

themselves in obedience to the bull, got thereby the name of Recusants^w. About the same time, they, that rested not content with the Reformation established, appearing in a party, got themselves the name of Puritans^x. Whereby it appeareth, that the jealousy of the state upon the other party, together with the hatred of the people against it for the persecutions under Queen Mary, gave them boldness and opportunity to shew themselves, and success to make them considerable. That abatement of the form settled under Edward VI., which, to content them, had been made under Queen Elizabeth, gave them appetite to demand more^y. The recusants in the mean time, as consenting to the attempts that were made against the person of the sovereign and the state by virtue of that bull (because, in matter of religion, they all gave obedience to it), were involved in such penalties, as the severity of the laws, occasioned by the heinousness of those attempts, provided^z.

- 19 § 7. Thus passed the time on, till the same appetite, animated by the credit of the late Parliament, helped the pretences thereof for reforming the government, to set three kingdoms, upon pretence of religion also, on the fire of one

The present state of them.

^w See Camden, *Annal.*, in an. 1570; p. 136. *Lugd. Bat.* 1639; and Collier, *Ch. Hist.*, Pt. ii. Bk. vi. vol. ii. p. 436. — Fuller (*Ch. Hist.*, Bk. ix. § 29. p. 98) dates the term "recusant" A.D. 1570.—The 13 Eliz. c. 2 (A.D. 1570) prohibits the bringing of Papal bulls into the realm: 23 Eliz. c. 1. (A.D. 1581) forbids mass and enforces attendance at Church, because since the previous act the recusants had grown numerous: and 35 Eliz. c. 2. (A.D. 1593) "restrains popish recusants to some certain place of abode."

^x The puritan party were first so called, according to Fuller (*Ch. Hist.*, Bk. ix. § 67. p. 76), A.D. 1564. The same author accuses the Abp. of Spalato of first employing the word of doctrinal rather than ceremonial differences or in matters of discipline (*ibid.* Bk. x. § 18. p. 99): and Abp. Harsnet, of first coining the phrase "conformable Puritans" (*ibid.* Bk. xi. § 31. p. 144).

^y Thorndike appears to have confused the differences between the *first* and *second* Books of Edward VI. with

the alterations made by Elizabeth: see Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., cc. xxix. § 53. note o, xxx. § 8. note b.

^z See Lord Burleigh's tract, entitled, *The Execution of Justice in England for maintenance of Publique and Christian Peace against Certain Stirrers of Sedition and adherents to the traytors and enemies of the Realme*, without any persecution of them for Questions of Religion, &c., 4^o. Lond. 1583, and Harleian Miscellany, vol. ii. pp. 137, sq.; Camden, *Annal.* in an. 1570. p. 136; Bramhall, *Just Vindic.*, c. ii. Works, Pt. i. Disc. ii. vol. i. pp. 124—126, &c.; and Replic to Bp. of Chalcodon, c. iii. sect. iv. *ibid.* Disc. iii. vol. ii. pp. 109—124; Hallam, *Constitut. Hist.*, vol. i. c. iii. pp. 202, sq.: and, on the Roman Catholic side, Bridgwater's *Concertatio Eccl. Cathol. in Anglia contra Calvinopapistas* &c. sub Elizabetha Regina, 4^{to}. Aug. Trev. 1594; and Card. Allen (Alanus), *True Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholiques that suffer for their faith* &c.

C H A P. civil war. For the Irish rebellion, which the example of the
 III. Scottish commotion had brought forth, falling in with the one party (though not so heartily as the new insurrection of Scotland with the other), made the breach wider by uniting all into two parties. The quarrel being decided, they, who pretended no more for the war but episcopacy, liturgy, and the ceremonies, brought in a new confession of faith and new catechisms, as well as a Directory and an ordinance for Church government*. The sword, that had decided the quarrel, it seems, was to make good the difference, without pleading the Word for the trial of it. In the mean time, I will not say, that those damnable doctrines, preached by the sects which the war had brought forth, are the necessary consequences of the doctrine brought in of new, and of the difference between it and that which was before. But this I will say, that there is no visible difference between the Presbyterians and the Fanatics; these sheltering themselves under the quality of those, whensoever the law forbids their peculiar assemblies. And I say farther, that, if there be such a thing as a Catholic Church, all the phrensies of the Fanatics are justly imputable to those, that distinguish themselves from fanatics, but admit them to their communion as fanatics. Upon this account I use the name of Puritans, though seeming a term of disgrace, to comprise all the sects, into which that once common name hath since been divided. For I use also the name of Papists, not intending any disgrace by it, though first taken up in that sense; because it seemeth, that use hath rendered that sense insensible.

What
 terms of
 agreement
 with the
 Presby-
 terians we
 ought to
 allow.

§ 8. Hence it may appear, why it is not to be said, that, the papists standing stiff in maintaining all the abuses, which we are called protestants for protesting against, it will not be for the honour of the Reformation to own any imperfection in it; it will occasion weak souls to fall away to the Church of Rome. For, supposing him a Christian that objects this, I would ask him, in the first place, whether it be not more for the purpose of a Christian, to have a plea that will bear 20 him out at the great day of judgment, than to have a plea

* See Epilogue, Preface, § 2; and also the Letter concerning the Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xvi. Present State of Religion, § 1—5. § 5, with references in the notes there :

that may advantage his party here? whether he and I can agree upon any better plea for the change which we call reformation, and our adhering to it, than their evident rigour in maintaining their evident abuses; that they admit no terms of peace and reconciliation but those upon which they united their own party against us at the council of Trent? And would he have us to imitate them here in that, which we mean to plead against them at the day of judgment? For if there be such a thing as a visible Church, then ought the Church of Rome to condescend to such terms as may restore unity; preserving and improving, as much as may be, the common Christianity. It is the best plea, that we shall have for ourselves at the day of judgment, why we continue divided from them; that they give us no appearance of hope, that they will condescend to any such terms. And therefore we ought to condescend to terms of agreement in such matters, as we have in dispute with our brethren the Presbyterians: but not such terms as faction and prejudice imagineth, but such as the common Christianity and the original unity of God's Church determineth. For if we use that rigour which we charge the Church of Rome with, we 'weigh not by our own weights,' nor 'mete by our own measures.' But if we stand not upon that with them, upon which we defend ourselves against the Church of Rome; again we 'weigh not by our own weights,' nor 'mete by our own measures.'

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§ 9. And, indeed, supposing that the reconciling of them to this Church will require a law of the kingdom, that may authorize them in their ministries; what appearance is there of hope, that the laws, which they have broken from by the schism, will serve to bring them back? what appearance is there of despair, that the laws of the primitive Church will not serve; with that allowance, which the change of times and the difference of the case may require? Such a change would reconcile them, and not as presbyterians. Such a change would clear us from all imputation of schism with the Church of Rome. Such a change would produce that improvement in Christianity, which the name of reformation pretendeth. The Church of Rome would have no cause to laugh at such a change; unless they would laugh for joy at that improvement of the common

The laws of the primitive Church the standard of all change.

CHAP. Christianity, which they themselves would presently stand
III. obliged to imitate. They themselves, who would be accounted infallible, were glad to provide for unity among themselves by new decrees at the council of Trent. Those, that think they may fail, and know, that all positive laws, saving the Gospel which our Lord Christ came in person to preach (for that also may in some respect be accounted positive), are subject to that imperfection, which the change of time either produceth or discovereth, are to think it no reproach to change for the better, when the necessity of reconciling a schism requireth it. Let papists glean up here and there a weak proselyte (such for the most part, as, little troubled in conscience with the matter of difference, seek only what to palliate their interest with): who can propose a general good without danger of particular offence? It was a Divine saying of a heathen; that the good cause passes from that side, that refuses reason, to that side, that proffers it.

Our present case is not the case of our forefathers.

§ 10. Again, shall we charge them at the day of judgment for adhering to custom against truth; to their forefathers, against that which was from the beginning: and adhere ourselves to that, wherein we cannot say that our forefathers have restored it? Certainly, if we will 'weigh by our own weights,' and 'mete by our own measures,' we are not to engage with our forefathers against the Catholic Church, if we suppose it God's ordinance. For their case is not our case; now the case is put, that unity in religion cannot be had without a new law of the kingdom. The council of Trent hath succeeded since the reformation which they made. If it be the second blow that makes the quarrel, it is not the Reformation, but the council of Trent, that hath formed the schism between us and the Church of Rome. The publishing of it is the declaring of a law, upon admitting whereof we may communicate with the Church of Rome; otherwise not. And so, on our side, the settling of religion by a new law of the kingdom will be a declaration, that we will have no peace without so much more than our Reformation hitherto hath demanded. For if the unity of the Church be God's ordinance, it is not in the power of any part of it to unite themselves upon those conditions, which they ought not to

stand upon, with the rest of the Church, if they could not be reunited to it without such conditions. So they may be no schismatics in God's sight for changing without the Church of Rome, which they knew would not consent to the change; and yet we may be schismatics in defying it upon new terms of distance.

§ 11. When I speak of our forefathers, I accompt not the acts of Henry the Eighth the acts of our forefathers in matter of religion. For it is manifest, that he left not the see of Rome upon any pretence of reforming religion; further than the removing of that power, which indeed hindered it: nor as hindering it, but as burdensome in his own case. If any beginnings of the Reformation were brought in upon this occasion during his time, we have reason to own the things done, without disputing the reason for which they were done. Otherwise, we are not engaged to his proceedings, because they made way for the Reformation to succeed. They, who declaim against the persecutions raised by the Church of Rome as they deserve (while the bloody law of the Six Articles, and the persecuting of the pope's authority at the same time*, is buried in silence), do not 'weigh by their own weights,' nor 'mete by their own measures.' The pretence of Reformation under Edward VI. excuses much defect in the form of proceeding by the matter which it introduced. They might make use of that which had been done to another intent. We are not to measure their actions by the actions of them which were guided by other reasons.

§ 12. In fine, to maintain other men's actions is to make ourselves accessory to their sins in doing them. The Church of Rome, standing to that which they received from their forefathers, stand but to that corruption, to which that state of religion, which the apostles brought in, hath degenerated by tract of time. That our forefathers should not at once see, or seeing should not at once be able to restore, all that was decayed, is no imputation to men not pretending; infalli-

C H A P.
III.

The acts
of Henry
VIII. no
acts of our
forefathers
in religion.

Imperfec-
tion of laws
in religion,
no imputa-
tion to our
forefathers.

* 13 Hen. VIII. c. 14. (A.D. 1539), enacting the Six Articles, was preceded by the execution of Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher in 1535, and followed by that of Abel and others in 1540, for denying the royal supremacy. And Barnes and others were burned in

the very same year, 1540, for heresy. See Collier, Ch. Hist. Pt. ii. Bk. ii. vol. ii. pp. 96—99, 168, 169, 181: and Bramhall, Just Vindict., c. iii. Works, Pt. i. Disc. ii. vol. i. p. 117; quoting from Foxe's Acts and Monum., Bk. viii. vol. ii. p. 445. ed. 1674.

C H A P. bility. . Why they have not since proceeded to restore the
III. rest; I have shewed evident reason, in the contrary factions
 of Papists and Puritans, and the effects of them, which our 23
 times have seen. They themselves profess an imperfection
 in not restoring of penance^b; a matter of such consequence,
 that all the judgments of God, which we have suffered, may
 justly be imputed to it. And therefore, the necessity of this
 time requiring a change, the introducing of that which never
 was, for the contenting of men, instead of restoring that
 which was and therefore ought to be, will be the sin of the
 nation; the declaring of this will be the discharge of him
 that is so persuaded.

The pre-
 sence of
 tender con-
 sciences is
 no rule.

§ 13. As for the plea of tender consciences^c: to him that
 considers our case, in which it is made, it will easily appear
 to be a saddle for all horses; a pair of stirrups to be length-
 ened or shortened to all statures. For we are tied to this
 supposition. The law is to be re-established, according to
 which God must be served by the Church of England for the
 future. And to pretend tenderness of conscience against the
 law of the Church and kingdom, is to proclaim disobedience
 to all laws, that are not made by them who allege it. For
 why may not any law meet with tender consciences, if some
 do? And tenderness of conscience is a thing invisible, which
 no law can take for granted on any side. But, supposing the
 unity of the Church ordained by God, to forbear those laws
 which it requireth, because tenderness of conscience may be
 alleged against them, is to offend the whole rather than a
 part. For the same might have been alleged against any
 law of God's Church. So there could have been no such
 thing as a visible Church, if that plea could have served
 men's turns.

It serves
 Papists as
 well as
 Puritans.

§ 14. And why should not a Papist have a tender con-
 science as well as a Puritan? Why should not the one ex-
 pect to be free from the penalties, which the laws assign to
 those that refuse them; as well as the other, to have right
 to the rewards, which they assign to those that embrace
 them: both professing the same reason, though the one

^b Scil. in the Communion Service.
 —See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii.
 § 34: Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws
 of the Ch., cc. xi. § 21, xxi. § 38: and

Due Way of Composing Differences
 &c., § 50.

^c See below, c. xix. § 6, 7; and re-
 ferences in the notes there.

only makes a noise with pleading it? If it be said, that English Papists are not considerable in comparison with English Puritans: it is to be considered, how great a part of Christendom is engaged in the cause of English Papists; how small a part of the Reformation is engaged in the cause of English Puritans. In the mean time, it is the Papists, that are under the penalties of the laws; which Puritans are scandalized that they may not make. And, certainly, no man can truly have a tender conscience in this case, but he, who for his part labours, that neither Papists may have cause to continue Papists, nor Puritans to continue Puritans. But the conscience of the kingdom, that is, our hope of God's blessing, or our fear of His vengeance, will be concerned to the life in it.

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III.

CHAPTER IV.

ERASTIANS CAN ACKNOWLEDGE NO VISIBLE CHURCH FOUNDED BY GOD. THEIR OPINION ENABLETH SOVEREIGNS TO PERSECUTE GOD'S TRUTH BY GOD'S LAW. PERSECUTING THE TRUTH IS THE USE OF A POWER WHICH NO SOVEREIGN CAN HAVE. IF ANY SOVEREIGN MAY PUNISH FOR THE RELIGION HE PROFESSETH, THEN ARE SUBJECTS BOUND TO RENOUNCE CHRIST IF THE SOVEREIGN COMMAND IT. NO OFFENCE, BUT CHARITY, IN DECLARING THE TRUE GROUND OF RECONCILEMENT, OR PUNISHMENT. WHY IT OUGHT TO BE DECLARED. THE DECLARING OF IT NO OFFENCE TO SUPERIORS.

THAT which hath been said of Henry the Eighth and his acts, sheweth; that acts of Parliament cannot be the measure of religion, though they should be the fence and the bulwark of it. Let me now, upon this occasion, conjure our brethren, the Presbyterians, to lay to heart the unknown danger which this time threateneth, the evident mischief which it produceth. It was a complaint visibly just in the late usurper's time; that, while one side was for this religion, another for that, they that were for no religion would prove the strongest side^d. Presbyterians contest with their prelates, who shall give law to the Church; that is, who shall be the Church. They are desirous to have authority in point of fact,

Erastians
can ac-
knowledge
no visible
Church
founded by
God.

^d See Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. i.: and the well-known extract from Edwards' Gangræna, which is quoted above in Epilogue,

Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxv. § 8. note k. And see also Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 53. note q.

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without and against their prelates; which they will never make out any title to in point of right, but from their prelates. They believe, all the while, that the Church is founded by God; and all the rights, upon which it is founded, of Divine right: and yet can find in their hearts to stand wrangling out the time, while *they* grow the greatest party, that would have no Church at all, and by consequence no Christianity. We call them Erastians; because the disputes of our times have made it evident, that, if no excommunication, as he pretended^e, then no Church. Yet it is not to be granted, that he ever saw through the consequences of his own position; or would have held no excommunication, had he thought it would infer no Church. I will not say the learned Selden saw not the consequence. For why should I speak of the opinion of a man, that was too wise to declare it? I am sure he mistook the state of the question; when, beginning to declare his opinion in the point of excommunication (for he never argued for any part of his opinion, till he published his books *De Synedriis*), he defined excommunication to be a censure inferring a civil penalty^f. For it was evident, that all his adversaries, deriving the power of excommunication from the apostles, must deny any civil effect of excommunication; which they knew it could not have before Constantine.

Their opinion enableth sovereigns to persecute God's truth by God's law.

§ 2. This opinion is liable to an objection visible enough. For if it were true, then all subjects, all private Christians, would stand bound in conscience to profess that religion, which the sovereign power enacteth by the laws which it giveth. Which if it were so, in vain do we dispute, whether the Papists, the Prelatic[s], or the Puritans, be in the right. Whatsoever religion the law of the land shall establish, shall be that which God enjoineth: and the sovereign shall be able in point of conscience to punish those that refuse it, whether right or wrong; though it cannot be denied, that, as Christen-

^e See Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 39, c. v. § 28: and Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. ii. § 11, xi. § 2, xviii. § 31.

^f See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. ii. § 11, xi. § 1, sq., but especially § 15; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 10, sq.—The work of Selden, *De Synedriis*

Ebræor., was first published in 1650, 5. His tract *De Jure Nat. et Gent. juxta Disciplin. Ebræorum*, preceded it in 1640, and his *Uxor Ebraica* in 1646: in both which his opinions respecting Church authority appear: but the discussion respecting excommunication is in his *De Synedriis*, lib. i.: for which see the notes to the Epilogue as just quoted.

dom is at present divided, some subjects must needs be punished for the right. I know but one that hath looked this objection in the face^s. His first answer was : that they, that are punished for the right religion, shall be gainers by their sufferings; they shall have their share in the reward of martyrs^h. This is the answer, that Julian the apostate made
26 the Christians, complaining of their sufferings under himⁱ. Therefore it is evident, that a Christian must not allege it. For if he that suffers shall have a martyr's reward, what reward shall he that punisheth have but a persecutor's? So a Christian sovereign, for using the power that God gives him, shall have a persecutor's reward.

§ 3. If it be said : No marvel ; because he uses it amiss, not because he goes beyond the bounds of it.—Either God hath enacted the contrary of that which the sovereign enjoineth, or not. If not, then is that which the sovereign enjoineth contrary to no law of God ; and therefore it obligeth the subject. If so, then cannot the sovereign power enjoin it ; and therefore it is extended beyond the bounds of it, in that case. Again, either, abusing his power by enacting that religion which he ought not, he obligeth his subject in conscience to God to profess and to exercise the religion which he enacteth, or not. If not, then must the subject, for the security of his conscience, be judge whether the sovereign abuse his power or not. If so, then, as before, we dispute about religion to no purpose ; for every man is bound to that, which the law of his country enacteth. Nay, there will be no reason, why Christians under the Turk shall not live as Mahumetans. For the quality of a Christian is one and the same in the subject as in the sovereign : and therefore there

Persecuting the truth is the use of a power, which no sovereign can have.

^s Scil. Hobbes. See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ii. § 9, 10 ; c. xi. : § 9—16 ; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 18, 52. And compare Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 18, c. v. § 19.

^h Hobbes, De Cive (first published in 1642), c. xviii. § xiii. p. 272, noticing the case of a prince *not a Christian*, commanding the subject to an unchristian act, says, "Quid ergo agendum? Eundem ad Christum per martyrium." The case of a prince of one Christian sect, commanding an act contrary to the belief of his subject, being of a different Christian sect, he does not

appear to notice expressly : but it is ruled by implication in the case which he does notice, as above. And compare the last quotation from Hobbes's Leviathan (first published in 1651) in the Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ii. § 10. note 1, at the end. See also below in the Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxii.

ⁱ "Τοῖς Χριστιανῶσι περὶ τοῦτου" (scil. to complain of persecutions) "προσελθούσιν αὐτῷ" (Juliano), "ὁ μᾶλλον ἴσται, ἔλεγεν, αὐτοῖς πάσχοντας κακῶς ὑπομένειν τοῦτο γὰρ τοῦ ὑμετέρου Θεοῦ τὸ παράγγελμα." Socrat., II. E., lib. iii. c. 14. p. 186. B.

CHAP. IV. can appear no reason, why it should give the one the right by the act of his will to oblige the will of the other ; which an undoubted sovereign, a pagan or a Mahumetan, hath not. And indeed he hath answered otherwise since : namely, that a man is bound to renounce Christ with his mouth, if the sovereign command it ; for he shall be saved by believing in Him with the heart the same time, which is all that his Christianity requireth¹. This answer is plain English. But it comes to this point,—that a Christian is saved by the inward act of faith without the outward, by believing without professing.

If any sovereign may punish for the religion which he professeth, then are subjects bound to renounce Christ if the sovereign command it.

§ 4. There is another, that intended, it seems, to shew the late usurper by what right he might protect both presbyteries and congregations, dealing with others according to his interest^k. He supposeth, that a Christian, being justified by his faith, is at his choice to make himself the member either of an independent congregation or of one that shall associate itself into a presbytery with others : whereupon the sovereign, ²⁷ supposing both of them to be the “godly party,” must needs find himself bound to protect them both. He saith not, by what right he could punish those for their religion, whom he took not for the “godly party ;” by what right he could hinder them in the free profession and exercise of their religion : which indeed is a greater punishment, than a Christian, neither heretic nor schismatic, can be bound to endure. But he need not tell him, by what right he could exclude them from belonging to the “godly party.” Those, whose religion cannot stand with usurpation, cannot seem “godly” to usurpers. In the mean time, as you see, this author stands upon the same ground with his fellow ;—that a Christian is justified by the inward act of faith without the outward, by believing without professing. Only he saith,—by believing before he profess ;—the other,—though he profess the contrary of that which he believeth. But neither of both hath

¹ This is almost stated in words, in the same passage of the *Leviathan* that is referred to in § 2. note f above ; and see Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xix. § 18—20 : but is more expressly laid down in *Leviathan*, Pt. III. c. xlii. p. 271.

^k So Louis Du Moulin, *Parænesis ad Edificatores Imperii in Imperio*, in

qua defenduntur Jura Magistratus &c., Lond. 1656. Du Moulin was ejected as a non-conformist at the Restoration, and survived until 1680 : which accounts for Thorndike's omitting his name. See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xi. § 26. note n ; and quotations from the book, *ibid.* c. xx. § 2, 3. notes b—k.

offered to say : either that the will of the sovereign is by God's law the rule of religion to the will of the subject, which he is to answer God by at the day of judgment ; or that God's law can allow the sovereign to punish the subject for that religion, which it enableth not the sovereign to oblige his subject to profess. All must come to this point ; that a Christian is bound to renounce Christ, if his sovereign command it. For if a Christian be bound in conscience to obey whatsoever his sovereign commandeth in point of religion ; then, if the Great Turk command his subjects to renounce Christ, they are bound to obey it. Which whether it be not a position for Macchiavellian atheists, that make no more of Christianity than of an expedient to govern people in peace ; I leave to all, that are capable, to judge. Thus much for certain : he, that thinks himself tied to renounce his Christianity if his sovereign command him, is no longer a Christian ; as having recalled the vow of his baptism, to profess Christ until death. And this is that, which I conjure our brethren the Presbyterians to lay to heart ;—that the visible growth of this opinion, by their continuing this distance upon trifles, threatens to render them, that would have no religion at all, the strongest side.

§ 5. In this open and stiff opposition of four religions, though not distinguished into four communions,—Recusants, Prelatics, Puritans, and Erastians (for I oversee the Fanatics, as swallowed back into the belly of the Presbyterians) ; shall it be a crime, shall it be an offence, for me to say, what point of Christianity in my poor opinion reconciles all to unity, that admit God's truth ? that, believing two articles of our Creed,—“one Catholic and Apostolic Church,” and “one baptism for remission of sins,”—if we believe that they signify any thing, we are all bound to submit all partialities to that which they signify. Not as if Recusants, depending upon a foreign communion, and the head of it, that shews no inclination to unity upon terms of God's truth, were likely to take notice of one man's poor opinion concerning the consequences of common principles : but because we are ourselves so far chargeable to God for our schism with the Church of Rome, and the mischiefs of it, as we neglect those consequences ; and because the justice of the kingdom in the pen-

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No offence, but charity, in declaring the true ground of reconciliation, or punishment.

CHAP. alties of all recusancy may easily be rendered visible if we
 IV. keep close to them, but not possibly otherwise. As for those, that make the pope antichrist and the papists idolaters; can they be allowed to forejudge my opinion, because it makes our reconciliation with the Church of Rome easier than they would have it? For if division in the Church without evident and valuable cause be a sin to God, it will certainly be the sin of the kingdom to bear them out in it by stating our Reformation upon undue grounds. For the terms of it must needs be according to the grounds of it; which, being either invisible, or inconsiderable in comparison of the benefits of unity, must needs translate some part of the blame to rest upon that side which exceeds.

Why it
ought to be
declared.

§ 6. And, therefore,—to excuse my freedom in publishing that which follows,—let no man grudge me this plea for myself at the day of judgment; that, being convicted, that our agreement cannot be acceptable to God but upon the consequence of those two suppositions, according to that which follows, I am not at rest till I have said it. Could there be peace had by compounding the interest of two parties, without providing for the interest of our common Christianity, in those two articles; what joy could a Christian expect of that, which should be purchased at so unconscionable a rate? Here is nothing said but that, which hath been said, when arbitrary power might have made it a pretence for persecu- 29
 tion, had the interest of usurpers allowed it. It is a short view of that, which I have published heretofore; presented to those, that may desire to see in one prospect, what is the true consequence of it in the composing of those differences that remain still on foot. And the danger of being involved in the crime of schism before God, obligeth me to declare that opinion, which being not declared, may render me liable to that charge in God's sight.

The de-
claring of
it no of-
fence to
superiors.

§ 7. Therefore there is no offence to superiors in declaring it. The laws of kingdoms go by a rule, that is made of such metal as may bend, and be fitted to the body which they are to rule¹. Only they are to aim at an inflexible rule of God's truth; which is the inheritance of every Christian. And,

¹ "Τοῦ γὰρ ἀορίστου ἀόριστος καὶ οἰκοδομῆς δὲ μολὶβδίνος κανὼν." Aristot., Eth. Nic., V. x. 7.
 δ κανὼν ἐστίν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῆς Λεσβίας

therefore, he that sees it made crooked, is bound to set it straight. This is not to say, what public authority should do; but what it should intend to do. A thing necessary to be said, when there be those, who would have it intend that which it ought not to do. In fine, the difficulty and danger of our case seems to supersede, for the present, the rule of obedience in the Church.

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CHAPTER V.

WE HAVE THE SAME EVIDENCE FOR THE VISIBLE UNITY OF THE CHURCH AS FOR THE TRUTH OF THE SCRIPTURES. THE CHURCH FOUNDED UPON THE POWER OF THE KEYS. THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH VISIBLE BY THE LAWS OF IT. THE LAW WHICH ENDOWETH THE CHURCH WITH CONSECRATED GOODS. HOW THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH IS SIGNIFIED BY THE SCRIPTURES. HOW IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I SAY then, that the unity of the Church signifies nothing, unless it signify the visible unity of communion in the outward offices of God's service; not only the invisible unity of the heart, in faith and charity: unless the Church be founded by God for an outward society, visible to the common reason of man; not only for an invisible number, the unity whereof only His own invisible wisdom inwardly designeth. And I say it, because I conceive I have proved it by the same evidence^m, upon which we accept the Scriptures for the Word of God: upon which we hold our common Christianity. For I have shewed, that we believe the Scriptures for the Scriptures; the matter of faith for the motives of faith, there relatedⁿ. That is, we hold those things, which the Scriptures relate, sufficient to oblige all the people of God afore Christ to be Jews; all the people of the world after Christ to be Christians. This, in the nature of a reason obliging a man to be a Christian. For, in the nature and kind of an effective cause, I do not suppose, much less grant, that any thing is sufficient, much less effectual, without God's Spirit. But if an unbeliever should ask me, why I believe that to be true, which, being true, I grant sufficient to oblige me to believe: it will not serve my turn to say, that I find it written in the

We have the same evidence for the visible unity of the Church as for the truth of the Scriptures.

^m Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of § 7, sq.
Chr. Tr., cc. ii. sq.: especially c. vi. ⁿ See *ibid.*, c. iii. § 21.

CHAP. V. Scripture; so long as the question is, why I believe the Scripture. My answer must be, that the consent of all Christians in submitting to the Gospel (which they would not have done, had they not known the motives to be true, for which they did it) assures me as much, that they are true, as if I had seen the things done, which moved them to believe: especially, being as much convicted by the light of reason and nature, that Christianity goes beyond Judaism for advancing the service of God and goodness, as that Judaism goes beyond the religion either of pagans or Mahumetans.

The
Church
founded
upon the
power of
the keys.

§ 2. For this being the reason why we believe, that must be alleged by all, that will allege any reason to unbelievers; it must needs have the same force in evidencing the sense, that we allow it in evidencing the credit, of the Scriptures. If the consent of all Christians in submitting to Christianity upon motives recorded in the Scriptures, assure me that they are true; and therefore the Scriptures the Word of God, and Christianity the only religion by which we can be saved: then the consent of all Christians in owning the obligation of holding visible communion with the Church, is to assure¹ me that it is God's ordinance. For the act or the acts of our Lord, upon which the Church is founded, I allege the power of the keys^a, described by the effect of "binding and loosing," and to that effect granted to St. Peter, Matt. xvi. 18, 19; to the disciples assembled after the resurrection, John xx. 19—23, in the terms of "remitting and retaining sin;" to the Church, Matt. xviii. 15—18, in the same terms as to St. Peter: to the effect of rendering him, that obeys not, "a heathen man or a publican" to him, that would be a Christian. Here you have a certain power, deposited with certain persons: the effect whereof is visible in the succession of persons, deriving the authority, which they claim, from the visible act of those persons which are here trusted with it; and in the maintenance of visible communion amongst true Christians, by excluding the false. It is true; heretics and schismatics exclude themselves out of the Church. For they would be the Church themselves, if they could tell how. But it is the authority of the Church, that obligeth Christians to

^a See Epilogue, *ibid.* c. ix. § 1, sq.

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V.

avoid them; as the Jews, to whom our Lord spake, did then avoid "heathen men and publicans." And it obligeth, by declaring them heretics and schismatics. I know there be those, that would have the imputation of heresy and schism to be now mere bug-bears to fright children with^p. But would any of them own any of the sects, which were shut out of the Church for heretics or schismatics from the time of our Lord till the time of Constantine, for true Christians? Whether they would or they would not, is not considerable. For if all good Christians then did, then did all good Christians own the visible unity of the Church. And there is as great a consent of Christians in the visible unity of the Church as in the truth of Christianity, saving this difference: that all Christians, good and bad, true and false, agree in the truth of Christianity; only those, that are neither heretics nor schismatics, in the unity of the Church.

§ 3. Let no man mistake this evidence, as if so great a truth were read only in two or three texts of Scripture. They, who take upon them to argue of such matters as these, ought to know, that the laws of all commonwealths, when first they are founded, are the wills of their rulers; according to that measure of power whereby they rule. Therefore, if our Lord trust His disciples and their successors with the rule of His Church, He trusts them also to make laws for the ruling of it; provided that they tend to enforce, not to avoid, those laws, which He in person hath left them as Christians. For disciples, that is, Christians, He left them actually; not actually members of His Church, as not yet actually formed, though virtually founded in the power of the keys which He left His disciples. These laws are as visible, as the laws of any kingdom or commonwealth, that is or ever was, are visible^q. I do not own the pope's canon-law to have the force of obliging us. For I maintain a great deal of usurpation in the power by which it was made; as well as a great deal of abuse, in making the law given by our Lord of no effect, by the matter of it. But I maintain the pope's canon-law (and the same is to be said of that canon-law, whereby the patriarch of Constantinople now

The unity
of the
Church
visible by
the laws
of it.

^p See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxv. § 8.
notes i, k; and Due Way of Composing
Differences &c., § 10.

^q See Epilogue, *ibid.*, cc. vii.—x.,
xxi., &c.

CHAP. V. governs in the Eastern Church) to be derived from those rules, whereby the disciples of our Lord and their successors governed the primitive Church in unity*. And this no less evident, than [that] the Christianity of this time is to be derived from the Christianity of that time. For as the present law of the Church is but the corruption of the primitive, no more is the present Christianity (whether of the Reformation or of the Church of Rome) but the corruption of the primitive. For why shall I make nice to say it, pretending all reformation to be nothing but the restoring of primitive Christianity; and, to that end, of such laws in the Church, as may be the means to restore it?

The law which endoweth the Church with consecrated goods.

§ 4. Among those laws there is one, which, obliging those who have given up themselves to God for Christians to give up their goods to maintain the assemblies of the Church for the service of God (wherein the communion of the Church consisteth), estateth the power of dispensing the maintenance thereof upon the rulers of the Church*. This provision—how little soever notice many take of it, who pretend to understand the Scriptures,—began first in our Lord, and the disciples that attended upon Him continually. For it is evident by the Gospels, that those disciples, which did not attend upon Him continually, furnished by their contribu-
 33
 tions a stock, whereupon they subsisted. Judas you know was trusted with it; and was the first that committed sacrilege, in robbing the poor of Church-goods. For the poor could not have attended upon the doctrine of our Lord, had they not been provided for by the richer of His disciples. And the goods of the Church are still the patrimony of the poor, for the same reason; that, being provided for, they may attend upon God's service. Therefore the reason was the same, when the Christians at Jerusalem gave up their lands and their goods to maintain the Church in continual attendance upon the service of God; when the Corinthians maintained their feasts of love†; when the Christians afterwards built those churches, and laid those lands to them,

[John xii. 6]

[Acts ii. 44, 45; iv. 34—37; vi. 1.]
 [1 Cor. xi. 20—22.]

* See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. vii. § 29—41. See also the Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxiii.

† See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xvi. § 22—48: Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. x. § 6: Rt.

of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 41—52: and Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 5—7.

† See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xvi. § 32—34.

which Eusebius saith, being pulled down and confiscated by Diocletian, were restored by Constantine"; when Christian kingdoms and states, by a civil law, endowed the Church with tithes and glebes and mansions. A thing as general as Christianity: no people, no country being known, where the Church was ever settled without maintenance estated upon it; by the Church itself at the least, if not by the law of the country over and above.

§ 5. The form of government in every commonwealth is [e]stated upon certain powers, wherein sovereignty consisteth; which lawyers and philosophers call sometimes "*jura majestatis*." Here you have, in the governors of the Church, the power of admitting into and excluding out of the Church; the power of giving laws to the Church; the power of dispensing the exchequer which God hath provided for the Church; and, in fine, the power of propagating these rights to their successors. Whereby it pretendeth not to be a commonwealth; because Christianity pretendeth to maintain civil power and the right of this world in the same hands and upon the same terms, which it findeth. But it appeareth to be a visible society, founded by God, under the name of the Catholic Church, upon the command of holding communion therewith; to which He obligeth all Christians. And all those scriptures of the New Testament, that mention any of these rights, signify no less; when the meaning of them is measured by that rule, without which there is no means to determine the sense of any scripture, that is questionable. And the same is signified by those scriptures, which mention sometimes several Churches, sometimes one Church containing all Christians and all Churches. For, the parts (that is, particular Churches) being visible bodies, the whole must needs be understood to be a visible Church. The practice of all Christians, owning an obligation in point of right to maintain the powers, which the Scriptures for the most part only mention as matter of fact, determines them to signify more than they express.

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V.

How the
unity of
the Church
is signified
by the
Scriptures.

* Euseb., H. E., as quoted in Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxii. § 8. note j.

† See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of

Chr. Tr., c. vi. § 9, c. xi. § 33.

‡ See *ibid.* cc. vi., sq.; c. xxi. § 9, sq.; and c. xxiv.

CHAP.
V.
How in the
Old Testa-
ment.

§ 6. As for the Scriptures of the Old Testament: the calling of the Gentiles to be one new people of God with the Jews, that should believe, is but foretold in them by prophesy. And therefore the visible unity of the Church, consisting of them, cannot be otherwise declared in them, than by that correspondence, in which the Church answereth the ancient people of God*. The unity thereof was the unity of a commonwealth, maintaining itself by force of arms in the possession of the land of promise, in which God had placed them upon condition to live by His law. The unity of the Church, consisting of all nations, and maintaining all states in their rights of this world, pretendeth not to any power of this world, to maintain itself by. It becometh visible by the free will of Christians, believing it a piece of their Christianity to live and die members of one visible Church. The unity of the Jews' state, tending to a temporal end, of enjoying the land of promise, answereth not the invisible unity of Christian souls, but the visible unity of a Catholic Church; according to that rate, in which the Law answers the Gospel. And so is this point of Christianity no less clearly delivered by the Old Testament, than other points of the Christian faith are.

CHAPTER VI.

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HOW FAR THE SCRIPTURES ARE CLEAR TO BE UNDERSTOOD OF THEMSELVES. TRADITION LIMITETH THE SENSE OF THE SCRIPTURE. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TRADITION OF FAITH AND RITUAL TRADITIONS. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HERESY AND SCHISM. THE DEPENDENCE OF CHURCHES EVIDENCETH THE UNITY OF THE WHOLE CHURCH. THE FORM OF THIS DEPENDENCE THROUGHOUT THE ROMAN EMPIRE. NO EXCEPTION TO BE MADE TO IT FOR THE BRITISH CHURCH. EPISCOPACY, BY THIS FORM, INVOLABLE IN ALL OPINIONS; AND THE CHURCH A STANDING SYNOD. THE CHURCH VISIBLE BY DISOWNING HERETICS AND SCHISMATICS. THE BREACHES THAT HAVE COME TO PASS EVIDENCE THE SAME.

How far
the Scrip-
tures are

For though all, that is necessary to be known for the salvation of all Christians, be not only sufficiently but abundantly

* See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. viii. § 24, cc. xv., xvi., xvii.

contained in the Scriptures ; yet, how clearly there laid down, depends upon the purpose, for which God declares that He gave the several parts of it⁷. It is manifest, that God intended to veil the New Testament in the Old, and to reveal the Old Testament by the New⁸. Therefore Christianity cannot be clearly delivered in the Old Testament. Till our Lord was to leave the world, He declared not the condition of Christianity, by which we are saved : He declared not that, which He declared when He was to leave the world ; to wit, that it was thenceforth to consist in undertaking to profess the faith of the Holy Trinity, and to live by Christ's precepts, though
 36 one's life lie upon it. For He declared not the promise of sending the Holy Ghost, till He was ready to leave the world. And therefore the baptism of Christ, by which Christians do make that profession which saveth us, was not instituted till His departure. And though our Lord had clearly preached the precepts of Christian life from the beginning ; yet is the visible estate of His mystical Body the Church, as well as the invisible estate of particular members, darkly figured and typified, not only by the parables of the Gospel, but as well by that which befel Him, as by that which He did, during the time of His preaching. Therefore neither is Christianity clearly delivered by the Gospels. To them, to whom the apostles writ their epistles, the substance of Christianity must needs be known ; for they had been made Christians upon the professing of it. But their epistles therefore suppose it, and therefore cannot pretend to deliver it. Besides, the greatest part of them is spent in proving, that we are saved by Christianity, out of the Old Testament ; and, therefore, by that correspondence, in which the Law answers the Gospel, the Church the synagogue, and the kingdom of heaven the land of promise. And though our Lord opened His disciples' hearts thus to understand the Scriptures, yet are not all that shall be saved able to make out this correspondence ; the professing and performing of that Christianity, whereby they are saved, not requiring it. Therefore neither are the

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clear to be
understood
of them-
selves.

[1 Pet. iii.
21.]

⁷ See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. v., xxviii. 65 : and Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr. c. xvi. § 2, sq.

⁸ See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xiii. § 37—

C H A P. VI. apostles' writings clear in things necessary to salvation, but supposing the knowledge of that Christianity, whereby we are saved ; nor absolutely clear, but to those that are able to make out that correspondence. Without this limitation, it is not to be granted, that all things necessary to salvation are clear to all, that seek salvation, by the Scriptures alone. For what mark is there extant in the Scripture, to distinguish that which is necessary to salvation, from that which is not ?

Tradition
limiteth
the sense
of the
Scripture.

§ 2. Nor is there any inconvenience in all this to them, that are content to lay prejudice aside, and to see that which they cannot but see. For it will appear by the writings of the apostles, that they committed the doctrine of Christianity to them whom they trusted with the founding and governing of the Church ; for the instructing of them, that were to be baptized and formed into Churches, whereof the whole Church was to consist^a. So that, as they to whom the apostles writ, having received their Christianity from those that were so trusted, were to limit the meaning of their writings within that faith which they had received ; so is all interpretation of Scripture still to be confined within that, which the Church from the beginning hath received by their hands. Which is not to make any man lord of any man's faith. For this tradition of the faith is before the very being of the Church ; because, whosoever became a Christian, and so a member of the Church, it is supposed that he undertaketh the same. And, therefore, being in force before there be any Church, it cannot depend upon any authority to be claimed by the Church^b. And the evidence for it is the same ground, into which the reason of believing resolveth ; the consent of all Christians. Which, as it could not have been preserved and maintained, had it not been required to make a man a member of that Church, which by professing it stood visibly distinct from all that profess it not ; so, since as much as is necessary to salvation hath been already declared by the consent of the Church, to confine all interpretation of Scripture within that, which all the Church

^a See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. vii.—ix. ; but especially

also c. xxi.

^b Ibid., c. vi., and c. vii. § 1—23.

every where at all times hath received, can make no man lord over the faith of the Church. C H A P.
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§ 3. But there is a vast distance between this tradition of faith, and other traditions, which may have proceeded from that authority and trust for founding the Church, which our Lord left with His apostles, and they with the Church^c. For that, being the condition upon which all Christians are saved, remains always the same, neither to be increased nor diminished till the world's end. But the productions of ecclesiastical power, vested in the apostles and their successors, can be no more than the limiting of circumstances; according to which the public service of God is to be performed, and those powers exercised, which God hath granted the Church for the maintaining of unity in serving God according to that Christianity which our Lord teacheth. Christianity is concerned in them but two ways. The first; when they are so far from advancing the service of God, which Christianity requireth, that it is impaired and destroyed by corruption in them. The second; when a part of the Church proceedeth³⁸ to a change in them upon pretence that so it is, though indeed it be otherwise. The first is the plea of the Reformation against the Church of Rome; the second, the plea of the Church of Rome against them, as to this point of traditions. And the issue is the same, that is to be tried between the Church of England and those that stand at this distance from it. For, the unity of the Church being a part of the common Christianity, the breach of it will be chargeable upon that side, which makes such a change as the rest have not reason to embrace. If the pretence thereof be either not evident or not sufficient, the fault is in them; if both, in those who refuse to join in it. The rules and customs and rites of the Church, which are called traditions, are not commanded because good, but are good because commanded. And therefore even the traditions of the apostles, being of this kind, may cease to oblige, by the change that may succeed in the state of the Church, for which they are provided^d. Instances hereof, recorded in the Scriptures, have been produced^e.

^c Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. vii. § 40, 41, c. xxi., and c. xxiv. § 9—22, c. xxv. § 1—5.

^d See Epilogue, as quoted in note c.

^e *Ibid.*, c. xxi. and c. xxiv.

CHAP.
VI.

The difference between heresy and schism.

§ 4. They therefore, that break from the Church upon any point of the tradition of faith (which is before the Church, as being requisite to make a man a member of the Church), are properly called heretics. For if they only disbelieve in the heart, they may be counted heretics to God; but that is nothing to the Church, of which we now speak. But they, that will not stand to the authority of the Church in matters subject to it, are schismatics. For those things, to which the authority of the Church extendeth, are the matter of schism. Not that this difference is always observed; for, many times, the name of heresy extendeth to all sects, which man's choice, not the will of God, createth^f: but because there is that difference visible in the matter of Christianity; which many times appropriateth the common name of heresy to the most eminent, that separate upon matter of faith. These things are here premised to make way for the evidence, which I tender for the visible unity of the Church, from the consent of all Christians. He, that sticketh at any point of it, may have recourse to the proof which I have made in due place; taking all, therefore, here, for granted.

The dependence of Churches evidenceth the unity of the whole Church.

§ 5. But I will advance another assumption, tending to set 39 the same evidence in better light; by stating the form, in which the whole Church from the apostles hath always been governed, without repeating the proofs whereby it appeareth^g. A Church then, in the sense of all Christians before the Reformation, is the body of Christians contained in a city and the territory of it. For the government of such a one, the respective authority of the apostles, conveyed by the overt act of their ordination, was visibly vested in a bishop; in a number of presbyters, for his advice and assistance; and in deacons, attending upon them and upon the executing of their orders. I say, the respective authority of the apostles; because, as less cities are subject to greater in civil government, so have the Churches of less cities always depended upon Churches of greater cities throughout Christendom. Rome, Alexandria, Antiochia, were from the beginning of Christi-

^f See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 36—38: Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxv. § 9—16: and Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xiv. § 2.

^g See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. iii.; Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. xi. § 2,

10; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii.; Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. vi. § 18; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xviii. § 8; Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 26: and elsewhere.

anity visible heads of these great resorts in Church government; which the council of Nicæa made subject to them by canon-law for the future^h. The eminence of other cities over their inferior Churches, appears in the records of the Church, as soon as there is any mention of them to make it appear. In these Churches, and in the governors of them, the whole authority of the apostles was vested; for they constituted the Church.

§ 6. In process of time, the government of the Roman empire was moulded anew under Constantine, otherwise than it had been by Augustus. But this new model was designed by Adrianⁱ. It made the chief cities of the chief quarters of the empire the residences of the chief commanders of the armies, with civil jurisdictions respective; which civil jurisdictions Constantine left them, when he took from them their commands over the armies: Carthage for Afric, Milan for Italy (that part which was not under Rome), Triers for Gaul, Thessalonica for Illyricum, Ephesus for Asia, Cæsarea *Cappadociæ* for Pontus. The pre-eminence of the Churches is as visible over the Churches of their inferior cities in the records of the Church, as the pre-eminence of the cities in the records of the empire. And, according to the course of all human affairs, must not this pre-eminence of necessity be further limited, enlarged, or abated, in process of time, whether by written law or by silent custom? For the effect hereof, I present to your consideration the canons of the council of Sardica; which I take to be the greatest advantage, that ever lawfully and by regular means accrued to the Church of Rome toward that greatness, which since it hath irregularly obtained^j. For it is visible, that they were the means to extend the superiority thereof over Illyricum; which continued, till the Eastern empire, having the Church of Rome in jealousy, laid that whole jurisdiction under the Church of Constantinople^k: the increase of which Church upon the seating of the empire at that city (the ground

The form of this dependence throughout the Roman empire.

^h See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xviii. § 10: and for the canon of Nicæa, *ibid.* c. xx. § 11. note a.

See *ibid.*, c. xix. § 8, notes r, s;

c. xx. § 8, sq.: and Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. xi. § 10.

^j See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 19—22.

^k See *ibid.* § 23, 27, 32.

CHAP. VI. which I allege for the superiority of all Churches¹), as it hath been unjustly opposed by the Church of Rome, so it is justly owned by those, who protest against the usurpation of it.

No excep-
tion to be
made to it
for the
British
Church.

§ 7. They, that would except Britain out of this rule upon the act of the Welsh bishops refusing Austin the monk for their head^m, should consider, that St. Gregory, setting him over the Saxon Church, which he had founded, according to rule, transgressed the rule in setting him over the Welsh Church. For the canon of the apostles maintains every nation to be governed by their own bishopⁿ. Which the Welsh had reason then to insist upon, because of the jealousy, which appeared from the Saxons, of their inroaching upon the nation, if their bishop should be owned for the head of the Welsh Church. Setting this case aside, the rest of that little remembrance, that remains concerning the British Church, testifies the like respect from it to the Church of Rome^o, as appears from the Churches of Gaul, Spain, and Afric; of which there is no cause to doubt, that they first received their Christianity from the Church of Rome^p. And if so they did, then is there reason to conclude, that they owed it the respect which was due to their mother-Church; but that they either owed it or shewed it the respect of a subject to the sovereign, which now is challenged, none at all. As for Illyricum, which shewed the same respect after the council of Sardica; it cannot be thought to have owed it before, because it received not Christianity from Rome^q.

Episco-
pacy, by
this form,
inviolable
in all opin-
ions; and
the Church
a standing
synod.

§ 8. Hereby it may appear, that the visible unity of the Church must stand or fall with episcopacy^r; and, therefore, no marvel that it should not be acknowledged by them, who acknowledge not episcopacy. For, the soul of this unity con-⁴¹ sisting in the resort of inferior Churches to superiors and in

¹ Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xviii. § 10—13, c. xx. § 8.

^m See e. g. Bramhall, *Just Vindic. of Ch. of Engl.*, c. v.; Works, Pt. I. Disc. ii. vol. i. pp. 162, 163: Replie. to Bp. of Chalcedon., c. v. sect. i.; *ibid.*, Disc. iii. vol. ii. pp. 151, 152: and Schism Guarded, sect. iv.; *ibid.* Disc. iv. vol. ii. pp. 540—545.

ⁿ Quoted in Epilogue, Bk. III. Of

the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 29. note p.

^o See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 29.

^p See *ibid.* § 26.

^q See *ibid.* § 23, 27.

^r See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xiv. § 1—3; and Review of it, c. x. § 1—4, c. xi. § 5: Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 44, sq., c. v. § 33: Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. viii. § 8—18, c. x. § 26, 27.

the correspondence of parallel Churches, neither can this resort nor this correspondence ever appear to have been had and exercised but between bishops, as heads in behalf of their Churches. Whether by a treaty of bishops personally assembled in council, or by correspondence between bishops by means of their presbyters, deacons, or inferior clergy, good intelligence were preserved between Churches towards the maintaining of communion in the whole; it matters not. The Church, in the form which I state, is a standing synod, able by consent of the chief Churches, containing the consent of their resorts, to conclude the whole. In all the records of the Church let them shew me one presbyter, that ever answered for his Church to the rest of the Church, at least in his own name (for if in the name of and by commission from his bishop, it is for my turn); and let them take all*. And therefore, though episcopacy must needs be declared for part of God's law by the Scriptures, understood as the consent of the Church directeth (against which no Scripture can be rightly understood); yet, supposing the Church visible by God's law, I have enough to make them schismatics that oppose it: though I should make episcopacy no part of God's law, but introduced by consent of the whole Church. For that part, which submitteth not to the consent of the whole in matters, which God's law referreth to the whole for the preservation of that unity which it enacteth, are justly to be taken for those, that violate the unity which God's law enacteth; especially, in a law of that consequence, as one of those rights wherein the chief power of the Church consisteth†. It is strange to see, how fondly men argue:—that presbyters have the power of the keys, which made the apostles apostles; therefore much more are they equal to bishops‡. As if they could not have that power in private matters, between God and the conscience of particular Christians; reserving the same power for the bishop's peculiar in things, which, being public, concern the body of each Church.

* See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 48, 64, 65, c. iv. § 34—37; Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 3.

† See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xvi. § 7, sq.: and Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 66, 67.

‡ So e.g. Smectymnuus, *Answ. to Humble Remonstrance*, p. 78. See also Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 44: and the second of the Two Papers &c. presented by the Presbyterian divines to Charles II. in 1661, pp. 17, 18.

CHAP. For in the cause of Arius this power was in the council of
VI. Nicæa, and in no less. Had Athanasius of Alexandria or Alexander of Constantinople loosed him, whom the synod had bound, though at the instance of Constantine; they⁴² had been sinners to God and to His Church, in violating the unity thereof: which He hath made more inviolable than any temporal endowment of it.

The
Church
visible by
disowning
heretics
and schis-
matics.

[Tit. iii.
11.]

[Tit. iii.
10.]

§ 9. How far are we now from having evidenced the visible unity of God's Church to be a part of the common Christianity; supposing these things proved, the proofs whereof have now been infringed? Heretics are "condemned by themselves," saith Paul; because they know they forsake that profession, upon which they were baptized members of the Church. But it is Titus, that is to refuse them. The Church avoids them, because the bishop finds them incorrigible. If other bishops and their Churches, duly informed from Titus, do the like, then is the visible unity of the Church visible in their proceedings. If they do not the like, then must they break communion with Titus and his Church; by a perpetual rule of the Church, holding all excommunicate, that shall acknowledge an excommunicate person to be a member of the Church. But we read of no breach in the Church for any of those, whom the Church hath declared heretics; except what shall by and by be excepted. Thus far all the Church owneth the visible unity of the Church. As for schism, how many occasions of it have been prevented? The difference about keeping Easter, the difference about rebaptizing heretics, many other differences, have threatened breaches in the Church; which have been prevented through the conduct of Christian prelates. Other divisions, that have come to pass, have been re-united sometimes, sometimes not. The communion of the Church of Sardinia with the rest of the Western Churches stood interrupted by the discontents of Lucifer archbishop there; and therefore, I conceive, for his time and no more*. The Church of Antiochia stood divided within itself under two bishops for a matter of threescore years; till, by the inter-

* See Cave, in art. Lucifer Caralitanus, in an. 354: who says, "that Luciferianum schisma . . . ultra hujus sæculi

terminum durasse non videtur." And see also Mosheim, Bk. ii. Cent. iv. Pt. ii. c. iii. § 20.

cession of the West as well as of the East, it was re-united⁷. The East under Constantinople stood divided from the West under Rome upon the cause of Acacius for some seventy years; till the Church of Rome was satisfied⁸. How long the schism of Montanus lasted (for at the first it was but a schism, if we judge by Tertullian⁹, who is the best record 43 that remains of it), I say not. It seems to have turned into a heresy first, and then to nothing; as other heresies have done. The schism of the Novatians (for it was no more^b) seems to have returned to the Church by pieces^c. And so that of the Meletians^d. The Donatists seem to have continued, till Afric was overrun by the Mahumetans^e. In all these breaches, what signifies the attribute of one Catholic Church, but a visible unity opposite to so many visible apostasies? St. Augustin saith, that, if a stranger asked a heretic or schismatic the way to the Catholic church, he durst not shew him the way to his own church, because the title was not questionable^f: not merely because the Catholic had more belonging to it (as some would have us judge of religion by counting noses), but, as Optatus saith, "*quia rationalis et ubique diffusa*^g:" because the due reason, why men are Christians, swayed men to stand to the unity of the

⁷ "Πέντε γὰρ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα διέμεινεν ἔτη" (scil. ἡ διάστασις), "μέχρι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου πάσης εὐφημίας ἀξίου προεδρίας: δι τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας ἐγχειρισθεὶς τὰ πηδάλια, . . . τὸ κεχωρισμένον μέλος τῷ λοιπῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας συνήρμοσε σώματι." Theodoret., H. E., lib. iii. c. 5. p. 128. C.—The schism lasted from the deposition of Eustathius to the election of Alexander, A. D. 328—413. See Le Quien, Oriens Christ., tom. ii. pp. 710—719.

⁸ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 34, 35.

⁹ See Epilogue, ibid. c. x. § 5; and Bk. I. of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ix. § 12, 13; and Conclusion, § 52: Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 24: and below, c. xxv. § 4.

^b See the references in the last note.

^c According to Mosheim (De Reb. Christian., Sæc. III. § xv. Annot. in fin., p. 520), "A quinto sæculo contabuisse paulatim hæc secta videtur: licet tennes quædam ejus reliquiæ sæculo sexto adhuc apparent."

^d i. e. the followers of Meletius Bp. of Lycopolis in Egypt, circ. A. D. 306.

According to Mosheim, Eccl. Hist., Bk. ii. Cent. iv. Pt. ii. c. iii. § 18, the sect lingered on even to the fifth century. See also Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 32. note o.

^e "Ad sextum usque sæculum," according to Dupin, Hist. Donatist., p. xxii.: from S. Gregory's letters. So also H. Valesius; De Schism. Donatist.; in fin. Euseb. H. E., p. 304. See also above, c. ii. § 9.

^f "Et Catholica nominatur, non solum a suis, sed etiam ab omnibus inimicis. Velint nolint enim, ipsi quoque hæretici, et schismatum alumni, quando non cum suis sed cum extraneis loquuntur, Catholicam nihil aliud quam Catholicam vocant. Non enim possunt intelligi, nisi hoc eam nomine discernant, quo ab universa orbe nuncupatur." S. Aug., Lib. de Vera Relig., c. vi. § 12; Op. tom. i. p. 752. E.

^g "Ubi ergo erit proprietas Catholici nominis, cum inde dicta sit Catholica, quod sit rationalis et ubique diffusa?" Optat., De Schism. Donatist., lib. ii. c. 1. p. 29.

C H A P.
VI.

Church all over ; the undue reason, that moved men to break with it, prevailed but here and there. At all hands, discounting heretics and schismatics, whom they that follow do seldom approve ; so many Christians, so many witnesses of one Catholic Church, which by being Catholic was always and must needs be visible. And thus far we have the same evidence for one visible Church as for the rest of Christianity.

The
breaches
that have
come to
pass evi-
dence the
same.

§ 10. After the council of Ephesus the reputation of Nestorius held entire in the East, notwithstanding the decree of the council^h. The records of the Church have preserved us no intelligence, how or by what means. Those, that write of the wars of the Holy Land afterwards, represent us the Nestorians in the East so numerousⁱ, as might well stumble those, that pretend to decide the controversy of religion by the poll in our western parts. But whether the breach stood upon the opinion, or upon the person, of Nestorius ; is more than I am able to decide. For in Egypt likewise, after many troubles about the council of Chalcedon and the condemning of their bishop Dioscorus by it, at length these Churches are counted Jacobites ; from the name of one Jacobus Zanzalus, or little Jacob, of Syria, who is said to have taught them the position of Eutyches, condemned by that council^k. Whether so, or whether a fond zeal for the reputation of Dioscorus hath served to divide that people from the Church, upon a⁴⁴ mere difference in terms ; the breach still continues : and the Abyssines, depending always upon the Church of Alexandria, are said to continue in it. Since that, what breach of intercourse and communion hath fallen out between the Greek and Latin Church, or upon what cause, and how far it continues ; I need not relate. But there can be no question, that it disposed these western parts to that breach, which the Reformation hath made. Within the Reformation, I need

^h See Mosheim, Eccl. Hist., Bk. ii. Cent. vi. Pt. ii. c. v. § 4.

ⁱ See e. g. the account of Prester John, &c., in Mosheim's (or rather Paulsen's) Hist. Tartar. Eccles., pp. 16, sq.: from the voyage of Rubruquis, c. xviii., in Bergeron's Voyages faites principalement en Asie, pp. 65, sq. Paris. 1634: and from the Chronicle of Otto of Frisingen, and other writers on the Crusades: or in Mosheim's Hist. of the Ch., Bk. iii. Cent. xii. Pt. i. c. i. § 7. and note.—A full account

of the Nestorians, and their extensive missionary settlements and numerous sees in the East, may be found in Aaseman, Biblioth. Orient., tom. iii. Pt. ii. cc. 3—5. pp. 67—169.

^k See Mosheim as in note h, § 6 ; Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin. Jacobit. ; and Le Quien, Oriens Christ., tom. ii. pp. 1343, sq. The latter explains the epithet Zanzalus, as given to him, because by wearing old horse-cloths for garments "*sese contemptibilem hominibus præberet.*"

not speak of the division between the Calvinists on the one side, and the Lutherans in the empire, the Arminians in the Low Countries, on the other side. I am only this to demand; did ever any of these parties declare, that the visible unity, which these breaches interrupt, is not God's ordinance? that one of the parties is not always guilty to God for the mischief of schism? that Christian charity is not highly concerned in violating that communion which Christianity enacteth? Until the dregs of our times, I do not know that it was ever disputed, that Christians are not bound to be members of one and the same visible Church. I have already said, that the Reformation was not made by common consent. I must now acknowledge further, that it proceeded not expressly upon the profession of one visible Church; though neither denying nor questioning the same. No marvel then, if in all things it be not confined to the consequences of it. And therefore no marvel, that dissensions have fallen out in it: no marvel, that they, who dare not look so clear a principle in the face, can wrangle out the salvation of souls upon petty scruples, which the admitting of it must needs presently disperse.

CHAPTER VII.

REFORMATION TO BE BOUNDED BY THAT WHEREIN THE VISIBLE CHURCH AGREEETH. NO CHANGE WITHOUT REGARD TO THE RULES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. REGULAR AUTHORITY IN THE CHURCH OF ROME THE MEANS OF UNITY; ABSOLUTE, OF SCHISM. HOW WE ARE VISIBLY ONE WITH THE ONLY CHURCH OF GOD, REFORMING WITHOUT THE CHURCH OF ROME.

As for the Church of England, where episcopacy stands settled by the law of the land as well as by the law of God; and the right of goods consecrated to the service of God by investing them upon His Church, is maintained by the same: are we not to fear the curse of God, if in all things of religion we 'mete not by the same standard,' if we 'weigh not by the same weights?' Can we pretend to 'weigh by the same weights,' unless we admit the whole faith and all the laws of the Catholic Church? unless we confine the Reformation to the restoring of that which hath been, without introducing

Reformation to be bounded by that wherein the visible Church agreeth. [See Deut. xxv. 13, 14; Prov. xx. 10.]

C H A P. that which cannot appear to have been? Men see new fan-
VII. cies every day in the Scriptures, which the same man sees not to-morrow, another man never sees. The profession of faith, the rules of government, the rites of God's service, are the things, that must make a Church a part or no part of the whole Church. For if the Church be a visible body, it must be visible by the laws which it useth. And if it be to continue one and the same body from the first to the second coming of our Lord, the laws of it will necessarily change as the laws of all bodies do; but the authority, whence they proceed, must needs continue the same. If corruption and abuse be to be reformed; and those, in whom the authority ⁴⁶ visibly resteth, agree not: restoring that which was, you have the authority of the apostles and their successors for the reviving of their acts; introducing that which was not, you go by the spirit of the Fanatics, the dictate whereof appears not in the Scriptures by the consent of the Church. In fine, matter of faith is to the world's end the same, that the whole Church hath always from the beginning professed. If you impose more, the Church of Rome will have a better pretence than you can have; namely, a better claim to the authority of the Church. For it is an imposture to induce any man to think, that, professing Christianity, they can renounce the Scriptures. The issue is, and will be, whether you or the Church shall be judge; until you distinguish between the present Church and the whole Church, not contesting the faith of the present Church so far as it holds with the whole. But in matter of Church-law, which, for the reason that hath been said, is necessarily changeable: though the difference of times and the estate of things will not endure the restoring of primitive discipline, yet shall it be easy thereby to discern, what is abated for unity's sake, what is rejected because the Catholic Church and the laws of it are not owned.

No change without regard to the rules of the Catholic Church. § 2. And upon these terms it will be easy to answer all demands, not only here, but at the great day of judgment; at which, otherwise, the account cannot be clear. They, that would have it thought, that the mischiefs which we have seen have not been acted for nothing, would have the law of the kingdom in matter of religion changed to give them content; without considering, what cause we give the Church of Rome

to take us for schismatics, balking the whole Church that we may be reconciled to those that have broken from us. For supposing for the present, though not granting, that all papists are idolaters, and the pope antichrist; the unity of the Church is nevertheless, as it hath been proved, a part of Christian truth. Nor can papists be idolaters, or the pope antichrist, for believing anything which the whole Church believeth; for commanding or for practising that, which the whole Church hath commanded or practised. Nay, not for that, which the whole Church of any age hath allowed part 47 of the Church to practise. For God forbid it should be said (which it were senseless to imagine), that part of the Christian world should own part of it for Christians, being indeed idolaters and partizans of antichrist. The Church must have been utterly lost in that case; and the reforming of it must not be the mending of the old Church, but the making of a new Church. Yet is it not enough for these men to allege the ancient Church in any particular. They must 'weigh [See Deut. by their own weights,' and 'mete by their own standard,' xxv. 13, 14; Prov. xx. 10.] if they will not fall under God's curse. They, that stand not to the consent of the Church in all things, answer themselves when they allege it. Nay, they may invite us to be schismatics for their sakes, in that, for which they truly allege the ancient Church. A justifiable, nay a commendable custom of the ancient Church, may come out of use, without any violence, any fraud, any purpose to defeat that pious intent, to which such a custom was instrumental. They, who had rather break with the Church of Rome than comply with a change, which the change of time and the state of things by time hath brought to pass, should be, in my opinion, schismatics. But what if our Fanatics should be content silently to return into the communion of this Church as presbyterians? What if it appear, that they are bullion-heretics, for the positions they profess; though not stamped by conviction, and contumacy succeeding, and the declaration of the Church upon that? It will not then be clear, how we shall wipe off that imputation, to which we shall be liable by the perpetual rule of God's Church: for receiving and communicating with those, that have stamped themselves schismatics, as schismatics, those, that have declared themselves

C H A P. VII. bullion-heretics, as bullion-heretics; without any ground to presume, that they are changed. Certainly we cannot allege the Catholic Church for ourselves, but it will rise in judgment against us, when we stick not to it.

Regular
authority
in the
Church of
Rome the
means of
unity; ab-
solute, of
schism.

§ 3. What condition we fall into, if we submit to the Church of Rome upon terms of conquest, it is manifest enough. For wherein the pope hath not limited his own authority by the council of Trent, we render ourselves to the mercy of it. The missionaries shall have done a great effect, if they persuade us, that we are schismatics, unless we return to those abuses, which we see with our eyes, which we handle with our hands, they are so evident and so gross. Well may ⁴⁸ they persuade simple Christians, that they must first resolve, which is the true Church; and then what is true and what is false in religion, by that, which the Church so resolved teaches. This is a great deal the shorter way, than to justify the particulars, which by this means they impose upon them. And if we render ourselves upon these terms, what remains, but that we admit whatsoever the pope shall impose for the future; though we know, that the power of the whole Church extends not to it? Which how shall we answer at the day of judgment, either for ourselves, or those that depend upon us? And yet I have shewed, that the Church of Rome hath, and ought to have, when it shall please to hear reason, a regular pre-eminence over the rest of Christendom in these western parts¹. And he, that is able to judge, and willing to consider, shall find that pre-eminence the only reasonable means to preserve so great a body in unity. And, therefore, I count not myself tied to justify Henry the Eighth in disclaiming all such pre-eminence; when it was enough for his purpose to disown it as not extending to his case. For by the regular constitution of the Church, which I have described, if the pope excommunicate any man unjustly, he does it in his own wrong; he excommunicates himself thereby from all, that shall adhere to him whom he excommunicates. His advantage is only this,—if more adhere to the chief Church than to the less. For which though there be regularly a presumption; yet, if usurpation appear, either in

¹ Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xviii. § 10—14, c. xix., c. xx. § 14, sq.

sentencing, or in the matter or in the effect of the sentence, he, that exceeds his authority, breaks it upon him, that exceeds not: like the waves of the sea against a rock. C H A P.
VII.

§ 4. But of the usurpations of that Church, wherein they consist and by what means effected, in due place; that the difference may be visible between the infinite and the regular power of the pope. In the mean time, what I have said of this point, I must say of all matters in difference; that, as the Church of Rome cannot hinder us of restoring ourselves to the primitive right of the Church, by which a Christian kingdom duly may maintain the service of God (neither consenting to the abuses which other Churches maintaīn, nor breaking with them in other matters), so are we to go no
 49 further, than the consent of the Church will bear us out. For if we make new and private conceits of the Scripture, and the sense of it, law to the Church, which we reform; we found a new Church upon that Christianity, which the only Church of God never owned. But if we only restore that, which by abuse of time may appear to have come to decay; we imp and ingraff the Church, which we reform, into that only Church, which they that reformed not succeed. For how should we depart from unity with that Church, the authority whereof we follow in the change which we make? If therefore we are to "be without offence to Jews and Gen-
 tiles and to the Churches of God," as St. Paul commands; then are we to be without offence also to the Church of Rome. Now it is no offence to the Church of Rome, that we build unity among ourselves upon an opposition to the abuses of it. But if upon an opposition to that, which it holdeth from the whole Church; we give them cause to take us for schismatics, as not reverencing in her the whole Church, which we are bound to hold with.

How we are visibly one with the only Church of God, reforming without the Church of Rome.

[1 Cor. x. 32.—"τῷ ἑκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ."]

CHAP.
VIII.

CHAPTER VIII.

WHAT MEANS GOD HATH PROVIDED PRIVATE CHRISTIANS TO DISCERN THE TRUE CHURCH. THE DUTY OF ALL ESTATES FOR THE RE-UNITING OF SCHISM. THE GROUND AND EXTENT OF SECULAR POWER IN CHURCH-MATTERS. HOW THE CONSCIENCE OF SOVEREIGN POWER IS DISCHARGED, MAINTAINING THE CHURCH.

What means God hath provided private Christians to discern the true Church.

UPON these terms the choice of religion would become more clear (which otherwise must become far more doubtful) by the settling of our present differences. For I grant it a thing too difficult for every Christian, that is concerned to choose his communion, to try the particulars in controversy by the consent of the Church. But I maintain the same difficulty in trying which Church it is, that "preacheth the true word of God," and "rightly and duly administereth the sacraments;" which others^m would have the marks of the true Church. For, without trying the particulars in controversy, how shall it appear where the word is preached, where the sacraments are ministered, as they should be? And how shall they be tried but by the Scriptures, expounded according to the consent of the Church? As for them, that would have us take the decree of the present Church to be infallible; they are first to tell us, upon whose credit we take that infallibility. For, you see, we believe not the present Church that it is the Church; to wit, founded by God. We accept it upon the consent of the whole Church. Neither is any thing infallible in Christianity, but upon the same ground. It is not the decree of the present Church, but the witness and agreement of the whole Church, that renders any thing infallible. Now, it is true, every Christian hath the judgment of discretionⁿ in the choice of religion in point of fact;

^m Viz. the foreign Reformers; and see XXXIX. Art., art. 19; Prayer for the Church Militant; Homily for Whit-sunday: &c. See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 7. note e.

ⁿ "We distinguish judgment into three kinds: judgment of *discretion*, judgment of *direction*, judgment of *jurisdiction*: . . . every subject hath judgment of discretion, to apply (the law) particularly to the preservation of himself, his estate and interest; ad-

vocates . . . have moreover a judgment of direction, to advise others: . . . but those, who are constituted by sovereign power to determine emergent difficulties and differences, . . . have moreover a judgment of jurisdiction, . . . to impose an obligation of obedience unto those who are under their charge." Bramhall, Answ. to La Millet.; Works, Pt. i. Disc. i. vol. i. pp. 49, 50. And so also Field, and others.

that is to say, supposing the division, or rather the divisions, that are on foot in the Church. But in point of right, it ought to be otherwise; God having provided the unity of the Church on purpose, that simple Christians might not be put to so hard a choice. For when the Catholic Church was so visibly distinct from all sects, that a sectary would have been laughed at, had he called his own church the Catholic church of that city^o; wilfully must he perish, that should forsake that Church, which he could not mistake. But, in our case, what avails it to allege the title of Catholic, while the ground of the title remains disputable? Especially, the division between the Greek and Latin Church having rendered it almost insignificant afore; and the number of Protestants, as I said of Nestorians^p, rendering it questionable, where the signification will light.

§ 2. Seeing, therefore, that the malice of man, by dividing the Church, rendereth it invisible, as hard to be seen; though not invisible, as not possible to be seen: what remaineth, but that all public persons, and whosoever is interested in the divisions of the Church, understand and consider what account they owe for the souls, that must needs miscarry by the divisions, which they maintain when they need not? For how shall he be clear, that professes not a desire of condescending to all that which truth will allow, on either side, for the advantage of peace on both sides? And seeing neither side can make peace without the consent of both, but either may have truth alone; what remaineth, but that all reformation be confined within those bounds, which the faith and the law of the Catholic Church fixeth? For though they, that profess and intend to reform by that rule, may fail in applying their rule to some matters; though, seeing what the rule requires, they may be fain to abate of it, because the body which they intend to regulate is not capable of the strict rule: yet it is a reasonable ground of confidence for a single heart, that the right rule is expressly professed to be intended. For though, in all divisions, the parties, acknowledging one visible Church, must needs hold the one the other schismatics, unless they will bear the blame of the division themselves; yet

The duty
of all
estates for
the re-
uniting of
schism.

^o See above, c. vi. § 9. note f.

^p Above, c. vi. § 10

C H A P. VIII. is there no appearance in reason, that God will take them for schismatics, that follow so fair a profession in general, though it may not come to effect in some particular.

The
ground
and extent
of secular
power in
Church-
matters.

§ 3. And this is the only way to provide a clear discharge for the secular power, that is sovereign, in establishing such a reformation by law to the people of it, and enacting the same with such privileges and penalties, as Christianity either alloweth or requireth. For it is manifest from the premisses, that the Church by God's law is judge in the matter of all laws, according to which religion is to be enacted by any sovereign. Yet is the sovereign power judge also of their judgment: as not only itself a member of the whole Church, and heir to all right which the unity thereof entitleth any Christian to, but as protector of the Church, and of the faith and laws of it; that is, as protector of all subjects within the Church of the respective dominions, in all right, which the law of the Church in the dominion thereof settleth; and therefore bound to judge, whether that, which the Church, either of the respective dominion or united with the same, shall determine, be such as the unity of the whole Church either alloweth or requireth, or not^a. For it is only the sovereign power, that can enact it for a law upon all the 52 subjects thereof to the effect of secular privileges or penalties. And seeing the faith and communion of the Church is the inheritance of the secular power that is Christian; it is manifest, that he is trusted for his subjects in matter of religion to no purpose, if he be to trust the Church at large in the matter of his office. And yet, God's law having provided the Church, to limit all matters questionable upon the constitution of the Church, it is also manifest, that all secular power is to suppose the faith of the Church, as always the same from the beginning; and the laws in being, as acts of the same authority, which was founded by God in the whole Church from the beginning before any secular power was Christian: which if it protect not, why is it Christian? I say, it is bound to accept them for such, in

^a See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 12, c. iv. § 1—6, c. v. § 6—34; and Review of it, c. iv. § 1—3: Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xi.

§ 35—38, c. xix. § 13, 14, c. xx. § 24—32; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii.

case it appear not by the faith and the laws of the whole Church, that they are otherwise. And in that case, though the secular power be judge for itself, yet the Church, and the law of the Church, is the rule by which it is to judge. As for that, which present necessity requireth to be restored or settled anew for the Church respective to every sovereignty; it is also manifest, that the secular power both may and ought to see the Church under it to do their office: knowing, that it is their office, as to preserve the faith, which is always the same, so to maintain unity, by suiting the laws which are to be, with those which have been from the beginning; whereof common reason, in all public powers, is a competent judge. I need say nothing, that secular powers may and are to see, that under pretence of ecclesiastical power or jurisdiction their own rights be not invaded; having said, that the power of the Church produceth no secular effect. But, as the enacting of the Church-laws with secular privileges and penalties is only the effect of secular power, so is it accountable to God alone for the use of it.

§ 4. And as the unity of the whole Church must needs be concerned in the laws of the Church, respective to this or that sovereignty; so is it not possible, that any sovereign should be judge in the concernments of those, that are not his subjects. The divisions of Christendom, which I alleged afore, make full evidence for this. For what need further
 53 dispute about religion, were subjects, as subjects, by God's law bound to stand to the will of their sovereigns in that, which concerns them as Christians? This shews, how much sovereigns are concerned, for their discharge to God, to seek the peace of Christendom. For if, as at present, it cannot be had upon just terms: it is not the opinion of this or that divine; it is not the opinion of any person whatsoever, not acting in a quality capable by the constitution of the Church to oblige the Church respective to the sovereign; much less is it his personal skill in matters of religion (though as great as any man's); that can serve for his discharge to God. He is answerable to God, notwithstanding any such advice, for any wrong, that the privileges and penalties otherwise enacted may do. But maintaining, first, the express profession of the rule hitherto established, bounding all reformation of

How the conscience of sovereign power is discharged, maintaining the Church.

* See above, c. iv. § 2.

C H A P. VIII. the present Church by that, which the consent of the whole Church either alloweth or requireth ; then, maintaining them in their office, whose office it is to form that, which his act must make law to his subjects : there will need no more for his discharge to God, than the use of that judgment, which God hath endowed him with, to discern whether the rule which he protecteth be duly applied to that which he enacteth, or not. For as no reason can be excused to God, transgressing that which it seeth ; so, in things doubtful, to prefer any reason before that which God trusteth in the matter of such trust, is to render a man's self accountable to God for that wrong, which may be done : for which, otherwise, those that are trusted by God should be accountable.

CHAPTER IX.

54

DIFFICULTY IN RECEIVING THE FANATICS INTO THIS CHURCH. HOW THEIR POSITIONS DESTROY THE FAITH. ABSOLUTE PREDESTINATION TO GLORY DESTRUCTIVE TO CHRISTIANITY. JUSTIFYING FAITH INCLUDETH THE PROFESSION OF CHRISTIANITY. THE NATURE OF FAITH, ACCORDING TO THE SCRIPTURES, SHEWETH THE SAME. SO DOTH THE STATE OF THAT QUESTION WHICH ST. PAUL DISPUTETH. THE CONSENT OF THE CHURCH HEREIN ; WITH THE GROUND OF IT. THE SENSE OF THIS CHURCH.

Difficulty
in receiving
the Fana-
tics into
this
Church.

BUT I must now profess, that the weightiest point, in reuniting the breaches of religion in this Church, is the condition, upon which the Fanatics may be either reconciled to it or shut out of it ; whether with free exercise of their several sects, or under certain penalties, as recusants. I see, that they are not afraid to pretend a further liberty of "public preachers," even since the laws of this land were in force. For I find, that such of them, as are not ministers of congregations, do notwithstanding stile themselves "public preachers." Which is nothing else, than to pretend that authority from the secular power, which they had by the late usurpation ; to seduce as many of his majesty's subjects as they can to their conventicles. But that I will say nothing of, because I make certain account, that, whensoever we come to any settlement in religion, they will find that their pretence to be vain. That which I insist upon, is that

which I conceive I have proved¹:—that the positions, which they notoriously challenge, are downright heresy, wanting only conviction to produce either conversion or contumacy, and the declaration of the Church upon the same. For it is notorious, that they challenge the present endowment of God's Spirit, and the certainty of salvation for the future, upon no further consideration than of their persons; as not depending upon the Christianity which they either profess or perform. So far they are from acknowledging, that it dependeth upon their being members of God's Church, by living according to that Christianity which it professeth. For because they think themselves members of Christ, before they be members of God's Church: therefore they think themselves enabled by God to divide the Church in *infinitum*; and that the conventicles of their congregations are Churches to the same effect with those which were founded by the apostles, though they profess not the faith, though they renounce the unity of one visible Church. Therefore they openly allow those, who maintain, that "God can see no sin in His elect;" that "their sins are pardoned from everlasting," before they be done; that God shall not judge by our works, but by His own decrees; that there are inspirations of the Holy Ghost without the Word, though not against it; for dear members of Christ, and the cream of Christians². And hence comes the everlasting divisions which they maintain. For to renounce those bounds, which the faith of the Church and the unity thereof fixeth, is enough to commend them to all parties, that do so, for "the godly." In fine, the whole fry of this error resolves itself in two positions³:—that God predestineth to salvation merely in consideration of men's persons, and not of any Christianity, which they shall be found to have professed and performed;—and that the knowledge of this predestination, revealed by the Word, and sealed by the Spirit, immediately, not supposing the Christianity which they profess and perform, is that faith which only justifieth.

¹ See Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 7—13.

² See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. i. § 11. note b—d; and Due

Way of Composing Differences &c., § 12, and notes x—c.

³ See Epilogue, *ibid.* c. i. § 8, c. vii. § 7, 8, c. xxx. § 10, c. xxxi. § 2.

CHAP.
IX.

How their
positions
destroy the
faith.

§ 2. I cannot say, that the Presbyterians do expressly profess these positions^a. For they have an express Confession of their Faith^a, which expresseth them not. But seeing them, in all occasions of public confusion, render themselves considerable by these fanatics, as being of one and the same party; I must take it for granted, that they think their profession reconcileable with these positions^a: especially knowing, how many particular divines and preachers of that party have maintained the same; namely, all, that maintain justifying faith and the knowledge and assurance of a man's salvation without and before repentance^b. I do not then say, that the belief of absolute predestination is heresy in the sight of God^c: because it may be held with other positions, which are an antidote to the venom of it, as being really contradictory to it; which contradiction did those that hold it perceive, they could not hold it. For this contradiction suffers not the consequence of heresy to take effect. But both positions together I have maintained to be downright heresy^d. Neither have I been shewed, or of myself discovered any reason, sufficient to think otherwise. And, therefore, I must continue to 'weigh by my own weights,' and to 'mete by my own measures.'

Absolute
predestina-
tion to
glory de-
structive
to Chris-
tianity.

§ 3. For that the ground and substance of Christianity is utterly inconsistent with the decree which they imagine, is manifest, if any thing can be manifest in Christianity^e. Because, if there were any such decree, then could not men be judged at the last day, as judged they shall be, by their works. There is no decree of God that shall not be executed. If God decree from everlasting to give glory and torment for

^a See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. i. § 9, c. xxx. § 11, sq., c. xxxi. § 2, sq.; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. vi. § 8, 9; and above, c. iii. § 7.

^b See above, c. iii. § 7. note a.—That the Independents adopted the Westminster Confession, see Epilogue, Conclusion, § 11. note t.

^c Compare the negotiations set on foot by Baxter with Philip Nye in 1655, and with Dr. Owen in 1668, for a union between Presbyterians and Independents: in Baxter's *Life and Times*, edited by Sylvester, lib. i. Pt. ii. pp. 188, sq., and Pt. iii. pp. 61, sq. Lond. 1696. But the Independents as a body repudiated the doctrine as much

as the Presbyterians: as may be seen in Cotton's *Eccles. Hist. of New England*.

^d That this was the doctrine only of some of the Presbyterian party, and not of the Presbyterians as such, see Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. i. § 8, 9, c. vii. § 7. note h, c. xxxi. § 2. notes u, x: Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 13: Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. vi.

^e See Epilogue, Bk. II. as in last note; and below, c. xiii. § 4: &c.

^f See Epilogue as in note b.

^g See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxii. § 12, 13; c. xxvi. § 1, sq.

everlasting without consideration of men's works, then must He without such consideration give it in time. For, otherwise, He should not execute that which He decrees. And, indeed, such a decree can no way be undefeasible; as all God's decrees must be: unless God determine and move every man to every thing that he doth every moment of his life, upon the account whereof he shall be saved or damned; and that, before his own will determine or move itself. But if God should so determine and move man's will, then would the tender of the Gospel be a mere abuse and a mockery; inviting mankind to salvation upon a condition, which, unless God determine and move him to perform, he cannot,—if He do, he cannot but,—perform. The justice of God's proceedings at the last day stands upon this;—that a man might have transgressed that, for which he is rewarded or punished:—and the obligation of Christianity in this;—that by the help, which it tendereth, a man is able to do that which it requireth. Again, if we may be assured of the effect of our Christianity (the endowment of God's Spirit here, and everlasting salvation in the world to come), before
 57 we be assured that we have performed it; how can we be obliged either to profess or to perform that, which it is to no effect either to profess or to perform, if the effect be had without either professing or performing it? For I challenge the common reason of men to question this; that no effect can depend upon any condition, which a man can be sure of before he be sure whether he have the condition or not. So that he, that is sure of his salvation before he be sure whether he be a good Christian or not, cannot think it a condition necessary to salvation, that he be a good Christian; and therefore must needs think, that he may be saved without being a good Christian. Nor will it serve the turn to say, that he is not therefore saved without being a good Christian; because, if he be so assured, he is also assured, that God will make him a good Christian. For, in that case, Christianity would not be the condition, upon which salvation, and therefore the assurance of salvation, should depend; but a mean, by which God would save him whom He should decree to save, upon no condition of being a Christian. Whereas, if Christianity be true, and if God shall judge us

CHAP. IX. by our works, we must be saved by performing that Christianity which we are to profess, and not otherwise.

Justifying
faith in-
cludeth the
profession
of Chris-
tianity.
[Acts xi.
26.]

[Matt. x.
38, xvi. 24;
Mark viii.
34, x. 21;
Luke ix.
23, xiv.
27.]

[Rom. x.
10.]

[Rom. x.
10.]

§ 4. For I must here begin, where I left afore; when I said^f, that they, who define justifying faith without including the profession of Christianity in it, do mistake the very ground of the Christian faith^s. No man can be a disciple of Christ, that is, a Christian (for they, who were "called disciples" of Christ "afore," "were called Christians at Antiochia"), without taking up Christ's cross: that is, professing to die for Christianity, if it be requisite; if not, to forego any advantage of this world, which a man cannot hold, doing the duty of a good Christian. It is manifest, that it is not the inward belief of the heart, but the outward profession of the mouth, that rendereth a Christian liable to Christ's cross. For could a man be saved, denying Christ, there were no cause why he should suffer for Christ. Seeing therefore, that Christ manifestly requires a Christian to take up His cross; it is manifest, that justification, which Christianity promiseth, is not to be had without professing Christianity. Who ever believed it, but the disciples of Simon Magus, the Gnostics; that would ^{ss} needs go for Christians with Christians, but do as Jews or Gentiles did, to avoid persecution from Jews or Gentiles^h. "With the heart a man believeth to righteousness," saith St. Paul. Good reason. For he, that believeth that God sent our Lord to preach that righteousness which Christianity professeth, must be a strange creature, if he find not himself obliged to the righteousness, which God sent Him to preach. But it is inherent righteousness, to which the belief of Christ's message and commission induceth. That righteousness, to which salvation belongeth by that positive will of God which His Gospel declareth, is an attribute, which the said gracious will of God alloweth, when the worth of inherent righteousness cannot challenge it. Therefore, "with the mouth a man professeth to salvation," saith St. Paul. The positive will of God hath tied the promise of salvation for the future, and justification (the title to salvation) for the present, to the positive act of professing Christianity; not to the perpetual obligation of all righteousness. And therefore this

^f Above in § 1.

^h See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov.

of Gr., c. ii. § 1, c. vi. § 1, sq.

^h See *ibid.*, c. xii. § 13.

profession was not necessary, till our Saviour commanded to
 "baptize in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," CHAP.
IX.
 at His going out of the world. Not that, before that time, [Matt.
xxviii. 19.]
 the disciples of Christ could be saved, denying Jesus to be
 the Christ: but because the profession of Christianity was
 not properly the condition of salvation, till the baptism of
 Christ was instituted; till the apostles were commanded to
 make men Christians ("teaching them to observe all that [Matt.
xxviii. 19.]
 Christ had given them in charge") by "baptizing them in
 the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." So that
 by this precept, wherein the sum and substance of Chris-
 tianity consisteth, the profession of Christianity, which our
 Lord had required for the condition of His Gospel before,
 was limited to the faith of the Holy Trinity for matter of
 belief, though extending to all that our Lord had taught
 afore concerning the life of a Christian. And herewith
 agreeth the doctrine of St. Peter, 1 Pet. iii. 21: ascribing
 salvation to "baptism," not in regard of "cleansing the
 flesh," which is the outward ceremony, but of the profession
 of Christianity, when it is made with a "good conscience;"
 whereby a man solemnly undertakes that righteousness
 which Christianity requires. And hereupon the belief of
 "one Catholic Church" becomes a part of the common
 59 Christianity; as the founding of it becomes a necessary
 consequence of making salvation to consist in professing
 Christianity. For as it were ridiculous to think, that any
 man can attain salvation by making that profession, which
 out of a good conscience he intendeth not to perform; so
 were it ridiculous to think, that a man should attain the
 state of salvation by professing that for Christianity, which
 the profession of "one Catholic Church" of God doth not
 allow.

§ 5. Add hereunto the consideration of the name and The nature
of faith
according
to the
Scriptures
sheweth
the same.
 nature of faith, and the attributes and effects that are as-
 cribed unto it, in Holy Scripture¹. It is certain, that faith
 signifieth commonly the belief of Christ's Gospel. It sig-
 nifies also, oft enough, trust and confidence in God; and
 that through our Lord Christ, when the faith of Christians

¹ See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. vi. § 1, sq., c. vii. § 1, sq.

CHAP. IX. is meant. But the one of these goes before justification; the other comes after, and presupposes it. For who will undertake, that all those, who believe that Christ's Gospel is true, are justified, though they live not as it requireth? And yet it is plain, that no man is justified but he that so believeth. Now trust in God is either confidence that God will be, or that He is, reconciled. The Gospel is sufficient ground of assurance, that God will be reconciled with whosoever will undertake the condition which it requireth. But he that hath this confidence is not justified by it, but by undertaking the condition which it requireth. Therefore he hath this confidence before he be justified. For, being once justified, he hath ground to trust in God as reconciled. But he must be justified before this confidence can be well grounded. For, otherwise, it will be so far from justifying, that he will be condemned for it. There is therefore a third signification of faith in Holy Scripture; comprising the outward act of professing as well as the inward act of believing, and supposing this outward act of profession limited by the positive law of the Gospel to the sacrament of baptism: according to which signification the ancient Church counted not Christians "*fideles*," "faithful" or "believers," till they were baptized^k. This is in the middle between the other two. For as belief goes before it, so it is the ground of the trust and confidence of a Christian. And this therefore is that, which all those scriptures, that ascribe the promises of the Gospel to faith, make properly justifying faith. For, according to the use and custom of all languages, they are ascribed to belief by a metonymy of the cause going before, to trust and confidence by a metonymy of the effect following upon it^l. But this will not hold, till we pitch upon that which comes between both, as that which qualificieth a Christian for those promises. When, therefore, the belief of Christ's Gospel causes a man to take up Christ's cross in baptism, then hath he that faith which justifieth; though that which prepares to it, and that which ensues upon it, are honoured with the same attribute, for being so near of kindred to it.

^k See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. vi. § 4.

^l See *ibid.*, c. vii. § 1.

§ 6. But the consideration of the question which St. Paul disputeth, visible in the writings of the apostles, suffereth no doubt of his meaning, when he argueth, that "faith alone" justifieth^m. It is as clear as the sun at noon, that all his dispute is with those Christians; who, having submitted to the Gospel, could not conceive, that the Law had no hand in justifying them whom they saw live according to the Law; and that, by the direction of the apostles themselves, for the gaining of the Jews. A thing which they dispensed with for a long time, till St. Paul was constrained to declare against it, as rooting up the necessity of Christianity and salvation by it alone. That this is the state of the question, all the New Testament after the Gospels is witness. And, therefore, to be justified by "faith alone," is, with St. Paul, to be justified by Christianity alone. And whereas they were all assured, that salvation was to be had under the Law: he shews every where, that the fathers, who were justified before or under the Law, were not justified by the Law, but by the Gospel, that was veiled under it; not as Jews, but as Christiansⁿ; and, therefore, that the Gentiles which turned Christians were saved by the same grace as believing Jews. For as no works, which they were able to do by the light and strength of nature, were able to bring those that were without the Law to the state of God's grace; no more could the outward observation of Moses' law, by those works which mere nature was able to produce (as tending no further than the temporal reward of the land of Canaan, expressly promised by Moses' law), render men acceptable to God for the reward which Christians expect in the world to come. But by Hegesippus in Eusebius we understand, that the Gnostics—teaching, that the bare profession of Christianity without bearing the cross for the performing of it was enough to save those, that should attain to the secrets which they taught—debauched and deflowered the Church of Jerusalem, as soon as St. James was dead^o: and, therefore, seeing that could not be done in a moment, we have cause to think that they went to work in his life-time. The consideration whereof shews, that St. James, in arguing that a Christian

CHAP.
IX.

So doth
the state of
that question,
which
St. Paul
disputeth.

^m See Epilogue, *ibid.*, cc. viii., ix.

ⁿ See *ibid.*, c. viii. § 13, 14.

^o See *ibid.*, c. xii. § 6.

C H A P. IX. is "justified by works and not by faith alone," intended to teach, that the profession of Christianity justifieth not when it is not performed^p. And therefore St. Paul intended the same, in arguing, that a Christian "is justified by faith" alone "without the works of the Law;" to wit, that he is justified by professing Christianity so cordially, and with so good a conscience, as to perform it.

The consent of the Church herein, with the ground of it.

§ 7. And for this sense of the Scriptures there is as current and as general a consent of all the whole Church, as for Christianity itself; the life and soul whereof standeth in it^q. Shew me any author approved in the Church, that ever allowed salvation without baptism, when it could be had (when it could not, the profession of him that desireth it is as clear, as if his flesh were cleansed); that compriseth not the taking up of Christ's cross by professing Christianity in the nature and virtue of justifying faith; that opposeth that faith which alone justifieth to any other works than those of Moses' law. But there is no such thing to be shewed. This is every where to be shewed, in all writings any way allowed by the Church: that the justification of a Christian dependeth upon the performance of that which he professeth; and the promises of the Gospel, which he attaineth by undertaking to live as a Christian, upon the good works whereby he performeth the same. And the honour of Christianity cannot stand otherwise. There is no sin which it cleanseth not. The reason is, because there is no righteousness to which it obligeth not. He, who believeth, that our Lord Christ tendereth salvation upon condition of believing and living as a Christian, cannot expect that which He tendereth, without returning that which He requireth. But he, that is overtaken in sin by this faith, can do no more for the present than undertake so to believe and so to live for the future. Thereby he undertakes all righteousness for the future; and, by undertaking it, is translated from the ⁶² state of damnation for sin to the state of salvation by grace. Which if he attain without undertaking, if he retain without performing, then doth not God's glory appear by His Gospel. But there is nothing so particular to this purpose as those

^p See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. ix. § 11.

^q See *ibid.*, c. vi. § 4; c. ix. § 15—42.

sayings, whereby the fathers declare, that a Christian is justified by faith alone, in case he die upon his baptism; if he survive, then, that he is justified by the works, whereby his profession is performed. Of which sayings, having produced a considerable number^r, I am by them to measure the meaning of all the rest of their writings.

CHAP.
IX.

§ 8. The Articles of this Church^s, setting forth justification by faith alone for a "most wholesome doctrine and full of comfort," for the sense of it refer us to the homily upon that subject. I will not say, that my position is laid down in that homily^t. For there are many passages of it, which shew them, that penned it, no way clear in that point. Yet there are divers sentences of the fathers alleged in it^u, which cannot be understood to other purpose; and other passages well agreeing with it^x. But in the Church-catechism, and in the office of baptism, it is so clearly laid down^y, as will serve for ever to silence any other sense. And though that which the clergy subscribeth be, as it ought to be, a "wholesome doctrine;" to wit, if soundly understood: yet that, by which Christian people are saved, ought to be that, which the offices of the Church and the instruction which it proposeth contain.

The sense
of this
Church.

^r Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. ix. § 18, sq.

^s XXXIX. Articles, art. xi.

^t See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxx. § 16.

^u The homily in question, that of the Salvation of Mankind, quotes three fathers; St. Hilary, as quoted in Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. ix. § 29; St. Basil, Hom. de Humilitate, § 3 (Op. tom. ii. pp. 158. E, 159. A),—"Αὐτὴ γὰρ δὴ ἡ τελεία καὶ δόκιμος καύχησις ἐν Θεῷ, ὅτε μήτε ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ τις ἐπαίρεται τῇ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔγνω μὲν ἐνδεῆ ὄντα αὐτὸν δικαιοσύνης ἀληθοῦς, πιστεῖ δὲ μόνῃ τῇ εἰς Χριστὸν δεδικαιωμένον· καὶ καυχᾶται Παῦλος ἐπὶ τῇ καταφρονήσει τῆς αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύνης, ζητεῖν δὲ τὴν διὰ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ἐκ Θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει"—and the Pseudo-Ambrose, In Epist. 1. ad Cor., i. 4 (Op. tom. ii. Append. p. 112. D),—"Quia hoc constitutum est a Deo, ut qui credit in Christum salvus sit sine opere: sola fide gratis accipit remissionem peccato-

rum." The homily proceeds to refer by name to several other fathers, without however citing passages from them.

^x See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxx. § 16. note q.—So also in Pt. ii. of the homily:—"This sentence—that we be justified by faith only—is not so meant of them (the fathers), that the said justifying faith is alone in man, without true repentance, hope, charity, dread, and the fear of God, at any time and season. Nor when they say, that we be justified freely, do they mean that we should or might afterward be idle, and that nothing should be required on our parts afterward; neither do they mean so to be justified without our good works, that we should do no good works at all. . . But this saying, that we be justified by faith only freely—" &c., as quoted in Epilogue, just referred to. And see also Pt. iii. of the same homily, the first two paragraphs.

^y See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. iv. § 17.

CHAPTER X.

63

WHY JUSTIFYING FAITH IS NOT TRUST IN GOD THROUGH CHRIST. OF JUSTIFICATION ACCORDING TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT. OF JUSTIFICATION ACCORDING TO SOCINUS. WHEREIN HIS HERESY CONSISTETH. HOW THE MISUNDERSTANDING OF SATISFACTION AND IMPUTATION OCCASIONED IT. UPON WHAT GROUNDS HE IS TO BE REFUTED. THE HELPS OF GRACE GRANTED IN CONSIDERATION OF CHRIST'S OBEDIENCE. AND THEREFORE THEY INFER ORIGINAL SIN BY THE FALL OF ADAM. WHEREIN THE COVENANT OF GRACE CONSISTETH. THAT THE STATE OF GRACE IS FORFEITED BY HEINOUS SIN. THE DANGER OF THE CONTRARY POSITION ACCORDING TO THE GROUND OF IT.

Why justifying faith is not trust in God through Christ.

Now I confess there is another opinion of justifying faith, in which I find nothing of any consequence that is destructive to Christianity; namely, that which placeth justifying faith in trust and confidence of God's mercy through Christ^a. For this opinion necessarily supposeth repentance to go before justifying faith. And repentance, understanding it to be the repentance of one that turns from all sin to all righteousness (such as is the repentance of him that first turneth Christian), signifies as much as the undertaking of Christianity. Only it signifies this resolution in the way, not in the end; not made, but in making; *in fieri*, not *in facto esse*. But, understanding the repentance of a Christian turning from some particular sin to God according to the obligation of his Christianity, his being justified of that sin, or from ⁶⁴ that sin, will of necessity require and presuppose his repentance of that sin. Notwithstanding, because this opinion expresseth only the inward act of faith to be the condition that qualifyeth a Christian for the promises of the Gospel, though it doth not exclude the profession of the outward man, I have laid it aside^a, not only as not true, for the reasons that I have given already, but as not sufficiently expressing the condition of the covenant of grace. For it is, therefore, the means to

^a See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxx. § 11—15, c. xxxi. § 2—4.

^a See *ibid.*, c. xxx. § 11—15. This had been Thorndike's own opinion in his earlier years: see *ibid.* § 12.

continue those everlasting disputes about justification by faith alone, which the very mention of the outward act of profession, limited for the manner of it to the sacrament of baptism, utterly extinguisheth. C H A P.
X.

§ 2. As for the decree of the council of Trent^b, seeming to confine the justification of a Christian to the infusion of habitual righteousness into that soul, which, being truly contrite for the sense of sin and the offence of God by it, resolves, for the love of God above all, to live as a Christian for the future, professing so much by being baptized; it is liable to a twofold challenge: first, for excluding the positive act of God's law, which the Gospel enacteth, by accepting the righteousness of a Christian as a condition sufficiently qualifying for the promises of the Gospel by God's original justice; secondly, for excluding the imputation of Christ's obedience from the consideration, in which a Christian is justified and saved, and, in a word, entitled to the promises of the Gospel^c. A thing which that council need not have done. For it is manifest, that Pighius, Gropper, Cardinal Contarino, Cassander, and many others, the best studied in Luther's controversies of all that communion, had owned and embraced it for the doctrine of St. Bernard, and divers other highly approved authors^d. Besides that, including the sacrament of baptism (that is, the outward act of professing Christianity) in the condition upon which a Christian is justified, it is not possible to exclude either the act of God's positive will, to which the Gospel engageth Him, or the consideration of Christ's obedience, from the same. And, including the consideration of them, the justification of a Christian will of necessity consist in the gracious account of God, accepting of

^b See Epilogue, *ibid.*, § 17. note u.

^c See *ibid.*, § 17—22.

^d "Justum me dixerim, sed Illius justitia. Quænam ipsa? Finis Legis Christus ad justitiam omni credenti. Denique Qui factus est nobis, inquit, justitia a Deo Patre." S. Bernard., *Epist. cxc. seu Tract. de Error. Abælardi*, c. vi.; *Op. tom. ii. p. 659. A.* And see other passages in Field, *Of the Church*, App. to Bk. III. c. 11. pp. 316—318; and in Bellarmine, *De Justificatione*, lib. ii. c. 13; *Controv.*, tom. iii. p. 1080. D.—The passages

from Pighius may be found in Field, as above, pp. 310, 311 (and see Bellarmine as above, c. i. pp. 1030. D, 1031. A): from Card. Contarinus, *ibid.* pp. 292, 293: from Cassander, in his *Consultatio*, art. iv. *De Justif.*, *Op.* pp. 917, 918, quoting S. Bernard: from Gropper, in his *Isagoge ad Pleniorum Cognitionem Doctrinæ Cathol. Eccl.*, pp. 412, sq. Colon. 8vo. 1554. Of course, the "crassissimus Lutherorum error de *sola* imputatione justitiæ alienæ" is equally rejected by Gropper and the others.

C H A P. him, that is chargeable with sin, for righteous; though it
X. presupposes in him that habitual righteousness, whereby he
 resolves to live and die a good Christian. And therefore they ⁶⁵
 also, not excluding expressly that which they do not expressly
 include, the worse divines they would be, as to this opinion,
 the better Christians they are; that is, the less they depart
 from the right rule of faith.

Of justifi-
 cation ac-
 cording to
 Socinus.

§ 3. And indeed the heresy of Socinus, which hath ap-
 peared since that council, gives cause to believe, that the
 imputation of Christ's righteousness to the justifying of a
 Christian (which the Reformation, for good reasons, insisted
 upon) was not distinctly understood between the parties, as
 it ought to have been. He maketh the belief of Christianity
 to be that faith which alone justifieth: in this regard; be-
 cause he, that believes it to be true, must needs find himself
 obliged, for his salvation, to live and die a good Christian*.
 Which had been a very good reason, why justification should
 not be ascribed to faith alone. For if a man be saved by
 living and dying a good Christian indeed, not by finding him-
 self obliged so to do; then is he justified by undertaking to
 profess Christianity, and not by believing it: though, by be-
 lieving it, he is obliged so to do. But as for the profession
 of Christianity, I do not marvel, that he, who intended to
 bring in a new Christianity, should make no reckoning of it
 in the condition upon which a Christian is saved. For it is
 the Christianity of the Catholic Church, which he that will
 be saved must profess; if he mean to be saved by professing
 true Christianity. And, therefore, the profession of "one
 Catholic Church" is a part of it. And, therefore, he hath
 found the true consequence of his own position, when he
 makes no more of baptism than of an indifferent ceremony,
 which the Church may use or not at pleasure^f. For how
 should any man make any more of baptism, that allows sal-
 vation before it, and therefore without it? Otherwise Socinus
 is free enough; in ascribing the effect of justifying, not to
 the worth of that faith which believeth, or of that Christianity
 to which it resolveth, but to the mere grace of God, of His

* See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch.,
 of Gr., c. i. § 6, c. v. § 10, c. x. § 3, 4. c. vi. § 5, 6.
^f See *ibid.*, c. i. § 7, c. v. § 6, 10:

own free goodness sending by Christ salvation to mankind overtaken in sin, upon the condition of their Christianity for the future. CHAP.
X

§ 4. The venom of his heresy lies in excluding the consideration of the obedience and sufferings of Christ, either from the reason, for which God grants the grace that makes men good Christians, or for which He rewards their Christianity with the life of the world to come^s. The decree of the council of Trent fully acknowledgeth the consideration of Christ's merits in the helps of grace, without which we are not good Christians^b. But in as much as it maketh Christians righteous before God by their habitual righteousness; in so much, and so far, must it needs exclude the consideration thereof from the condition qualifying for everlasting life: that is, as they expressly include it not, so they may be said to exclude it; though, on the other side, as they expressly exclude it not, so they may be said to include it^c. But Socinus hath plainly taken up divers articles of the heresy of Pelagius^k: affirming, that Adam must have died, though he had not sinned; and that Christ came not to cure any sin, that by his fall is become original to his posterity; or to procure any grace, which original sin rendereth necessary to make us good Christians; but only to assure the world by His doctrine and by His example, that God will make good His message, if we fail not on our side. And having thus excluded the consideration of His merit, either in declaring the Gospel or in performing it; what necessity remained, why He should be God^l? This is the pedigree of this heresy, complicated of the heresies of Pelagius and Paulus Samosatenus; as this latter, of the heresies of Ebion and Artemas, and of Sabellius. For as Liberatus, archdeacon of Carthage, hath well observed in his abridgement of the troubles of Nestorius and Eutyches^m, Samosatenus, denying the Godhead

Wherein
his heresy
consisteth.

^s See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. i. § 5; c. xxix. § 8, sq.: and elsewhere.

^b See *ibid.* c. xxx. § 22.

^c See *ibid.* § 21.

^k See *ibid.* c. i. § 5, c. x. § 6, 8, 11.

^l See *ibid.* c. i. § 9, c. x. § 5, and elsewhere.

^m "Paulus .. Dominum nostrum

Jesum Christum purum hominem asseruit natum et passum. De Sancta vero et summe Beata Trinitate, ut Græci tradunt, Sabellii sententiam secutus est." Liberatus Archidiaconus Eccl. Carthag. Regionis Sextæ, Brevarium Causæ Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum. c. ii.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. v. p. 741. B.

C H A P. of Christ with Ebion and Artemas, as concerning the Holy
X Ghost must of necessity say with Sabellius, as Socinus doth, that He is the virtue and efficacy (that is to say, a mere notional attribute) of the Father's Godhead.

How the
misunder-
standing of
satisfaction
and impu-
tation occa-
sioned it.

§ 5. In the meantime Socinus, excluding satisfaction by Christ's obedience, hath expressly excluded all imputation of it^a: being the immediate consequence of satisfaction; and the effect of it in order of reason, but in nature and being the same thing with it. Now it appears by the body of his doctrine, that he had conceived a deep dislike of the opinion which I count heresy; that placeth justifying faith in believing a man's self to be predestinated to life from everlasting^o: and, therefore, understood the imputation of Christ's righteousness, as that opinion must needs understand it; namely, that men are reconciled to God by the death of Christ (their sins being pardoned before they be done, and they adopted to the glory they shall one day have) without consideration of any condition qualifying for it: which no man of common reason will take to be the sense of St. Bernard, or other learned divines of the Church of Rome, that have allowed imputation to righteousness^p. And, therefore, it will be necessary to distinguish a twofold sense in the imputation of Christ's obedience, and the satisfaction which it followeth; to wit, according to the effect, to which it is thought that satisfaction is made and imputed or put to account. For in the opinion, which I call heresy, the merits of Christ are immediately imputed to them, for whom they were intended, for righteousness and life everlasting^q. But, in the faith of God's Church, Christ's sufferings are immediately imputed to mankind: because, in consideration of them, God declares Himself ready to be reconciled with all that turn good Christians; and accordingly makes good the promises of His Gospel to them, performing their Christianity. So that, in the sense which Socinus rejecteth, which is the sense of our Fanatics, imputation, as well as satisfaction, is immediate and personal: in the sense of the Church, mediate and real or causal; because it is, immediately, to no further effect than

^a See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxvii. § 2, c. xxix. § 2, sq.

^o See *ibid.*, c. i. § 9.

^p See above, § 2. note d.

^q See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxix. § 7, sq.

of procuring the Gospel, to the effect of salvation, by the means of that Christianity which it requireth. CHAP.
X.

§ 6. Had Socinus considered the consequence of this distinction, he would never have put himself upon the task of confining all, that is said in the New Testament of redemption, reconciliation, and propitiation by Christ and by His Blood, to the effect of assuring us, that God will stand to the Gospel which He publisheth^r. He would never have wrested the signification of all sacrifices, and types, figuring our Lord Christ and His death, in the Old Testament, to intend no more, than the inducing of us to that Christianity which He preached, in confidence of that grace, which He for His obedience is advanced to bestow^s. He would never have declared against the faith of the Holy Trinity, out of a presumption, that the salvation of Christians is provided for, ⁶⁸ setting aside the Godhead of our Lord Christ, and the satisfaction at which His obedience is valuable in consideration of it^t. In fine, he would not have transgressed the faith of the Church, had he understood it. But having before condemned the pope for antichrist and the papists for idolaters, and derived this apostacy of the whole Church from the very death of the apostles^u; no marvel, that he would not be confined to the faith of the Church, that he could not see the ground of it. No marvel, that he oversaw the profession of the faith of the Church by being baptized in the condition of our salvation; knowing, that he transgressed the rule of that faith. No marvel, that they, who see him in the wrong, in refuting him and his followers are sometimes worsted in a true cause; because they consider not, that the punishment of Christ for our sins may so be understood, as to make the reward of Christianity due before, and therefore without, the performing of it. Whereas, understanding His sufferings to concern immediately no particular man's person but the common cause of mankind, the immediate effect thereof is the procuring of a new law for God to proceed with us by^x; which law, being set on foot upon the fall of Adam, was

Upon what grounds he is to be refuted.

^r See Epilogue, *ibid.*, cc. xxvii., xxviii.

^s See *ibid.*, c. xxvii. § 4—10.

^t See *ibid.*, c. i. § 9, c. x. § 5, &c.

^u See *ibid.*, c. xii. § 6, c. xvii. § 13. note p.

^x See *ibid.*, c. xxix. § 20.

C H A P. first fully revealed by the Gospel of Christ: the original
X. law, which man in his original uprightness was subject to, remaining still the rule of righteousness, according to those terms which the Gospel declareth; though, for the effect of taking vengeance on us, abrogated or dispensed with in consideration of Christ's obedience.

The helps
of grace
granted in
considera-
tion of
Christ's
obedience.

§ 7. Now those helps of grace, which the Gospel tendereth for the undertaking and performing of that Christianity which it requireth, are also granted in consideration of Christ's merits and sufferings put to our account⁷; that is, the helps of preventing grace, or the actual motions of God's Spirit (without which the Gospel were a mere abuse, supposing original sin), upon the common account of mankind; the helps of following grace, or the habitual endowment of God's Spirit, upon the personal account of him that is saved by baptism. But both kinds presuppose, that the coming of the Second Adam was to repair the breach, which the first Adam had made. Both condemn the heresy of Pelagius, which Socinus in some articles of it reviveth⁸. And, indeed, to deny bodily death to be the effect of Adam's sin, what is 69 it else but to deny the resurrection of the flesh to be the effect of Christ's righteousness? For though it is the power of His Godhead that shall raise them again who shall rise to shame: yet, if it be "the Spirit of holiness," Which raised Christ from the dead, That shall raise the mortal bodies, in which It dwelt here, up to life; is it not the sin, which the fall of Adam brought into the world, that first brought in death after it? The same "Spirit of holiness" it is, That our Lord, according to promise, sent His disciples in His own stead; and sent It with visible signs of His presence, to make His word effectual in them⁹ first, and by them to the conversion of the nations. And this means as no Christian can deny to be sufficient to oblige all the world to be Christians, so there can be nothing wanting on God's part to render it effectual with those that embrace it. For it is manifest, that the grace of God works the conversion of all by shewing the world sufficient reason to be Christians: a thing which can by no means be done, but by shewing them,

[Rom. v.
15—19;
1 Cor. xv.
21, 22, 45.]

[Rom. i. 4.]

[John xiv.
16, 26;
xv. 26;
xvi. 7;
Acts ii. 4,
33.]

⁷ See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. x. § 1, c. xxx. § 27; &c.

⁸ See above, in § 4. notes k, l.

that they are the causes of their own damnation if they be not. They, that are convicted hereof, it is sure, would be persuaded by concupiscence not to act according to that conviction, were there no more than conviction of reason to turn the balance. But when God's Spirit manageth the motives of Christianity which Itself provideth (for this conviction consisteth in the works, whereby God hath made good the preaching of our Lord and His apostles), what can be wanting to the efficacy of it? And this is signified in the Old Testament by ascribing the conquest of the promised land to God, and not to the strength or valour of His people^a: so that, wheresoever we find, that they are delivered out of their enemies' hands by God's assistance, there we are assured, that the powers of darkness are not to be overcome by Christians but by God's grace.

CHAP.
X.

[Deut. iv.
37, 38;
vii. 1;
ix. 1—8;
xi. 23;
&c.]

§ 8. And the inclinations of man's heart to evil "from the mother's womb," the frailty of human flesh, and the mortality thereof, are so expressly delivered in the Old Testament^b; that the Jews themselves do acknowledge the effect of Adam's transgression in them^c. Neither is it possible to give any account of any necessity for the coming of our Saviour, otherwise. For whatsoever can be required to convict the world, that the tender of the Gospel shall be made good to all that embrace or preserve it, might have been as well without the death of the Son of God as by it^d. Therefore the consent of the Church in this point hath been evidenced against Pelagius, not only by the custom of baptizing infants, but by the ceremonies which they were baptized with; signifying the ejecting of the evil spirit, to make way for God's Spirit^e. Not that it was a law from the beginning, that all children of Christian parents should be baptized infants: for it is evident, that they thought it better to be baptized at man's age; because then they are more able to understand what they undertake^f. But because they never did presume of the salvation of any, that died unbaptized. And, therefore, since the world came to profess

And therefore they infer original sin by the fall of Adam. [Pa. lviil. 3.]

^a See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xix. § 2.

^b See *ibid.*, c. xi. § 1—10, c. xix. § 1—4.

^c See *ibid.*, c. xi. § 10.

^d See *ibid.*, c. i. § 5, c. x. § 4.

^e See *ibid.*, c. xix. § 11, 14.

^f See *ibid.*, c. xix. § 12; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., cc. vi.—viii.

CHAP. X. Christianity, and that the care and zeal either of parents or ministers could not so well be trusted for the preventing of death by procuring baptism for infants; especially with that reverence which the sacrament requireth: it hath been agreed upon by the silent practice of Christendom to baptize all while they are infants^g. And this consent whoso infringeth, in the overt act of schism which he committeth, he involveth a presumption of heresy against himself. For what could move a man to such an outrage, who did believe that profession, which saveth a Christian, to include in it the sacrament of baptism?

Wherein
the cove-
nant of
grace con-
sisteth.

§ 9. And thus it remaineth evident, that it is a covenant of unspeakable grace on God's part, which His Gospel bringeth; notwithstanding that it requireth upon the condition of our salvation, that we live and die Christians. First, as tendering the assistance of God's Spirit, as well to undertake as to perform; and then, having performed, as tendering a reward which our performance cannot challenge: and both in consideration of Christ, Whose merits and sufferings are free, pure, mere grace, before all helps of grace which they have purchased for us.

That the
state of
grace is
forfeited
by heinous
sin.

[James iii.
2; 1 John
i. 8.]

§ 10. It is a thing prodigious and deplorable to consider, that they, who would be reformers of the Church, should notwithstanding all this think it no state of grace that can become forfeit by sin^h. As if, because without daily sin Christians do not live, therefore that reconciliation with God were no reconciliation, that can become void by gross⁷¹ and heinous sin. But till that, which hath been said of justification, and that faith which alone justifieth, be destroyed, there can be no pretence for so dangerous a doctrine. That, which is granted upon a condition, faileth with it. And it must be a secret which the Old and New Testament hath not revealed, that shall make good our title to heaven, though we make not good that Christianity which entitleth us to it. And, therefore, when St. Paulⁱ is persuaded, that nothing "shall separate us from the love of God in Christ," Rom. viii. 38 [39]; he supposeth "us" to be such as he describeth all along the chapter afore: such as he found himself resolved

^g See Epilogue, *ibid*.

^h See *ibid.*, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of

Gr., c. xxxi.

ⁱ See *ibid.* § 25—27.

to be, such as live "not according to the flesh, but according to the Spirit." Of such he might well be persuaded, that nothing should "separate them from the love of God in Christ:" knowing the helps of God's all-sufficient grace to be promised all that so live; not to fail, till they receive them in vain. When^j St. John^k saith, that "he who is born of God sinneth not," because "the unction," which he hath from God, "abideth in" him, and "teacheth" him "all things," 1 John ii. 20, 27, iii. 9; he supposeth him, that is born of God, to be the son of God; who shall be no son of God, if he sin such sins as he means: and, therefore, he supposeth this "unction" to "abide in" him; which abideth not in them, that sin. When our Lord saith to the Samaritan, John iv. 14, that "whoso drinketh of the water which" He "shall give, shall never thirst any more:" He supposeth, that the water which He giveth is not vomited up again; He opposeth this water, so drunk, to the water of Jacob's well; [John iv. 6, 12.] which did make room for thirst in time, whereas this water so drunk shall spring up to life everlasting. All heresies have the superficial sound of some texts of Scripture, to set against the whole stream of Scripture, and the current doctrine of it. He, that considers, how much of the Old Testament that which I have said of justification involveth, will think it reason to measure the meaning of two or three texts^l by that; not to rack all the rest to the length of these. As for the sense of the Church^m; seeing the consent thereof is evident in the condition upon which we are justified, it is a part of madness for any man, that believes the unity thereof, to imagine, that any doctor that held with that unity can be 72 found to teach otherwise. St. Augustinⁿ is remarkable. The stress lies upon him: and upon those books^o, the occasion whereof is to enquire, how it comes to pass, that so many that had attained to the state of God's grace do not die in it.

§ 11. But though I admire at the wilfulness with which this mistake is maintained, against all Christendom, old and

The danger
of the contrary posi-

^j Misprinted "Whence" in the editions of both 1662 and 1680.

^k See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 24, 28.

^l See *ibid.* § 23.

^m See *ibid.* § 45—49.

ⁿ See *ibid.* § 46, 48.

^o Viz. his tracts *De Prædestinatione Sanctorum* and *De Dono Perseverantiæ*: Op. tom. x. pp. 779, sq.—See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxvi. § 24.

CHAP. X. new, but those who follow Calvin; yet I value the danger of it to the salvation of him, that hath it, according to the opinion of justification which it is joined with. For if it come from an assurance of a man's predestination; as if such a one, being once justified, cannot incur the state of damnation by any sin: taking that opinion for a heresy, I must needs take this for a position destructive to salvation. It is otherwise with those, that make repentance to go before justifying faith. For it is true, that, if a man have no ground that he is reconciled to God till his first conversion, he can have no ground that he is reconciled to God of any sin, that he falls into afterwards, till he have performed his repentance. And therefore they contradict themselves, if they imagine, that, being actually in the state of damnation, a man may have that trust in God which justifying faith signifies, before he turn from his sin by repentance. But the worse divines, the better Christians. And the truth, which they hold, suffereth not the venom of that opinion, which is indeed inconsistent with the same, to operate.

CHAPTER XI.

73

WHAT LAW OF GOD IT IS, THAT MAY BE FULFILLED BY A CHRISTIAN. OF DOING MORE THAN GOD'S LAW REQUIRETH. WHETHER OUR LORD GAVE A NEW LAW, OR NOT. OF THE SATISFACTION AND MERIT OF CHRISTIAN WORKS. ORIGINAL SIN IS NOT ADAM'S SIN IMPUTED TO HIS POSTERITY. WHEREIN ORIGINAL SIN CONSISTETH. WHAT ORIGINAL RIGHTEOUSNESS SIGNIFIETH. WHAT GOOD THE UNREGENERATE ARE ABLE TO DO BY THE LAW OF NATURE.

What law of God it is, that may be fulfilled by a Christian.

BUT this resolution perfectly reconcileth two of those controversies, which we have with the Church of Rome about justification and the points annexed to it: that of the possibility of fulfilling God's law, for a Christian; and that of satisfying for sin, and of meriting grace or glory, by the good works of a Christian^p. For it is certain, that the law

^p See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. xxxii., xxxiii.

which God gave Adam in paradise, as having created him in his original uprightness, can never be fulfilled by the grace, which the death of Christ tendereth, in this bondage under original sin. But if we speak of the new law^q, which the Gospel of Christ enacteth (St. James calleth it "the law of liberty," St. Paul, "the law of the Spirit of life"): it is evident by the premisses, that, if it be not fulfilled, "then is Christ dead in vain;" then do we receive His grace in vain, and cannot be saved, but are still in our sins. For every covenant, every contract, is a law to the parties. And though God need not contract with His creature, which He may give law to at pleasure; yet, if He condescend to treat and to contract with man, He intends not to abuse him by contracting for that, which cannot come to effect. Therefore He doth not contract with him upon condition that he shall not sin; who, born in original sin, sinneth daily: but upon condition, that, if he fall into sin, he return by repentance; and, blotting out his former sin by "works meet for repentance," proceed in newness of life for the future. And, upon these terms, the original law of righteousness in paradise doth not become void; but continueth in force for the regulating of the righteousness, which Christians are to live by and to aim at: whether or no enhanced in consideration of that great "grace of God; bringing salvation to all," which "hath appeared" by the Gospel, above that measure which the original righteousness of paradise required, I dispute not yet. But the law of Moses, upon these terms, will be the reviving of the original law of paradise, as to the effect of attaining and holding the land of Canaan (a figure correspondent, as well to the earthly, as to the heavenly paradise), by that outward obedience, which the letter of the ceremonial and judicial law required^r. And, upon these terms, the thief upon the cross, dying in the state of grace, fulfilled God's law; fulfilling all that, which the covenant of grace required of him for his salvation in that estate. And if there be such a thing as repentance effectual to salvation upon the bed of death; which the rules of the Church do not warrant us to presume

CHAP.
XI.

[James i.
25, ii. 12;
Rom. viii.
2.]

[Gal. ii.
21.]

[Matt. iii.
8; Luke
iii. 8.]

[Titus ii.
11.]

[Luke
xxiii. 40—
43.]

^q See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. iii. § 9, c. vii. § 6, c. xxxii. § 1—6.

^r See *ibid.*, c. v. § 5, 10; and Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. xii., xiii.

CHAP. XI. of, though they oblige us not to despair of it*: then he, who is effectually converted to God upon his last bed of death, hath fulfilled God's law.

Of doing more than God's law requireth.

§ 2. As for going beyond the law by works of supererogation[†]; it is easy to see, that, according to the premisses, he, that cannot do what God's original law requires, cannot do more. But it is as easy to see, that some circumstances may conduce to the performance of our Christianity, that are no part of it; and therefore the vow of baptism binds not to them. If marriage stand with Christianity, what Christian is forbidden marriage? Yet single life is the safer way to perfection in Christianity[‡]. So is the profession of the clergy[§], and all the means of further retirement from the world than the taking up of Christ's cross signifies. And the grace, which our Lord and St. Paul after Him owns in them that do this, is not a peculiar temper of the body, obliging⁷⁵ him, that hath it, to live single, and him, that hath it not, to marry; but a singular zeal, to wave that, which God makes lawful for us, that we may the better come to His kingdom: which, when it proceeds with a "single eye," proposing to itself nothing of this world, but the means of attaining to the world to come; well may we be assured of God's help to perform it, by virtue of that promise, which the common Christianity challengeth, intending nothing but the effect of it.

[Matt. xix. 12, 21; Mark x. 21; Luke xviii. 22: 1 Cor. vii. 7, ix. 15—18.]

[Matt. vi. 22; Luke xi. 34.]

Whether our Lord gave a new law, or not.

§ 3. I do believe further, that we, who live under the Gospel, are tied to a higher degree of goodness than those who lived under the Law were; as for the condition of continuing in the state of God's grace: and that this is the best reason for many actions of holy persons, sometimes not condemned, sometimes commended, in the Old Testament; which, notwithstanding, agree not with that perfection, which our Lord by His sermon in the mountain preacheth; to wit, that either they were accepted by God in that estate, or at

* See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxiii. § 9; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 10—12.

† See *ibid.*, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxii. § 34, 40—42.

‡ See *ibid.*, § 35—38; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xv. § 24, 25;

c. xxxii. § 7—40: and Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 23.

§ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxii. § 24—40; and Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 21, 22.

least might stand with the state of His grace. But this is not to say, that our Lord by those precepts, which He there delivers, introduces a new law, which obliged not under the Old Testament; for I have shewed⁷, that under it the fathers were saved as Christians, that is, by "worshipping God in spirit and truth:" but that there was a two-fold sense in Moses' law; and that by keeping it according to the letter they held the land of promise, according to the spirit, though in a less measure than the Gospel requires, they attained the world to come⁸.

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XI.

[John iv.
24.]

§ 4. The satisfaction and merit of good works done by Christians may be understood to be grounded, either upon their intrinsic value, or upon that mark which the Gospel of Christ stamps them with in consideration of Christ's merits and sufferings^a. But that intrinsic value, at which they are valued by those, who make them worth life everlasting upon terms of commutative justice^b, rises upon the account of God's Spirit, by the grace whereof they are done. And the grace of God's Spirit is not granted but in consideration of our Lord Christ and His obedience. And therefore this intrinsic value is merely imaginary, even in the opinion of them that advance it; unless they will needs contradict themselves. For the value of our Lord's obedience is necessarily extrinsic to us; to whose account it redoundeth only by imputation of grace. And therefore there is no intrinsic value of Christian works; supposing the Gospel to be that, which I have said. For, being performed by virtue of God's grace, they cannot be acceptable to the effect of salvation but by the same grace. But the "merit," or the "satisfaction," which is ascribed unto them, being grounded upon that "grace, bringing salvation to all," which "hath appeared" by the Gospel; it is not possible to imagine, what it can derogate from the merits and satisfaction of our Lord Christ. It is true, men may forget their own grounds: as I have said, that they do, who would have the works of Christians to merit heaven upon terms of commutative justice. And, forgetting

Of the
satisfaction
and merit
of Chris-
tian works.

[Titus ii.
11.]

⁷ Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. viii. § 13, 14: &c.

^a See *ibid.*, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. xii., xiii.; Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. v. § 5, 10.

^b See *ibid.*, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxiii. § 1.

^c See *ibid.*, c. xxx. § 19, 21; and Vazquez as there quoted in note u: and see above, c. x. § 2.

CHAP. themselves, they may contradict themselves; ascribing that
 XI. for debt to them that do them, which is not due but upon
 the account of Christ's obedience. But still, the worse
 divines the better Christians. For the truth which they
 profess, if they profess it not in vain, shall be an antidote
 against that pride, destructive to the humility of a Christian,
 which the opinion of a man's own merit produceth. Whereas
 they, who exclude all consideration of our works from the
 great trial of the day of judgment, do thereby exclude
 Christianity out of the heart, as they do the creed out of the
 Church. Whereas they, who suppose gross and heinous sins
 to be pardoned, before they see the fruits of repentance in
 works of mortification by extraordinary exercises of devotion
 with fasting and alms, do contribute as much as their allow-
 ance signifies to the murder of that soul, which might have
 been cured, had not their authority made men believe that
 there needs no such cure. There is an opinion crept into
 the Church of Rome, on the other side: that imperfect sor-
 row for that sin, which by confession is submitted to the keys
 of the Church, serves to cure such sin, how great soever^c;
 and that penance is enjoined to redeem the debt of temporal
 punishment, to be paid in purgatory if not here, as remaining
 due when the guilt is done away^d. Whereas the works of
 mortification are but the exercise and the performance of
 that contrition, which the Gospel requires to qualify a man
 for pardon of his sin. And therefore the authority of the
 Church cannot supply the want of that condition, which the
 Gospel requireth in him that seeks forgiveness; but only
 procure it, by excluding him from the communion, that shall⁷⁷
 refuse the cure which the Church prescribeth. Now this is
 an opinion, which that Church allows but enjoins not^e. And,
 therefore, whether there be more danger there by this opi-
 nion, or by the other extreme where all works of mortifica-
 tion are cried down for superstitious; I leave to the con-
 science of discreet Christians. The Catholic Church hath
 used the terms of satisfaction and merit in a true sense,
 and to a good purpose^f: and it were easy to shew, that the

^c See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws
 of the Ch., c. xi. § 4.

^d See *ibid.* § 1.

^e See *ibid.* § 4.

^f See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov.
 of Gr., c. xxxiii. § 1—13.

same sense is allowed, though not enjoined, by the Church of Rome, even since the council of Trent[§]; were this the place. CHAP. XI.

§ 5. I have said, that the obedience of the Second Adam is not immediately imputed to any particular man's account; but first to the common account of mankind; and to the account of particular persons, as they are qualified for it by being good Christians. And now I must say accordingly, that the disobedience of the first Adam is not imputed immediately to the damnation of any particular^h, but to the bondage of all his posterity. For no man shall be condemned at the last day, but for the works which he shall be found to have done in the body. And for what he shall then be condemned, for the same God decreed that he should be condemned from everlasting. So, being become slaves to sin, we are ransomed by Christ. But as this ransom entitleth us not to life, till we embrace the terms of it; neither doth this bondage damn us, till we become parties to it by our sins. If this be true, then doth not original sin consist in the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity; as Catharinus held at the Council of Trent, with great applauseⁱ. And, indeed, I need not dispute, that God cannot in justice punish one man for another man's sin; because, you see, the posterity of the first Adam according to the flesh is punished for his sin no otherwise, than it is rewarded for the Second Adam and for His righteousness. The interest of our common Christianity is safe, so long as the necessity of Christ's coming, and the reason of it, for the cure of the breach which Adam made, remains evident and unmoveable. Original sin is not Adam's sin imputed to his posterity. [Rom. vi. 17.]

§ 6. Nor is there any difficulty in resolving the nature of original sin, that should drive us to this novelty. All sin is an act, or a habit, that faileth of that measure which God's law requires. Original sin hath only this peculiar; that, giving the like inclination as other habits do, it is not contracted by custom, but by birth. Call this inclination to that, which God's law forbiddeth, concupiscence; and you have expressed the whole nature of original sin^k. For, calling it concupiscence, you make it to be the want of original right- Wherein original sin consisteth.

§ See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxiii. § 15.

^h See *ibid.*, c. xx. § 6—9; c. xxix.

§ 7.

ⁱ See *ibid.*, c. xx. § 6.

^k See *ibid.*, § 29.

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eousness¹; but you express over and above, what it is, that succeedeth in mankind, born in original sin, instead of original righteousness; to wit, that disorder in our inclinations, which concupiscence signifieth.

What
original
righteous-
ness signi-
feth.

§ 7. The question only remains; whether original uprightness shall signify only innocence, or supernatural grace over and above^m. For it may be supposed, that man was created at the first only to the happiness of this life, upon condition of living according to the innocence in which he was created. And there are, that have maintained this; though not denying, that God intended to reward this exercise of his innocence with a call to a higher estateⁿ. The fathers indeed are of another mind; moved perhaps by the mystery of Christ and His Church, which He discovereth in His marriage with His own flesh; Gen. i. 24, Eph. v. 31. For this seems to make Adam a prophet, endowed with God's Spirit^o. But he, that should not think it necessary, that Adam should understand the mystical sense of his own words, would not be tied to that consequence. In the mean time, the common Christianity and the ground of salvation seems to remain unmoveable; granting, that, by advancing the covenant of grace (which was set on foot in paradise, so soon as God promised "the seed of the woman" to dissolve the works of "the serpent"), God calleth mankind to an estate of supernatural grace. And though it may be disputed, whether it could stand with the holiness of God, and the purity of His work, to have made man in an estate of mere nature; that is, subject to concupiscence, without supernatural grace to restrain the effect of it: yet could it not stand with His justice, creating man to supernatural happiness (and therefore liable to damnation, transgressing the supernatural righteousness which it must require), to create him without supernatural grace, necessary to the performing of the said righteousness.

[Gen. iii.
15.]

What good
the unre-
generate
are able to
do by the
law of
nature.

§ 8. To fortify that which hath been said, I am not to omit that, which St. Paul seemeth expressly to teach, Rom. ii. 12—16; that they, who are not under God's positive law,

¹ See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xx. § 2, 28, 29.

^m See *ibid.* § 2—5.

ⁿ See *ibid.* § 15: referring to Gro-tius.

^o See *ibid.* § 19, 20.

shall be judged at the last day by the law of nature^p. Which if it be so, then shall they not be condemned for original sin. It is not necessary, that Christianity should give account, why God thought good to suffer Adam to be seduced by the apostate angels; and mankind to be born in bondage to sin; why He suffered the greatest part of it to be overcome with idolatry, after He had set the covenant of grace on foot. It is enough, that He found it for His glory to give sin this entrance into the world, which He meant to encounter with that grace which His Gospel revealeth; leaving that, which it revealeth not, to be unfolded at the day of judgment. In the mean time, if they who know not God's law are judged by the law of nature, they are not judged by the covenant of grace, though given all mankind in paradise; because, by corruption of sin, they were grown strangers to it. Much less, therefore, by the original righteousness of paradise, supplied by the covenant of grace. Now the corrupt inclination of concupiscence extinguisheth not the light of nature; which, by discovering the difference between that which is good because it is honest, and that which is only pleasant or profitable, condemneth the neglect of that for either of these. Man is sensible of his own worth, and the wrong that he doth it, when he preferreth profit or pleasure before the obligation which it inferreth. And, therefore, there can no question remain, that he is able, notwithstanding original sin, to do that which is good for a right reason and a good intent^q. For the reason of profit or pleasure doth not always drown and swallow up the reason of that which is just and honourable. Therefore he, who makes not the world to come his end, may do that which is truly good for honesty's sake, and the satisfaction of loving it as it deserveth. But because concupiscence, which the world is infected with, procureth daily occasions of opposition between right and interest; and those, such as call in question the worldly estate of him, that should resolve to prefer the right in all things: therefore is not the natural man able to resolve upon God for the end of so all his doings. His corrupt inclinations betray the judgment, whereby he alloweth that which is best, to the interest of his

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^p See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxxiii. § 2, 10.

^q See *ibid.*, c. viii. § 12, 13; c. xxiii. § 1—7.

CHAP. profit or pleasure. Now whether those actions, which are
 XI. done upon good grounds and for a good purpose, but by a man that maketh not God the end of all his doings, are to be counted sins or not; I will not dispute. Thus much appeareth,—that they, who are to be judged by the law of nature, do not always transgress the law of nature. For how should they be judged by that law, which they cannot choose but transgress?

CHAPTER XII.

UPON WHAT TERMS THAT WHICH IS POSSIBLE MAY BECOME FUTURE. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NECESSITY ANTECEDENT AND CONSEQUENT. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FREEDOM FROM NECESSITY AND FROM BONDAGE. FREEDOM FROM NECESSITY ALWAYS REQUIRETH INDETERMINATION, NOT ALWAYS INDIFFERENCE. THE OBJECT DETERMINETH THE WILL, SAVING THE FREEDOM OF IT. WHENCE THE CERTAINTY OF FUTURE CONTINGENCIES ARISETH. HOW THIS APPEARS IN THE SCRIPTURES. GOD NO CAUSE OF SIN ACCORDING TO THE SCRIPTURES. CONCERNING THE MIDDLE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD.

Upon what terms that which is possible may become future.

THIS being the estate in which the Gospel overtaketh mankind; the question concerning the concurrence of man's free will to the works of God's free grace, is that which remains. And the resolving of it lies in resolving, by what means, and upon what account, that which is of itself only possible becomes future; how it becomes certain, that such a thing shall be, which of itself only may be. For that which is possible and no more, is of itself a mere nothing. That, 81 which only may be, is not. Only it signifies withal, that there is something, that is able to reduce it to effect or being. But that which is future, signifieth here not only τὸ μέλλον but τὸ γενησόμενον; not only that which as yet is not, but that which hereafter shall be: and that imports a certain being for that time. Seeing then, that *nothing* cannot reduce itself to being; the question is, what it is that renders it certain to be, for the time when it shall be. For all that God can do is absolutely possible. And God can do whatsoever can be done. God cannot deny Himself: and that

He should do, if contradictories should be true; or things, that destroy one another, subsist both at once. Accordingly, whatsoever God sees is certain, and God sees whatsoever shall be; so, whatsoever shall be is certain, though we know not what it is. Now I have said, that it becomes not certain by any decree or motion of God, whereby He determines the will of man, and moves it to do whatsoever it doth, before it move or determine itself; at least in order of nature^r. Priority in order of nature signifieth this;—that the motion of free will doth necessarily depend, and shall necessarily follow, upon the precedent determination and motion of God.

§ 2. But things are said to be necessary two ways^s. Some are absolutely necessary; the necessity whereof lies in their cause, and the efficacy of it, which cannot be defeated. And inasmuch as every cause is before the effect, therefore this necessity is called antecedent. Some are necessary only upon supposition; not of that which goes before (for the cause which createth absolute necessity may be supposed), but of something that follows upon the being of any thing. As that, which a man knows or sees to be, of necessity is; because he could not see it if it were not. And so, whatsoever is in the world, of necessity is; because we suppose, that it is. But this necessity is not in the thing (speaking of contingencies), but in that consequence which the mind frameth upon supposing it. And therefore it is called necessity consequent, as the other antecedent. It is not this consequent necessity, that destroyeth freedom in the will, or contingency in the effects of it; but the antecedent. For nothing is absolutely necessary but God, and that which God will have come to pass. And this necessity is the necessity of a cause, that cannot be defeated: not implying any supposition of the effect which it produceth, but inferring the consequence of it; therefore natural, and antecedent, and destructive to freedom in the will, and contingency in the effects of it. And this is no more than I said afore^t, why there can be no absolute predestination to glory or to shame, according to the Gospel, and Christianity; because it must come to effect by God's determining and moving the will to every step, that

The difference between necessity antecedent and consequent.

^r See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxi. § 1, sq.

^s See *ibid.* § 7.

^t Above, c. ix. § 8.

CHAP. XII. it maketh, toward life or death everlasting. And that will not stand with that free will which the Gospel supposeth.

The difference between freedom from necessity and from bondage.

[Rom. vi. 17, 18.]

§ 3. For you may have observed a twofold freedom, by the premisses. The Gospel supposeth mankind born in bondage to sin; and, therefore, supposeth not his will free from bondage: but, supposing this, tenders him life everlasting, upon condition that he accept of the ransom, which Christ hath paid for him; and, renouncing the bondage of sin, become free to God and His service. And this is an act, which his free will must do; because it is the condition of that, which God does in consideration of it. The consideration is the freedom with which it is done; which if it were done of necessity, there could be no reason why God should either require or reward it. So there is a freedom from necessity, whereby mankind, though slave to sin by birth, embraceth that freedom from sin to righteousness which the Gospel tendereth; though not by the original motion of the will (which is not in slavery unless it love the slavery which it is in), yet by the free motion of it, being first moved by the Gospel to make use of the ransom. For I have shewed^a, that this motion bringeth with it sufficient help of God's grace, to do that which it requireth.

Freedom from necessity always requireth indetermination, not always indifference.

§ 4. This freedom, then, from necessity, doth not always require indifference in the will that useth it. For that is properly, only when the will is balanced; not inclining any more to do, than not to do, this rather than that. But it requireth, that it be never determined till it determine itself. For it availeth not to say, that that freedom, which God gave man when He made him, was to do freely whatsoever God should determine him to do freely; as other things necessarily do that, which God determineth them to do necessarily^a. Freedom and the use of freedom is God's gift. But God cannot give freedom by taking it away; nor maintain freedom by destroying it. No more can He cause the will to do that freely, which He determineth it to do necessarily, before it determine itself. Nor is there any fear of making the creature God, if we make it able to do that, which God enableth it to do, without other helps than the ability which

^a See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxii. § 1, sq.

^a See *ibid.*, c. xxi. § 13.

He giveth it. For what is that ability, that enableth not to do that, which it maketh a man able to do? It is a riddle when it is not understood. It is a contradiction when it is understood. The ability, which God giveth, issueth from Him, as from the fountain of all ability, every moment of time, which one and the same standing moment of eternity answereth⁷. So the creature cannot act but by the ability which God issueth; and therefore continueth God's creature, as depending upon God, in that which it doth, no less than in that which it is. If therefore the will of man cannot act freely by virtue of any motion of God's, determining it to act before it determine itself; then must it act freely by virtue of that power, which God giveth it every moment to determine itself.

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§ 5. True it is, that, being the will of a reasonable creature, it cannot determine itself, till it be determined, in the nature of an object, by a reason, carrying an appearance of that which is best for the present⁸. But because that appearance changeth from moment to moment; therefore the determination of the object is never peremptory, till you suppose the will to act according to it. And, therefore, though it be necessary, that the will act according to the last dictate of the understanding; yet is this necessity but upon supposition, that it is the last: and that, because you suppose, that the will proceedeth to act without employing further consideration upon the object. So the appearance of good in the object, and the ability of embracing it in the will, serve to make good the freedom of choice in human actions. But the certainty of it from everlasting must be ascribed to the incomprehensible wisdom of God; comprehending all appearance of good, which all men may be moved with at all times, and the effect, which the present disposition of every will shall allow every motion at every moment. Now providence must needs appoint from everlasting, what appearance of good every will shall be moved with every moment; by resolving, what occurrence of objects every reason shall be presented with, in that estate, which it setteth

The object determineth the will, saving the freedom of it.

⁷ "Nunc stans" is the definition (so to call it) of eternity given by S. Thom. Aquinas, Summ., Pt. I. Qu. x. art. 2.

⁸ See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxiv. § 1, sq.

CHAP. XII. every man in, for every moment. And, upon these terms, the foreknowledge of human actions in God must needs be infallibly certain; saving as well the freedom of the will, as the contingency of the things which it doth. For comprehending first the present disposition of every will, and the effect of every motion that is possible upon it; then, not only how it shall be actually moved, but also that it shall not be moved otherwise: how should He fail to comprehend what it will determine, while it might determine otherwise*?

Whence the certainty of future contingencies ariseth.

§ 6. And that this is the true and due way, that we are to hold in reasoning of God's counsels, appears by the whole tenor of the Scriptures; speaking of God in the language of the children of men, as the Jews' doctors speak^b. It pleaseth God, not only to deal with man about his salvation, but to treat with him in his own language; because he is not able to understand God otherwise. It is not possible for us to understand the wisdom of God otherwise than according to the wisdom of man, as proceeding by deliberation to resolution; though we know very well all the while, that the simple and indivisible essence of the Godhead is that, into which all variety of His decrees, which the Scripture obligeth men to order, must resolve. Now the Scripture representeth God to us everywhere, as taking the rise and the ground of His counsels and proceedings from that, which He seeth in the thoughts and dispositions of the men whom He ordereth. The instance is remarkable, and unavoidable, which you

[Exod. vii. 3, 13; viii. 10, 15, 28; ix. 7, 12, 34, x. 11, 20.] have in the whole course of His bringing the people of Israel out of Egypt, and the destroying of Pharaoh and his people for the hardness of their hearts; which He foresaw would not let them obey His message, and release His people^c. The like you have in the raising up of enemies to Solomon for his sin: and the dividing of the ten tribes from his posterity^d. So in the destruction of Ahab, and the representation of God's counsel and proceeding in it, which the prophet Micaiah declares beforehand to his face^e. So in the crucifying of our Lord, and the means whereby it was

* See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxiv. § 18, sq.

^b See *ibid.* § 6: and Grot. ad Rom. iii. 5.

^c See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxiv. § 2—4.

^d See *ibid.*, § 5.

^e See *ibid.* § 6.

brought to pass, according to the counsel of God, which the Scripture declareth^f. CHAP.
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85 § 7. True it is, there be divers passages in Scripture, which seem to signify a will in God, that such men should sin as He hath determined to destroy; the sons of Eli for example, neglecting their father's advice, "because God had resolved their ruin^g." But, seeing it is so plentifully expressed in other book-cases of the Scriptures, that such men's resolutions came not from the immediate motion of God, determining them to that which they do, but from the considerations, which their own precedent wickedness was ensnared with; all reason of religion requires, that the like considerations be supposed in those cases, wherein they are not expressed. As that the sons of Eli were not determined by God to sin, because He had resolved to destroy them; but that for their sins, which went afore, He tendered them the advice of their father, which He foresaw they would sin by neglecting: that is, He suffered them to sin further to their own ruin. A thing so manifest in the cases of Pharaoh, and Judas; that whoso shall stumble at the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, must thank himself for the fall, which he takes by that offence.

How this appears in the Scriptures.

[1 Sam. ii. 25.]

§ 8. The Scripture expresseth further, that, if Saul had come to Keilah, the men of the city would have delivered David into his hands^h; and that, if our Lord had done those miracles in Tyre and Sidon which He did in Corazin and Bethsaida, they would have repented in sackcloth and ashesⁱ. Not as if the preaching of the Gospel, or the miracles which assure the truth of it, were grace sufficient. But because the Spirit, by Which our Lord spoke and wrought miracles, was present with the words and with the works, which He used as means and instruments, to convert His hearers: and therefore are^j to be supposed, by virtue of God's promise, when they are not expressed. The Book of Wisdom affirmeth in like manner, that God foresaw the impenitence of the Egyptians notwithstanding all Moses his miracles^k. These

God no cause of sin, according to the Scriptures. [1 Sam. xxiii. 10—12: Matt. xi. 21, 22: &c.]

[Wisd. xii. 10, xix. 1, 2.]

^f See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 7.

^g "Because the Lord would slay them."—See Epilogue, as above quoted, § 15.

^h See *ibid.* § 9.

ⁱ See *ibid.* § 8.

^j So in editions of 1662 and 1680.

^k See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 10, 11.

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Concern-
ing the
middle
knowledge
of God.

§ 9. And this is that which some call the "middle knowledge" of God: to wit, between the knowledge of all that is possible, and all that is future; whereby God, knowing what man would do in this or that estate, resolves in what estate His providence shall set him every moment of his life; and thereby foresees, what he will do in every case¹. And between this opinion, and the other of predetermination, I have always found this difference:—that this perhaps is subject to more difficulty than the understanding of man can comprehend or his words declare; that, only subject to one inconvenience, that it rooteth up all religion and civility both at once, by destroying freedom in man's will and contingency in the effects of it^m.

CHAPTER XIII.

NO ABSOLUTE PREDESTINATION TO GLORY. PREDESTINATION TO GRACE, ABSOLUTE. HOW GLORY IS THE END OF GRACE. IN WHAT TERMS THE FAITH OF THE CHURCH STANDETH AS CONCERNING THIS POINT.

No absolute pre-destination to glory.

THERE remains no more but to conclude; that, though God's predestination to glory or to shame cannot be absolute, yet His predestination to effectual grace, or to that which is only sufficient, is and must be absoluteⁿ. If God's predestination to glory and to shame were absolute, without

¹ See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxiv. § 18, note o.

^m See *ibid.*, c. xxii. § 11.

ⁿ See *ibid.*, c. xxvi. § 1, sq.

consideration of that for which it is executed in time; there could be no ground for any exhortation, any advice, any persuasion, moving any man to perform any part of that Christianity which he professeth. There would be always a peremptory bar to all such applications;—that what God hath appointed shall come to pass, whatsoever a man shall do or endeavour to do. For it would not serve the turn to say:—that, if God have appointed the end, He hath appointed the means to effect it; and that this means is man's endeavours:—because, if God have appointed the end to come by the means of that which a man is moved to do, then shall he do it, whether he endeavour to do it or not. For if it be said, that He hath appointed it to come to pass by man's endeavours; then is not God's decree absolute: because it must suppose man's endeavours. And, indeed, an absolute decree of predestination cannot come to effect, but by decrees, determining and moving man's will to that, which the bringing of it to effect requireth, before the will determine or move itself. And that is destructive to freedom in the will, and contingency in the effects of it.

§ 2. On the other side, if the certainty of God's foreknowledge, and the infallibility or indefeasibleness of His providence, stand upon a decree, of placing every man at every moment of his life in such an occurrence of objects, inward and outward, with his disposition, who is moved by them to do or not to do this or that, as He sees will be effectual to resolve him upon that which he doth; then are the helps of grace effectual, and the effect of them certain, upon the like decree. Which there is nothing in man to oblige God to make; and, therefore, it is His absolute will that maketh it. For the intent of sending Christ for the redemption of mankind, inferreth no declaration, that God will do all that is in His power to do, that it may be to effect, if man refuse it not. It is enough, that He accompanieth the Gospel with His Spirit, when it cometh; in the mean time, that He trusteth His Church with the bringing of it. This justifieth His will, that "all men should be saved;" though they, [1 Tim. ii. who never hear of it, for reasons which the Gospel declareth ⁴.]

* See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 1; and c. xxv.

† See *ibid.*, c. xxii. § 5, 6.

§ 1, *sq.*

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not, have not the refusing of it. Whereby it appears, that the authors of divisions in the Church are to answer for the souls, that perish for want of knowing the Gospel; which the divisions of the Church are the greatest means, that hinders them to know. Now this decree proceedeth upon a supposition of freedom in the will, and the maintenance of it by God's continual government of all things; and therefore allows ground for all applications, moving to perform the Christianity which we profess. For though all that comes 88 to pass is certain by God's decree, that cannot fail; yet that decree is not immediate, but supposeth man's will to move of itself, when his reason is moved by appearance of good in the object. And therefore it cannot be alleged in bar to any wholesome exhortation or advice. And although all that is thus decreed must needs come to pass; yet the necessity thereof is only consequent, upon a supposition that the will determines itself freely; which being supposed, the consequence is certain, that it shall come to pass. Whereas the necessity of that, which God determineth the will to act, lying in the determination and motion of the cause, which is God, That cannot fail, is antecedent to the effect, and destroys the freedom of the will and the contingency of that which it doth.

How glory
is the end
of grace.

§ 3. If it be said⁹, that the end is intended before the means; and, therefore, he that is absolutely predestinated to effectual grace (which includes perseverance until death), must needs be absolutely predestinated to glory, which is the end of grace: the answer is:—the glory of him that is saved, is not the end of God's grace; that is, of His gracious purpose to give those helps, which shall bring a man to glory: God's grace is God, and God's glory is God, and God can have no end but God; and the glorifying of him that is saved, is not the means to glorify God, till you suppose him qualified as the Gospel requireth: and therefore it is not absolutely the end of that grace, which effecteth it, till you suppose that it rendereth him so qualified. The means by which a man comes to glory, if you take them as granted in such consideration and rewarded in such measure as the Gospel alloweth, are the means of God's glory; otherwise, they

⁹ See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxvi. § 2, sq.

make not His glory to appear, and therefore are not intended by Him to that purpose. Indeed, God hath made salvation the end of mankind by the work of redemption as well as of creation. But He hath not made it His own end, nor the means to it, but upon those terms which the Gospel declareth. All this is manifest by the damnation of those that are not saved. For though it be their final estate, yet it is not their end, because salvation is the end of all mankind; which were it God's end, as it is man's end by God's appointment, then should they also be saved. For God cannot fail of His end. Therefore is not the damnation of him, that is not saved, the end why God appoints him those means, by which he shall come to that final estate. For it is not the means to God's end, that is, His glory, till you suppose the man qualified as the Gospel alloweth; and so considered by God, when He appoints him the means that bring him to his last estate. In fine, man's glory is not God's end in giving grace; though it be the end of the grace, which He giveth. God's glory is the only end as well of the grace as of the glory which God giveth. God's glory is the end of effectual grace. For God intendeth the effect which His grace attaineth. And effectual grace is a fit mean to glorify God; implying man's compliance with God's help. As for the helps of grace in general, whether effectual or only sufficient: though man's glory be the end of them, and that by God's appointment, yet is it none of God's end; because it is not the mean to God's glory, till it be supposed, that they are used as they should be. And therefore God doth not appoint any man to glory, till He see that he hath used His grace as he should do. But He appointeth grace without such respect; because there is no condition, on man's part, to render it due.

§ 4. And herewith agreeth the faith of God's Church. It is well known, that St. Augustin's writings against Pelagius were excepted against (as introducing fatal necessity, and excluding the will of God for the salvation of mankind) in the parts of Gaul; namely, by the monastery of Lerins, the clergy of Marseilles and Genoa, and diverse notable persons in Provence^r. But not generally. For St. Augustin, being

In what terms the faith of the Church standeth as concerning this point.

^r See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xix. § 22; c. xxvi. § 21, 22.

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^a See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxvi. § 24.

^b See *ibid.*

^c See *ibid.* § 25. note m.

^d See *ibid.* § 22, 25.

^e See *ibid.*; and c. xix. § 23.—Faustus was bishop of Riez in the province of Narbonensis Secunda or Aix.

^f See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxvi. § 24. note a, and § 26.

^g See *ibid.* § 24. note b, and § 26.

^h See *ibid.* § 26, 27.

ⁱ See *ibid.* § 25. note j, § 27. note a.

^j See *ibid.* § 31: and § 24. note b.

^k See *ibid.* § 31. note m.

^l See *ibid.* note n.

demning thereby the late zeal of Jansenius for St. Augustin^e (if not his hatred of the Jesuits); who, thinking to overbear all dispute in the point by his authority and reasons, hath not been afraid to maintain him in those articles; and therefore hath given the Dominicans, whom his opinion seems to comply so much with^b, just occasion to join themselves against him with the Jesuits. But his opinion will prove a *nihil dicit*. That of Arminiusⁱ, as it necessarily opposes absolute predetermination to glory, so it stands very well with absolute predestination to grace; because it derives the efficacy of grace from that congruity, which, as God's foresight discovers, so His providence uses. And therefore the discreetest of his adversaries, at the synod of Dort,—the English, and those of Breme,—owned the redemption of mankind, and the will of God that all be saved^j. Those that will not do the same must resolve upon predetermination. And that, I grant, is not destructive to Christianity in the Dominicans; though of itself it be destructive: because, holding free will, they contradict themselves in it, and so have an antidote against it. But in our Fanatics, that take justifying faith to be the assurance of predestination, and the covenant of grace a mere promise of God to those that have that assurance, it is downright heresy. And though the Presbyterians do not profess to hold it, yet, so long as they distinguish not themselves from the Fanatics, but communicate with them, they will be heretics themselves; by the perpetual rule of the Church, which makes them heretics to the Church, that communicate with heretics, and schismatics, that communicate with schismatics^k.

^e See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 31. note 1, and c. xxv. § 6, sq.

^b See *ibid.*, c. xxvi. § 33.

ⁱ See *ibid.* § 34.

^j See *ibid.* note y.—And for the

opinion of the deputies of Bremen, the Acta Syn. Dordrecht., inter *Judicia Theolog. Exter.*, pp. 140, sq. Dord. 1620.

^k See below, c. xxv. § 2.

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CHAPTER XIV.

DUTY OF A CHRISTIAN AS A CHRISTIAN, AND AS A MEMBER OF THE CHURCH. HOW ANABAPTISTS DENY THE FAITH ; HOW THEY ARE TO BE RECONCILED WITH THE CHURCH. THEIR ERROR IN REBAPTIZING FOR WANT OF DIPPING. WHAT CONCERNS SALVATION IN THE SACRAMENT OF THE EUCHARIST. HOW THE ELEMENTS ARE CONSECRATED INTO THE BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST, ACCORDING TO GREGORY NYSSEN. THE CONSEQUENCE HEREOF IN THE ERRORS CONCERNING THE EUCHARIST. HOW THE EUCHARIST A SACRIFICE, AND YET NO GROUND FOR PRIVATE MASSES. THE EUCHARIST, NOT THE SERMON, THE CHIEF OFFICE OF GOD'S SERVICE.

Duty of a
Christian
as a Chris-
tian, and as
a member
of the
Church.

If it be part of a man's Christianity to be a member of God's Church, then is a Christian sometimes concerned as a Christian, sometimes as a member of the Church. For that which concerns him as a member of the Church, arises from the constitution of the Church ; as the effect of that power, which God hath endowed His Church with. Whereas that which concerns him as a Christian, concerns him before the being of the Church : though the consent of the Church in it be the means to bring it into evidence. Whatsoever is necessary to be known for the salvation of all Christians, is of this kind. And whatsoever proceedeth from the power of the Church, as the effect of it, is not necessary to be known for the salvation of all Christians. It is necessary for all Christians to know, that they are to live and die members of God's Church ; and, therefore, to conform themselves to the order of it. But that this order is for the best, it neither concerneth them to know, nor to enquire ; provided it be sufficient for the salvation of all, and enjoin nothing destructive to the salvation of any. This is the next obligation to that, which concerneth a Christian as a Christian.

How ana-
baptists
deny the
faith ; how
they are to
be recon-
ciled with
the Church.

§ 2. The sacraments of baptism and of the eucharist were instituted by our Lord in person, before He left the world. So was also the power of the keys, consisting in admitting to them and excluding from them. Upon this power He founded His Church ; leaving the forming of it to His apostles, whom He trusted it with, by virtue of the same. It seems therefore, that these sacraments concern Christians

as Christians, and not only as members of the Church. I have shewed, how baptism concerns the salvation of all Christians¹. Whereby it appears, what presumption of heresy there is in the sect of the anabaptists. For did they think the profession of Christianity to be the condition, in consideration whereof all that are baptized are saved; they could not take that baptism of the Church for void, whereby there can be no doubt that a Christian is obliged to the profession of a Christian. Because they believe not the condition of salvation to be the covenant of baptism, therefore they make it void, being received before knowledge. Whereas the greater question is, whether the Church be obliged to take their baptism for baptism, or not. For though the School make good all baptism ministered in due matter and form of words^m, yet the Church never declared this general reason, why it alloweth the baptism of those heretics, whom it did not rebaptize, because they were baptized with the due form of words; but only appointed such and such heretics to be baptized (as voiding the baptism which they received from heretics), others to be received with imposition of handsⁿ. Now of those heresies, whose baptism the Church alloweth to be valid, though unlawful, none did ever question the article of "one baptism for remission of sin;" which they, that own not Christianity for the condition of salvation, do destroy. So did the Gnostics; and their baptism ought to be void. They, who agree in their opinion (though not in the grounds of it); how is the Church tied to allow their baptism? But because the Church is not tied to make it void, and to baptize them again, returning to the profession of the true faith; let it suffice, that it appeareth hereby, how necessary this sound profession is for the restoring, not only of anabaptists, but of all other sects that distinguish not themselves from them, to the Church.

§ 3. They have, indeed, another pretence for rebaptizing. For that they may dip the whole body, they will leave the

Their error
in rebaptizing for

¹ Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. ii. sq.; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. vi. § 11.

^m See Bingham, Antiq. of Chr. Ch., XI. iii. 11, and Schol. Hist. of Lay

Bapt., Pt. I. c. i. § 20; and Maskell, Of Holy Baptism, cc. v. and vii.

ⁿ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 31; and Bingham as in last note.

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want of
dipping.

[1 Pet. iii.
21.]

What con-
cerns sal-
vation in
the sacra-
ment of
the eucha-
rist.

[1 Cor. xi.
27.]

How the
elements
are conse-
crated into
the Body
and Blood
of Christ,

Church to baptize in rivers. Would they do this, did they think the profession which is made "with a good conscience," to be that which "saveth" in baptism, as the apostle teacheth? The order of this Church requireth dipping, "so it be warily done"; and certainly, if it be not "the cleansing of the flesh," it is not the endangering of life, that "saveth." Now, when sprinkling is used instead of dipping without regard to the danger of the child, in regard to a wrong opinion in the point, or to the causeless tenderness of mothers and friends, especially of the woman-kind; though the sacrament be not void, not being ministered as it ought to be, the offence is given by him that so ministereth it.

§ 4. As the performance of Christianity is necessary for the salvation of him, that first attained the state of salvation by undertaking Christianity; so is the sacrament of the eucharist necessary for the salvation of him, that is come to the state of salvation by the sacrament of baptism. Which if it be true, then is it necessary for the Church to profess, and for all Christians to know and believe, that the benefit of the eucharist depends upon the sincerity of that resolution, wherewith he that receiveth it stands to his Christianity; and, ⁹⁴ on the other side, that, so doing, he fails not of the Body and Blood of Christ in that sacrament, and by consequence of His Spirit which it conveyeth. If therefore the unity of the Church be a part of the common Christianity; then is it necessary to this effect, that it be celebrated in the unity of God's Church. For, otherwise, no man need to argue that it is void; that it is celebrated and received to no effect: seeing it is celebrated and received to so bad effect, as to make all that come to it "guilty of" Christ's "Body and Blood."

§ 5. I claim further, that,—seeing it can be no sound part of God's Church, that observeth not all the laws of God's whole Church,—if the eucharist be not consecrated by that means, by which the Church from the beginning hath always consecrated the eucharist, then it is not celebrated in the

* See Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 51. note z.—"So it be discreetly and warily done." Rubric prior to 1661.—It stands now: "He shall dip it in the water discreetly and

warily."

† See Due Way &c. § 51.

‡ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxx. § 13: and Conclusion, § 12, 14—20.

unity of God's Church. Now I conceive I have shewed^r, that the Church from the beginning did not pretend to consecrate by these bare words, "This is My Body, this is My Blood," as operatory in changing the elements into the Body and Blood of Christ; but by that word of God, whereby He hath declared the institution of this sacrament and commanded the use of it, and by the execution of this command. Now it is executed, and hath always been executed, by the act of the Church, upon God's word of institution, praying, that the Holy Ghost, coming down upon the present elements, "may make them the Body and Blood of Christ." Not by changing them into the nature of flesh and blood; as the bread and wine, that nourished our Lord Christ on earth, became the Flesh and Blood of the Son of God by becoming the Flesh and Blood of His Manhood, hypostatically united to His Godhead; saith St. Gregory Nyssen^s: but immediately and *ipso facto* by being united to the Spirit of Christ, that is, His Godhead. For the Flesh and Blood of Christ by incarnation, the elements by consecration, being united to the Spirit, that is, the Godhead of Christ, become both one sacramentally, by being both one with the Spirit or Godhead of Christ, to the conveying of God's Spirit to a Christian.

§ 6. This doctrine of St. Gregory Nyssen, grounded upon the form of consecrating used by the whole Church, seems to me to make good all that the ancient fathers have taught concerning this sacrament; whereas no other terms are able to do the same. And that, without entering into any dispute concerning the substance of the elements. But securing first that which the common salvation requireth in the sacrament, to wit, the receiving of the Flesh and Blood of Christ by it, by imputing the presence of them to the consecration, not to the faith of him that receives; it condemns the error of

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according
to Gregory
Nyssen.

The consequence
hereof in
the errors
concerning
the eucha-
rist.

^r Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. iv. § 1, sq.

^s See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 16, and § 39. note n.—"Ὅσπερ τοίνυν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, . . . ὁ τὸν ἔρτον ἰδὼν, τρόπον τινὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον βλέπει σῶμα, ὅτι ἐν τούτῳ ἐκείνῳ γινόμενον, τοῦτο γίνεταί· οὕτω καὶ ἐκ τῷ Θεοδόχῳ Σῶμα τὴν τροφήν ἔρτου παραδεξιόμενον, λόγῳ τινα ταῦτ' ἦν ἐκείνῳ, τῆς τροφῆς (καθὼς εἰρηται) πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Σώματος φύσιν μεθισταμένης. Τὸ γὰρ

πάντων ἴδιον καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς σαρκὸς ὁμολογήθη, ὅτι ἔρτω καὶ ἐκείνῳ τὸ σῶμα διεκρατεῖται. Τὸ δὲ Σῶμα τῇ ἐνοικήσει τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγῳ πρὸς τὴν θείαν ἀξίαν μεταποιήθη. Καλῶς οὖν καὶ νῦν τὸν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἁγιαζόμενον ἔρτον εἰς Σῶμα τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγῳ μεταποιεῖσθαι πιστεύομαι." κ.τ.λ. S. Greg. Nyss., Orat. Catech., c. xxxvii.; Op. tom. iii. p. 134. B, C: and see the whole chapter.

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transubstantiation, making the change mystical and immediate upon the coming of God's Spirit to the elements, the nature of them remaining: but it condemns consubstantiation for no less; for what needs the Flesh and Blood of Christ fill the same dimensions, which the substance of the elements possesseth, both being united with His Spirit? And truly they, that invite the Lutherans to their communion¹, professing consubstantiation, must not make transubstantiation an error in the foundation of faith, if they will 'weigh by their own weights,' and 'mete by their own measures.' But if the error of the Fanatics, when they make the assurance of a man's predestination to be justifying faith, be an error in the foundation of faith; as I have shewed that it is: then it is an error in the foundation of faith to take the eucharist to be a mere sign to confirm that faith; and the Flesh and Blood of Christ to be present in the eucharist, not by the faith of the Church, whereby the consecration is made and done, but by this faith in him that receives. And, therefore, this error being enough to render the sacraments no sacraments, which are celebrated professing it; the word no word of God, that teacheth to celebrate such sacraments; the Churches no Churches, that profess it or communicate with them that profess it: my inference is unavoidable;—that, to justify this Church a member of God's only true Church, they ought not to be re-admitted into it without expressly acknowledging the Christianity, which we undertake by the sacrament of baptism, to be the condition of the covenant of grace.

How the
eucharist
a sacrifice,
and yet no
ground
for private
masses.

§ 7. If the consecrated elements be the Flesh and Blood of Christ, then are they the sacrifice of Christ crucified upon the Cross. For they are not the Flesh and Blood of Christ as in His Body, while It was whole; but as separated by the passion of His Cross. Not that Christ can be sacrificed again. For a sacrifice, being an action done in succession 96 of time, cannot be done the second time, being once done; because then it should not have been done before. But because the sacrifice of Christ crucified is represented, commemorated, and applied, by celebrating and receiving the sacrament, which is that sacrifice². They of the Church of

¹ See below, c. xxi. § 8.

² See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the

Laws of the Ch., c. v. § 1, sq.

³ See *ibid.* § 13.

Rome, that would make the breach wider than it is, do but justify the Reformation, by forcing any other reason of a sacrifice out of the Scripture, expounded by the consent of God's Church². And they which stumble at the altar and the priesthood, which this sacrifice inferreth; plainly they invite us to renounce the whole Church of God, with the Church of Rome, for their sakes³. And how much Christianity they will leave us, when that is done, who will undertake? Thus much for certain: upon these terms the virtue of this sacrifice is not to be applied by the secret and private intent of the priest, directing his action to the benefit of living or dead, whether present or absent, whether concurring to the celebrating and receiving of it, or not so much as thinking themselves concerned so to do⁴. It is not applied but by the devotion of them, who either receive it when they are bound to receive, or concur to the celebrating of it when they are not; whether priests or people. And, therefore, there is no ground for private masses, by granting the eucharist to be in this nature a sacrifice⁵.

§ 8. But can any man say, that it is not the principal office of Christian assemblies^b? that it ought not to be frequented upon all the chief occasions for the assemblies of God's Church? that the ordinary work, for which we meet all Lord's days and other days (if on other days we ought ordinarily and solemnly to meet), is a sermon with an arbitrary prayer before or after it? that they, who take the pains to minister the same, are to be excused of celebrating the eucharist, or ministering the prayers of the Church, which it is to be celebrated with (unless it be three or four times a year), and much more of reading the Scriptures, or praising God upon David's Psalter and the hymns of the Church^c. I confess Calvin's reformation is much after that form. And all the art of the blessed reformation here pretended, hath been to impose it for a law upon this kingdom, without once pleading that it is for the best. But so grossly prejudicial to

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The eucharist, not the sermon, the chief office of God's service.

² See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 37.

³ See *ibid.* § 30—37.

⁴ See *ibid.* § 24, 27: and c. xxiv. § 9—12.

⁵ See *ibid.*

^b See *ibid.*, c. i. § 2: *Serv. of God at*

Rel. Ass., cc. vi. § 17, viii. § 7: and *Due Way of Composing Differences &c.*, § 37.

^c See *Due Way of Composing Differences &c.*, § 34—37; and below, c. xv. § 3, 4, c. xvi. § 6.

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the service of God, and the common Christianity, that it were injurious to fear, that a Christian kingdom can suffer such an imposture; derogating far more from the perpetual custom of God's whole Church, than it can from the present law of this kingdom. That therefore I may make way to the determining of that which remains most questionable amongst us;—what is the best form of service, which the Church of this kingdom can worship God with:—I must, in the first place, lay down that rule, by which all reformation of laws ecclesiastical is to be directed; together with the ground of it.

CHAPTER XV.

THE GROUND THAT DETERMINES THE FORM OF OUR SERVICE. THE OFFICES OF WHICH THE SERVICE IS TO CONSIST. OF THE USE OF THE PSALMS. OF READING THE SCRIPTURES COMMONLY CALLED APOCRYPHA. WHAT PREACHING IT IS THAT THE SCRIPTURE COMMENDETH. THERE MAY BE PREACHING WITHOUT SERMONS, AND SERMONS WITHOUT PREACHING. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SECOND SERVICE IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH AND OUR COMMUNION SERVICE. THE GENERAL PREFACE, AND THE PRAYERS OF THE CHURCH AT THE EUCHARIST. THE PRAYER OF OB-LATION INSTITUTED BY ST. PAUL, AND THE MATTER OF IT. THE LORD'S PRAYER AT THE EUCHARIST. THE PLACE FOR THE COMMON PRAYERS.

The
ground
that deter-
mines the
form of
our service.

THAT ground, upon which the form of our service is to be determined, is to determine all that remains to be determined in matter of religion by law of this kingdom. The true sense of the Scripture is not to be had but out of the records of antiquity; especially, of God's ancient people first, and then of the Christian Church. The obligation of that sense upon the Church at this time is not to be measured against the primitive practice of the whole Church. The reformation of the Church is nothing but the restoring of that, which may appear to have been in force; especially since Christianity hath been protected by the laws of the empire: because the greatest difference between the primitive time of Christianity and this, is the difference between the state of persecution, and of protection by the law of this kingdom. It is therefore necessary, that both sides, professing the Re-

formation, should agree upon the true ground of reformation; and so upon the rule, which that ground will maintain and evidence: that is, to submit all, that is in question, to the visible practice of the primitive times, before those abuses were brought in which the Reformation pretendeth to restore. For if God have founded a visible Church, which all this supposes; then cannot the pope be antichrist, nor the Church of Rome idolaters, for any thing which the practice of the primitive Church justifieth. And, seeing the Church is visible by the laws of it, there can no Church be visibly one with that which was from the beginning, but by ruling itself by the same laws, so far as the state of the bodies for which they are made is the same. That, which shall be said concerning the form of our service, is an instance hereof. The sense of the Scriptures, which have been alleged, shall appear to agree with the primitive order of God's Church. The reviving of the order is the point of reformation in this particular; allowing for avoiding just offence in altering the law of the kingdom without necessary cause, as the wisdom of superiors shall find requisite.

§ 2. I must now suppose, that the offices of God's service, for which the Church of God assembleth ordinarily and solemnly, are the praises of God, the instruction of the people in the duties of their Christianity (whether by reading the Scriptures, or by handling the same), and, lastly, the common prayers of the Church; especially those, which the eucharist is to be celebrated with. And this order, which I put them in here, is that, which the Church from the beginning hath always observed^d.

§ 3. The Psalter of David, in the first place, hath been so generally frequented by the whole Church for the instrument to make the praises of God sound forth, that it ought not now to be questioned (as questioned it is^e visibly enough) by any, that would pretend to be of God's Church. The order of reading the Psalms, which the law of this kingdom requires, is admitted, because they are part of the Scripture: but all endeavours used, that no devotion of the people be

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The offices,
of which
the service
is to consist.

Of the use
of the
Psalms.

^d See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. vi. § 1, sq.; c. vii. § 29, sq.; c. x.: and Review of it, cc. vi. viii.: Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., cc. xxii. xxv.: Due Way of Composing

Differences &c., § 34, sq.

^e See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxii. § 20: and Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 35.

CHAP. exercised by it; the Psalms in rhyme must engross that^f. We
 XV. have seen a civil war, in the time whereof these Psalms in rhyme, being crowded into the Church by mere sufferance, and so used without order of law, have been employed on both sides, to brand the adverse party with the marks, which the Psalms set upon the enemies of David and of God's people, that is, of Christ and of Christians. More freely by them, who sang them at the head of their armies to that purpose^g. I hope those ways do not please at present; and therefore say freely, that the disorder ought not to continue. Some of our Fanatics, I know, have torn them out of their Bibles^h. They thought themselves not concerned in them, though David were. The Jews, though they allow many of them to belong to the Messias, would not have them belong to our Lord Christⁱ. But the Church uses them, supposing them all fulfilled in Christ and Christians; whether particular souls, or the body of His Church. Upon this account they are the exercise of Christian devotions. But not the Psalms in rhyme. The music of them hath proved too hard for the people to learn in a hundred years: and yet no way more commendable than the rhymes themselves are; and repeating a little in much time. The tunes used in cathedral and collegiate churches are easy to learn, and serve that order which law settleth, for devotion, not for reading them as Scripture.

Of reading
 the Scrip-
 tures com-

§ 4. The order for reading the Scripture appears necessary by the jealousies of this time^k. For were it arbitrary, how

^f See e.g. the Exceptions to the Bk. of Common Prayer, as quoted above in *Due Way of Composing Differences &c.*, § 50, note y, or in *Cardwell's Conferences*, c. vii. p. 308; respecting the Psalms in metre, and the urgency of the Presbyterians to employ them in the Church service.

^g See *Peveril of the Peak*, note to c. iv.: and the passage there quoted from *Shadwell's Play of the Volunteers or the Stock-Jobbers*.

^h i. e. deny their applicability to themselves as Christians. Edwards in his *Gangræna*, Pt. i. Epist. Dedic., mentions, that "now" (1646) "we have singing of psalms spoken against, and cast out of some churches." And see the 138th and 139th errors in his catalogue (*ibid.* p. 32); and again,

ibid. p. 65, where he mentions two churches, *Elsly* in Cambridgeshire, and *Albery* in Hertfordshire, where psalm-singing was "put down;" and "in places where they cannot prevail to shut out singing of psalms, they in a contemptuous manner clap on their hats in the time of singing psalms." And see another instance mentioned *ibid.* p. 89. See also references above in note e.—*Nott* (*Relig. Enthous.*, pp. 150—167. *Oxf.* 1803) mentions, that Wesley discarded certain psalms from use, as not fit for Christians.

ⁱ See *Epilogue*, Bk. II. Of the *Cov. of Gr.* c. xvi. § 2. notes y—a, g.

^k See *Serv. of God at Rel. Ass.*, c. vi. § 9, c. x. § 17; *Epilogue*, Bk. III. Of the *Laws of the Ch.*, c. xxii. § 23, 28—30.

obvious would it be to deprave public or private proceedings by lessons chosen on purpose? That the books called Apocrypha¹ are not the writings of prophets inspired, is agreed. Though those writings are properly called Apocrypha, which the Church authorizeth not to be read^m. Whereas these, being always read in the Church, are therefore properly called "ecclesiastical" by Rufinusⁿ. The chief objections against them resolve into some passages, that seem not to agree with the doctrine of the New Testament: but so, that the like are found in the Old. The fact of Razias, the proceeding of Judith, the lie of Tobit's angel, are the greatest blocks of offence; not considering the fact of Jael, or that of Samson, or the lies that seem to be rewarded under the Law^o. If offence be taken at them, why not at these? But it is no offence to good Christians: because good Christians do not presume the Law and the Gospel to be both one; and, therefore, are content to know their duty under the Gospel, letting that, which agreeth not therewith in the Old Testament, pass without offence. In the mean time it is evident, that the doctrine of Christianity beginneth to be discovered in them more clearly than it stands discovered in the Law and the prophets^p. Hereupon the wisdom of the primitive Church employed them for the instruction of the *catechumeni*, that were yet but learners of Christianity^q. And, therefore, we are to insist upon the use of them for edification of the Church in the better understanding of the manners and good works of Christians; much abased by those, who would put these books to silence. But, the whole Church having always used them, to lay them aside now were not to restore the Church but to build a new one.

§ 5. As concerning the necessity of preaching, so effectually set forth by the Scriptures^r, there is utterly a mistake in the meaning of them. That preaching which the Scripture maketh absolutely necessary to salvation, is the publish-
What preaching it is that the Scripture commendeth.

¹ See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 92.

^m See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxii. § 31, 34.

ⁿ See *ibid.* § 31, note n.

^o See *ibid.*, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxxi. § 38—44; Bk. II. Of the Gov. of Gr., c. xxxii. § 27—30; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxii. § 33.

^p See *ibid.*, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr.

Tr., c. xxxi. § 14, sq.; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxii. § 32.

^q See *ibid.*, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxxi. § 36; Bk. II. Of the Gov. of Gr., c. xvi. § 8; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxii. § 34.

^r See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. ix. § 10; Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. vi. § 11—16; Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxv. § 9—16.

C H A P. ing of the Gospel to those that know it not. The instruction
XV. of Christians in their duty is called "teaching" in the Scrip-
[Matt. xxviii. 19, 20: Mark xvi. 15: Acts ii. 42, 46: xv. 35: &c.] ture. I have made evidence of this difference*. The apo-
[1 Thess. i. 5.] stles' commission is to "teach" them, whom they have bap-
tized, all that the Lord had commanded them. The king-
dom of God is "not in word, but in power." But if we call
the teaching of Christians "preaching," then it must be such,
for matter and for manner both, as may indeed convict Chris-
tians of the duty of Christians; and that not in the opinion 101
of him that preacheth, but according to the doctrine of the
Church. Whosoever thinketh himself tied to preach that
which the Church ties him not to preach, not tied to preach
that which it tieth him to preach; is in a fair way to edify
the people to ruin, by improving an undue zeal to the di-
viding of the Church.

There may
be preach-
ing without
sermons,
and ser-
mons with-
out preach-
ing.

§ 6. In the mean time, the Church preacheth without
sermons, by the Psalms, and the Scriptures, and by that
order in which it provideth that they be read; besides all
those forms, in which it prescribeth the offices of God's ser-
vice to be performed. Which if they contain all that is
necessary generally and probably to the salvation of all
Christians, supposing them duly catechized in those things
which the salvation of all, and which their particular estate,
requires; they, that never heard many sermons, may have
heard more and better "preaching," than hundreds and
thousands of sermons, dangerous if not destructive to sal-
vation (a thing which experience proves more than possible),
can furnish them, who shall do nothing but run from ser-
mons to sermons. I grant it was a just complaint at the
Reformation, that the people were not taught their duty^a.
But I do not grant, either that they cannot be taught their
duty without two sermons every Lord's day, or that they
are like to be taught their duty by two sermons every Lord's
day. It is not possible to have men for all churches, fit to
preach twice a day to the edifying of the people^a. It will
not be possible to maintain their preaching such, as may be
accompted an office of God's service.

* Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 16—
19: Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of
the Ch., c. xxv. § 4.

^a See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the
Laws of the Ch., c. xxii. § 29; c. xxiv.

§ 1—3; c. xxv. § 7, 16; c. xxxii. § 49.

^a See *ibid.*, c. xxv. § 23, 24; and
Due Way of Composing Differences
&c., § 38.

§ 7. In the ancient Church, for divers hundred years, all, C H A P.
XV. that were admitted to stay all this while (that is, till the sermon were done), were not to be present at the eucharist, were not to communicate: as converts not baptized, as the relapsed, as the possessed by unclean spirits; in which rank the lunatic, the epileptic, the frantic, were accounted^x. And reason good; for they were not to communicate, at least till death. And yet they were not to be dismissed without the prayers of the Church; prayers fitting their several estates, for their proficience, or for their recovery, that they might come to communicate^y. I will not here undertake, that all which remained did always communicate; though I doubt 102 not I may undertake, that the rule of the Church required them always to communicate^z. For when the world was come in to the Church, the rule that prevailed in time of persecution, there is no marvel that it could not then prevail. By St. Chrysostom alone it appears sufficiently, that the rule was well enough known; but not in force, even in his time^a. So, when they that might not communicate were dismissed, they that would not communicate remained nevertheless. For the eucharist was not to be set aside for their negligence. This is the difference between the first and second service^b; which is not the same with our communion-service. For the first service ended when the prayers of the Church began. Our communion-service is that which is properly called the liturgy in Greek; namely, the office which the eucharist is to be celebrated with. That which goes before the offertory, belongs not properly to the second service, according to the primitive form; for the presenting of the elements was always every where the beginning of it.

§ 8. The prayers of the Church began with thanksgiving to God, for making man, and setting him over the creatures; for taking care of him after his fall, teaching the patriarchs, The general preface, and the prayers of

^x See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 23, 24: and Bingham, XV. iv. 1, 6, 16. The latter says (XV. iv. 16), that the communion was sometimes given to energumens, viz. in the intervals of their distemper.

^y See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., *ibid.*

^z See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxiv. § 9, 10.—Archdeacon Wilberforce (On the Eucharist, c. xiii. pp. 406—412. 8vo. ed.

1853) has advanced some arguments against this sense of the canons &c. quoted in this passage and by Bingham, XV. iv. 2.

^a S. Chrysa., In Epist. ad Ephes., Hom. iii. § 4, 5: Op. tom. xi. p. 23. A—F. The passage, which is too long for a note, is quoted at large by Bingham as in last note.

^b See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 22.

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at the
eucharist.

giving the Law, sending the prophets; and, when all this did not the effect required, for sending our Lord Christ. From this thanksgiving, both the action of the sacrament, and the consecrated elements, are still called the eucharist^c. And it is called a preface in a very ancient African canon^d; to wit, to the consecration of the elements which followed: which, as I said before^e, is nothing else but a prayer, that God would send the Holy Ghost upon the present elements, and make them the Body and Blood of Christ; that they, who should receive them worthily, might be filled with His grace. The common prayers of the Church (that is, of those who were admitted to communion with the Church) were always made at the altar, or communion-table, in the action of the sacrament. Reason good. How can Christians think their prayers so effectual with God, as when they are presented at the commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ crucified; the representation whereof to God in heaven makes His intercession there so acceptable? Especially by those, who maintain the covenant of their Christianity, contracted at their baptism, by communicating in the eucharist.

The prayer
of oblation
instituted
by St. Paul,
and the
matter
of it.
[1 Tim. ii.
1, 2.]

§ 9. Here then, that is, at the celebrating of the eucharist, 103
“prayers, supplications, and intercessions, were made for all”
estates in the Church, and for their respective necessities;
for the averting of all God’s judgments, for the obtaining of
all His blessings: for public powers and their ministers; for
the governors and ministers of the Church, high and low;
for public peace and prosperity; for the seasons and fruits of
the year; for the sick and distressed; for the helps of God’s
grace in all parts of that Christianity, which we profess, pass-
ing by daily offences: for particular occasions of interceding
with God, which each particular congregation may have^f.
And there be good and sufficient witnesses,—the author^g

^c See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x.
§ 38—44.

^d Cited *ibid.* § 50: and c. vii. § 36.

^e Above, c. xiv. § 5.

^f See Serv. of God. at Rel. Ass., c. x.
§ 59, sq. :—and, besides the authorities
quoted in the following notes, those
cited by Bingham, XV. iii. 13—26.

^g “Hæc regula ecclesiastica est, tra-
dita a magistro gentium, qua utun-
tur sacerdotes nostri, ut pro omnibus
supplices, deprecantes pro regibus hu-
jus sæculi; ut subjectas habeant gen-
tes, ut in pace positi, in tranquillitate
mentis et quiete Deo nostro servire
possimus. Orantes etiam pro iis, qui-
bus sublimis potestas est credita; ut in
justitia et veritate gubernent rempub-
licam, suppeditantes rerum abundan-
tia, ut amota perturbatione seditio-
nis, succedat lætitia; panis enim confir-
mat cor et vinum lætificat mentem.
Postulantes vero pro iis, qui in neces-
sitate varia sunt: ut eruti atque libe-
rati, Deum collaudent incolumitatis
auctorem. Referentes quoque gratia-

of the Commentary upon St. Paul to Timothy under St. Ambrose his name, the author *De Vocatione Gentium*^h, St. Augustinⁱ, and Pope Celestine in his epistle *ad Gallos*^k,—that this was the practice of the whole Church; and that, in obedience to St. Paul's instructions to Timothy, 1 Tim. ii. 1—6. And this confirms my opinion; that St. Paul, ordering “prayers, supplications, intercessions, and thanksgivings, for kings and all in authority,” means, that “prayers, supplications, and intercessions, be made for kings” and the rest, at thanksgiving; that is, when the eucharist is celebrated^l. For that the word *εὐχαριστία* in the sense of ancient Christians signifies the celebrating of the eucharist, I have produced plentiful evidence^m. However, the ancient Church manifestly signifieth, that they did offer their oblations, out

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arum actiones pro iis, quæ nobis quotidianis Dei providentia præstantur ad vitam; ut in his omnibus Pater colaudetur Deus, ex Quo sunt omnia, et Filius Ejus, per Quem sunt omnia: ut sopitis omnibus, quæ huic imperio infesta atque inimica sunt, in affectu pietatis et castitatis Deo servire possimus; perturbatio enim et captivitas nec pietatem servat nec castitatem.” Pseudo-Ambros., In 1 Epist. ad Tim., ii. 1—4; in App. ad Op. S. Ambros. tom. ii. p. 292. B—D.

^h “Præcepit itaque apostolus, immo per apostolum Dominus Qui loquebatur in apostolo, fieri obsecrationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones, pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus, ac pro his qui in sublimitate sunt. Quam legem supplicationis ita omnium sacerdotum et omnium fidelium devotio concorditer tenet, ut nulla pars mundi sit, in qua hujusmodi orationes non celebrentur a populis Christianis. Supplicat ergo ubique Ecclesia Deo, non solum pro sanctis et in Christo jam regeneratis, sed etiam pro omnibus infidelibus et inimicis crucis Christi, pro omnibus idolorum cultoribus, pro omnibus qui Christum in membris Ipsius persequuntur, pro Judæis quorum cæcitati lumen evangelii non refulget, pro hæreticis, schismaticis, qui ab unitate fidei et caritatis alieni sunt.” Auctor de Vocatione Omnium Gentium, lib. i. c. 12; inter Opp. S. Prosper. Aquitan., tom. i. p. 465.

ⁱ “Exercere contra orationes Ecclesiæ disputationes tuas: et quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei, orare pro incredulis ut eos Deus convertat ad filium, et pro

catechumenis ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret, et pro fidelibus: ut in eo quod esse cœperunt, Ejus munere perseverent; subsanna pias voces.” &c. S. Aug., Epist. cccvii. Ad Vitalem, § 2: Op. tom. ii. p. 799. F.

^k “Obsecrationum quoque sacerdotum sacramenta respiciamus, quæ ab apostolis tradita, in toto mundo atque in omni Catholica Ecclesia uniformiter celebrantur; ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi. Cum enim sanctarum plebium præsules mandata sibi met legatione fungantur apud Divinam clementiam, humani generis agunt causam, et tota secum Ecclesia congemiscente, postulant et precantur, ut infidelibus donetur fides, ut idololatræ ab impietatis suæ liberentur erroribus, ut Judæis ablato cordis velamine lux veritatis appareat, ut hæretici catholicæ fidei perceptione respiciant, ut schismatici spiritum rediviæ charitatis accipiant, ut lapsis poenitentiae remedia conferantur, ut denique catechumenis ad regenerationis sacramenta perductis cœlestis misericordiæ aula reseretur.” Celestin. Papa I., Præteritorum Sedis Apostolicæ Episcoporum Auctoritates de Gratia Dei et Libero Voluntatis Arbitrio, cap. vii. alias xi.; subjoined to his Epist. ad Galliarum Episcopos, in Opp. S. Prosper. Aquitan., tom. i. p. 152; or in the Concilia of Labbè, &c.

^l Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 38, sq.: Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. iv. § 8, sq.

^m Ibid.—See also Waterland, Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, c. i.; Works, vol. vii. pp. 35, 36.

CHAP. XV. of which the eucharist was consecrated, with an intent to intercede with God for public or private necessities; and that, out of an opinion, that they would be effectual, alleging the sacrifice of Christ crucified then present, which renders Christ's intercession effectual for us^a. And this is the true ground, why they attributed so much to this commemoration of the sacrifice; which makes nothing for the effect of it in private masses, but more than will be valued for the frequenting of the holy eucharist.

The Lord's prayer at the eucharist.

§ 10. The consecration ended always with the Lord's prayer^o. Which confirms my opinion^p, that St. Paul, when he saith, "How shall the unlearned say amen to thy thanksgiving?" (1 Cor. xiv. 16), means that "amen," which came after the Lord's prayer; taking "thanksgiving" there for celebrating the eucharist. For there is nothing so generally evident in antiquity, as the beginning of the consecration at 104 "sursum corda," or "lift up your hearts;" and the ending of it with the Lord's prayer, and the doxology^q: which, in my opinion, being so frequented upon this occasion, by the licentiousness of copyists, in time, came to be crowded into the text of the Scripture^r; for it is manifest enough, that the most considerable copies do not own it^s.

The place for the common prayers.

§ 11. But the common prayers for all estates, as it seems, sometimes went before the consecration, sometimes came after it^t. For I am to seek for evidence in the records of the Latin Church, importing that they came after the consecration. And yet I have made it evident, that they were used of old by the Latin Church at celebrating of the eucharist; though now not found in the present Latin mass^u. And the liturgy of the Church of Alexandria, and the Æthiopic, depending upon that Church, have them before the

^a See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. v. § 8—23.

^o See *ibid.*, c. iv. § 25, sq.; and c. xxiii. § 2—4.

^p See *ibid.* § 9; and Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 38, 40.

^q See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 44, 103; and Epilogue as in note o.

^r See below, c. xxii. § 7.—The Presbyterian divines at the Savoy Conference protested against the omission on any occasion when the Lord's Prayer was used, of the doxology. See their arguments in answer to those of the

Bishops, in Baxter's Account &c. (quoted in Due Way of Composing Differences, § 50. note y), Papers that passed between the Commissioners &c. (at the Savoy Conference), pp. 98, 99. Thorndike's statement about MSS. of the New Testament in the text, relates to one of the points about which they demur.

^s See below, *ibid.*: and Bengel, Wetstein, and Griesbach, ad Matt. vi. 13.

^t See Service of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 60—68.

^u See *ibid.* § 60, 61.

consecration². But the best and most Greekish forms, and authorities agreeing therewith, make them come after it³. CHAP. XV.

CHAPTER XVI.

DIFFERENCE IN THE STATE OF SOULS DEPARTED IN GRACE BEFORE JUDGMENT. THE ANCIENT CHURCH NEVER PRAYED TO REMOVE THEM OUT OF PURGATORY. TO WHAT PURPOSE THEY WERE REMEMBERED AT THE EUCHARIST. THE SAINTS DEPARTED PRAY FOR THE MILITANT CHURCH. OF PRAYERS TO THE SAINTS DEPARTED. NO COMMON PRAYER IN THE PULPIT BY GIFT, BUT IN A SET FORM, AT THE COMMUNION-TABLE. APOSTOLICAL GRACES SUBJECT TO ORDER. OF THE GRACES OF THE SPIRIT IN ST. PAUL, AND THE ORIGINAL OF LITANIES. THE PRAYERS OF THE EUCHARIST HOW PRESCRIBED BY THE APOSTLES. PRAYERS OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES IN THE PULPIT; BUT BY A FORM. THE EFFECT OF THE LONG-PARLIAMENT PRAYERS BY THE SPIRIT.

ONE point of these prayers I must speak to here in particular; to wit, the commemoration of the dead, for which the mass is now pretended by the Church of Rome "a sacrifice for quick and dead:" to what effect the Scripture, expounded by the practice of the whole Church, may be thought to allow it. I have shewed¹ out of the Revelation, that, the souls of martyrs appearing before the throne of God in the court of the tabernacle (to wit, in the Jerusalem which is above), the throne appears to St. John indeed, but is to be understood in the Holy of Holies; and therefore is not seen in the court of the
 106 tabernacle. But those hundred and forty-four thousand, that were sealed, and preserved from the destruction of Jerusalem, appear not in the court of the tabernacle, but on Mount Sion, a place of inferior holiness; and sing not the martyrs' song, but are only able to "learn" it, which nobody else could do². Sufficient arguments of difference in the state of blessed souls: though all beneath that, which the resurrection promiseth; which all of them earnestly desire. Suppose the place be the "third heavens;" suppose, that it is called "paradise" (because, of necessity, it answers the figure of

Difference in the state of souls departed in grace before judgment.

[Rev. xiv. 1—5.]

[2 Cor. xii. 2.]
 [Luke xxiii. 43.]

¹ See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 60.

² See *ibid.*

³ Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxvii. § 9, sq.

⁴ See *ibid.*

CHAP. the earthly paradise); suppose that, in respect of the saints
 XVI. that died under the Law, it is called "Abraham's bosom:"
 [1. Luke xvi. there may be inferior "mansions" in the mean time before
 22.] the resurrection for souls of inferior holiness, though they
 [John xiv. depart in the state of grace. For how oft do the apostles
 2.] signify a solicitous expectation of the day of judgment in
 those, whom they suppose to die Christians? A thing,
 which can by no means stand with the estate of those, that
 [Rev. vii. are before the throne of God, praising Him day and night in
 9, 14—17; the court of the tabernacle. And therefore St. Ambrose^b and
 xiv. 1—5.] St. Augustin^c had great reason to follow the fourth Book of
 Esdras (written without doubt by a very ancient Christian,
 though not authorized by the Church), placing the gene-
 [2 Esdras rality of souls departed in the state of grace in certain "se-
 iv. 41, 42.] cret receptacles;" signifying no more than the unknown
 condition of their estate^d. For the practice of the Church
 in interceding for them at the celebration of the eucharist is
 so general and so ancient^e, that it cannot be thought to have
 come in upon imposture, but that the same aspersion will
 seem to take hold of the common Christianity.

The an-
 cient
 Church
 never
 prayed to
 remove
 them out
 of purga-
 tory.

§ 2. But to what effect this intercession was made; that
 is, indeed, the due point of difference. For they, who think
 that the ancient Church prayed, and do themselves pray, for
 the removing of them from a place of purgatory-pains into
 perfect happiness by the clear sight of God^f, offend against
 the ancient Church, as well as against the Scripture, both
 ways. For Justin Martyr^g makes it a part of the Gnostics'
 heresy, that the soul without the body is in perfect happiness. 107
 They indeed held it, because they denied the resurrection.
 But the Church therefore, believing the resurrection, believes
 no perfect happiness of the soul before it. And the great
 consent of the ancient Church in this point is acknowledged
 by divers learned writers in the Church of Rome^h. Neither
 is the consent of it less evident in this; that there is no

^b Quoted in Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxix. § 13.

^c Quoted *ibid.* § 7.

^d See *ibid.* § 16; and c. xxviii. § 7.

^e See *ibid.*, c. xxix. § 38, 41—52.

^f See *ibid.* § 30, sq., 52, sq.

^g "Εἰ γὰρ καὶ συνεβαλέτε ὑμεῖς τισὶ λεγομένοις Χριστιανοῖς, καὶ τοῦτο μὴ ὁμολογοῦσιν," κ.τ.λ., "οἱ καὶ λέγουσι μὴ

εἶναι νεκρῶν ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ ἅμα τῇ ἀποθνήσκειν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν· μὴ ὑπολάβητε αὐτοὺς Χριστιανούς. κ.τ.λ. S. Just. Mart., Dial. cum Tryph., c. 80: Op. p. 178. A.

^h See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxix. § 32, and note r.

translating of souls into a new estate before the great trial of C H A P.
XVI.
the general judgment¹.

§ 3. In the meantime, then, what hinders them to receive comfort and refreshment, rest and peace and light (by the visitation of God, by the consolation of His Spirit, by His good angels), to sustain them in the expectation of their trial, and the anxieties they are to pass through during the time of it? To what purpose they were remembered at the eucharist.

And though there be hope for those, that are most solicitous to live and die good Christians, that they are in no such suspense, but within the bounds of the heavenly Jerusalem: yet, because their condition is uncertain, and where there is hope of the better there is fear of the worse, therefore the Church hath always assisted them with the prayers of the living; both for their speedy trial (which all blessed souls desire), and for their easy absolution, and discharge with glory before God, together with the accomplishment of their happiness in the receiving of their bodies¹.

§ 4. Now all members of the Church triumphant in heaven, according to the degree of their favour with God, abound also with love to His Church militant on earth. And though they know not the necessities of particular persons without particular revelation from God; yet they know there are such necessities, so long as the Church is militant on earth. Therefore it is certain, both that they offer continual prayers to God for those necessities, and that their prayers must needs be of great force and effect with God for the assistance of the Church militant in this warfare^k. Which if it be true, the communion of saints will necessarily require, that all, who remain solicitous of their trial, be assisted by the prayers of the living, for present comfort, and future rest; [and] that the living beg of God a part and interest in the benefit of those prayers, which they, who are so near to God in His kingdom, tender Him without ceasing for the Church upon earth. As for prayers for the translating of souls out of purgatory, the beginning of their coming into the Church is visible¹.

108 § 5. And so is the coming in of those prayers, which call Of prayers to the saints departed.

¹ See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 30, sq.

below, c. xxii. § 9.

¹ See *ibid.* § 41, sq.

¹ See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxix. § 55,

^k See *ibid.*, c. xxxi. § 16—19: and 56.

CHAP. XVI. upon the saints departed by name, in any public office of devotion in the Church^m. The voluntary devotions of private persons, most of them ignorant and carnal, are no argument of the original and general practice of the Church. And there is no mark of these invocations, till processions were frequented with litaniesⁿ: which consisted most an end of them; and could not be in use before the time of Constantine, but were not in use till a good while after it^o. The abuse hath increased so far (especially in addresses to the blessed Virgin), that the same things are desired of them, and in the same terms, in which they are desired of God, even in the holy Scripture; [and] that the appearance of devotion to the Mother is visibly and outwardly no less than to the Son^p: so that, were there not a profession of that Church^q extant, contradicting the proper sense of such prayers, and forcing them that address them, unless they will contradict themselves, to abate their own meaning, and to expound them to signify no more than obtaining that of God which they are desired to grant of themselves, they could not be excused of idolatry^r; but can by no means be excused, for leading simple Christians upon a precipice of such horrible danger, by encouraging both them, and those that teach them such devotions. For did not carnal superstition hope for temporal blessings from such voluntary applications, without that promise of God, which the condition of our Christianity engageth; how should a Christian be induced to go about by a saint, that hath immediate access to God, to the same effect?

No common prayer in the pulpit by gift; but in a set form, at the communion-table.

§ 6. That, which hath been said of the primitive liturgy, barreth the pretence of this time, requiring the liturgy settled by law of this kingdom to be changed, upon a ground never heard of in the Church for sixteen hundred years:—that every minister (whether meaning bishop, priest, and deacon, or priest only) is to have a gift in praying; and that his people ought to pray that which his gift furnisheth, and not that which the Church prescribeth^s: and, to the end that such

^m See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 20—31.

ⁿ See *ibid.* § 31.

^o See *ibid.*

^p See *ibid.* § 24, 32, 33.

^q See *ibid.* § 21. note u, and § 27.

^r See *ibid.* § 27, 29, 32—34: and

Conclusion, § 42.

^s "That the gift of prayer being one special qualification for the work of the ministry, bestowed by Christ for the edification of His Church, . . . it is desired that there be no such imposition of the Liturgy, as that the exercise of that

gifts may be used, that no minister be tied to celebrate the eucharist above thrice a year; and that, in case he have convenient company^u; but that they^v, whose age and infirmity enables them not to preach and pray thus in the pulpit, reading the service over and above, be not tied to minister the service prescribed. Now would I have those, that demand this, to shew me, that ever the prayers, for which the Church meeteth, were made in the pulpit for fifteen hundred years after Christ. I know I have alleged a prayer of St. Ambrose before his sermon^w. I know there is a passage of St. Augustin alleged to the same purpose^x. But neither of them signifies any more than a prayer to God to bless them in their preaching. The common prayers of the Church are another thing; even that which I have said. The common prayers of the Church, on all ordinary and solemn assemblies, were made at the altar; because the eucharist was held always, and ought to be held always, the principal office of God's service, for which Christians ought to assemble more frequently than there can be either ability or opportunity for preaching. And that, which I have said of the primitive liturgy, is full evidence hereof^y. For I have shewed a set form of it (which these men return a *non inventus* of to his

gift be thereby *totally excluded* in any part of public worship." Except. ag. Bk. of Comm. Prayer, p. 5: in Baxter's Accompt &c. before quoted; or in Cardwell's Conferences, c. vii. p. 306.

^u "We desire this rubric" (scil., that "every parishioner shall communicate at least three times a year" &c.) "may either be wholly omitted or thus altered.—Every minister shall be bound to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at least thrice a year, provided there be a due number of communicants manifesting their desires to receive." Ibid. p. 19; or in Cardwell, *ibid.* p. 322.

^v The passage quoted in note s continues thus—"And further, considering the great age of some ministers and infirmities of others, and the variety of several services oftentimes concurring upon the same day, whereby it may be inexpedient to require every minister at all times to read the whole, it may be left to the discretion of the minister to omit part of it, as occasion shall require."

^w Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. vii.

§ 31; and Review of it, c. vii. § 8.—
"But this seems rather to have been a private prayer of St. Ambrose between God and himself, as Bishop Wetenhall and Mr. Thorndike understand it; who yet are mistaken in one thing, when they suppose that the common prayers of the Church came before the sermon, and that there were no other prayers before sermon but these: for nothing is more certain, than that the common prayers did not begin till the sermon was ended; and yet there were such short prayers for grace and assistance, as we are speaking of." Bingham, XIV. iv. 13.

^x scil. by L' Estrange, Alliance of Div. Off., c. vi. note L. p. 264. Oxf. 1846 (1st edit. 1659):—"Ut" (pastor) "orando pro se, ac pro illis, quos est allocuturus, sit orator antequam dictor." S. Aug., De Doctr. Christiana, lib. iv. c. 15. § 32; Op. tom. iii. P. i. p. 76. F.—L' Estrange in the same passage quotes Thorndike's earlier statements on the subject.

^y Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. vii. § 29, sq.

CHAP. Majesty's Commission⁷): but that ever there was any prayer
XVI. of the people used in the pulpit, will never appear.

Apostolical
graces
subject to
order.

[1 Cor.
xiv. 32.]

[1 Cor.
xiv. 33.]

[1 Cor.
xiv. 37,
38.]

§ 7. I grant, that there were miraculous graces under the apostles; which St. Paul directs the use of in ministering the prayers of the Church. But that all ministers had them, they, who require an ordinary gift in all ministers to that purpose, cannot prove: much less, that this ordinary gift is to succeed those miraculous graces in all ministers. For even then St. Paul saith, that "the spirits of the prophets were to be subject to the prophets," because "God is not the God of confusion, but of order;" and therefore charges all, that pretended to such graces, to acknowledge the grace of an apostle in him, and to be subject to the orders which there he gives out. If the immediate inspirations of God's Spirit were so dispensed, that inferiors could presume nothing to the prejudice of order against superiors upon that pretence: much more, now that Christianity is settled, and the unity of the Church a part of it, are the gifts of inferiors to be ruled by the gifts of superiors; that order, in which unity consisteth, may be preserved¹.

Of the
graces of
the Spirit
in St. Paul,
and the
original of
litanies.
[Rom. viii.
26.]

§ 8. St. Paul saith, that "the Spirit maketh intercession for" the saints "with groans unutterable." And St. Chrysostom saith thereupon, that they who had these miraculous graces, being employed to minister the prayers of the Church, did offer them to God with those deep "sighs and groans," which could hardly express what the Spirit suggested; but addeth, that the deacon did the same in his time^a. And this is visibly true by all that remains of the liturgy in the records of the Church^b. It is evident, that, though the bishop or priest, celebrating the eucharist, did offer the common prayers which I have described, yet the deacon also indited the same to the people, from point to point; as you have it to this day in our English litanies: the people answering from point to

⁷ "As to that passage in his Majesty's Commission where we are authorised and required to compare the present Liturgy with the most ancient Liturgies," &c., "we have in obedience to his Majesty's Commission made enquiry, but cannot find any records of known credit, concerning any intire forms of Liturgy within the first three hundred years," &c. Except-

tions against Bk. of Common Prayer, p. 10: in the Accompt of all the Proceedings &c., by Baxter, before quoted, or in Cardwell, Conferences, c. vii. p. 312.

^a See Serv. of God. at Rel. Ass., c. vii. § 1, sq.: and c. xi. § 4, sq.

^b Quoted in Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. v. § 22.

^c See *ibid.*, c. vii. § 33.

point, "Lord have mercy," or some such acclamation, as our litanies do direct. So far is the Catholic Church from the maxim now pretended, that the priest alone is the mouth of the people in their prayers. And the "sighs and groans" of that deep devotion, which St. Paul saith "the Spirit" then moved, and St. Chrysostom, that the people, answering the deacon, then expressed, the form of our litanies now containeth and expresseth. And indeed those prayers, which the deacon indited, are called litanies in divers of the ancient liturgies^c; shewing, that our litanies are but a transcript of them for the use of other occasions besides the celebration of the eucharist. And Smectymnuus^d may remember, how much they mistook Justin Martyr^e; thinking he had said, that the minister prayed thus "according to his gift:" who saith indeed, that he prayed "with all his might," to wit, with all the devotion he could use^f. Which devotion, as it is not to be found in their pulpit-prayers, pretending to apply the gift to the present occasion, so it visibly breathes in the litanies, through all occasions of God's Church.

§ 9. When miraculous graces failed, the prayers of the Church were not to fail. And, the apostles having delivered that which I have said to the Church, whosoever was authorized to celebrate the eucharist, both must be and easily might be instructed, how he should discharge that office. There is so much agreement, both for matter and manner, in that which remains of it in the records of the Church, as to justify those, that affirm it to be received by tradition from the apostles^g. Thus was the form prescribed from the beginning. In time abuses might come. For what rule can there
111 be in human business, that shall not be subject to abuse? Therefore the African canon, which I spake of^h, orders, that bishops should confer the forms which they used (to wit, through their dioceses) with their fellow-bishops: other ca-

The prayers of the eucharist, how prescribed by the apostles.

^c See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 23, 31, 32; and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 31.

^d Quoted in Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. vii. § 25, 26.

^e Quoted *ibid.* § 25.

^f See *ibid.* § 25—28.—There is an argument (such as it is) on the opposite side in Lord King's Enquiry into

the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship of the Primitive Church, Pt. II. c. ii. § 7. pp. 39—53. 8vo. Lond. 1692.

^g See Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. vii. § 11; and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. iv. § 8, sq.; c. xxiii. § 1, sq.

^h Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. vii. § 35, sq.

C H A P. XVI. nons succeeding, that the same form should be used throughout every provinceⁱ. In time the Church of Rome obtained, that the form thereof should be received all over the west^k.

Prayers of the reformed Churches in the pulpit, but by a form.

§ 10. We see in the mean time, what this pretence of gifts tends to. Even to shut the eucharist out of doors, or to confine it to thrice a year, in case there be company^l; which case may be so managed, that a man need not be tied to celebrate the eucharist all his life-time. This is the satisfaction the Church hath, for their withholding the eucharist so many years from those, that could not endure the ignorance, malice, and insolence, of their buckram "triers^m." I grant, that Calvin's reformation brings the common prayers from the altar into the pulpit, and by that means confines the communion to four times a yearⁿ. But are we to follow Calvin in that, wherein the whole Church of God is against Calvin? wherein the rule of this Church, and the law of the kingdom, agrees with the whole Church against Calvin? Was it the way to reform the abuse of private masses, to shut out the communion excepting four times a year? It must be said, that it was not the reforming, but the deforming of the Church. And the reforming thereof consists in restoring the eucharist into the place, that it ought to hold among the offices of the Church; so that the communion thereof may be most generally and continually frequented by Christians most prepared. But Calvin dreamed of no gifts all the while. The form of common prayer is as much prescribed according to Calvin, as according to the Church of England^o, though it be read in the pulpit.

The effect of the Long-Parliament prayers by the Spirit.

§ 11. It is the new gospel of the Long Parliament, that set up the pretence of "praying by the Spirit;" the gift whereof is now claimed for every minister's privilege, in bar to God's Church. Though it be manifest, that the greatest part have no such gift, so to minister the offices of the

ⁱ See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. vii. § 36, sq.

^k See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxiii. § 3.

^l See above, § 6, note t.

^m See Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 16, note f: Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xi. § 25, note m, and c. xvi. § 5, note z; and Conclusion, § 53: Letter concerning the Present State of

Religion among us, § 2. notes f, g, &c. Either description of "triers," those who admitted to the Lord's Supper, or those who admitted a presentee to a living, equally come within the denunciation of the text.

ⁿ See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 96, note t.

^o See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. vii. § 45.

Church as may be to the discharge of the people, the honour of God, and of Christianity; yet the law of the land must be changed, as supposing that which we see is not. The weaknesses and imperfections, the falsehoods, the blasphemies, the slanders, the sedition, the schism, that we have known vented in such prayers, oblige us to conclude, that there is no such gift in all ministers; at least not of God's Spirit: and, therefore, that we must not forsake God's Church; changing the form that is ruled by the pattern thereof, and the eucharist to boot, for the arbitrary prayers, that every minister's gift shall vent in the pulpit.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE LORD'S DAY OBSERVED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH. THEREFORE OTHER FESTIVALS, AND TIMES OF FASTING, ARE TO BE OBSERVED. HOW PLACES AND PERSONS BECOME QUALIFIED FOR GOD'S SERVICE. PREACHING NOT CONVERTIBLE WITH MINISTERING THE SACRAMENTS. TIMES, PLACES, PERSONS, AND THINGS, CONSECRATED TO GOD'S SERVICE UNDER THE GOSPEL. CEREMONIES SIGNIFYING BY INSTITUTION NECESSARY IN GOD'S SERVICE. WHAT KIND OF SIGNIFICATION REQUISITE. NOT ENOUGH FOR THE PRESBYTERIANS TO ALLOW CEREMONIES.

The determining of times and places and persons, by which and at which, of the circumstances and ceremonies, of the form and order, according to which, the service of God is to be celebrated, is the office, and therefore is within the power, of the Church^p. The substance of Christianity, wherein salvation consisteth, was determined by our Lord in person to His apostles. That which He trusted them with, was the regulating of His Church, supposing the same Christianity; that God might be served by the assemblies of such, as might appear to profess it. That which He trusted the apostles with, the Church remains of necessity trusted with by the apostles; saving the personal gift of the Holy Ghost in the apostles, rendering their acts blameless in that estate for which they were made, though not sufficient for all estates of the Church. Otherwise, the power of the whole Church is the power of the

The Lord's day observed by the authority of the Church.

^p See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., oc. xxv., ix. § 22: Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. xxvii.; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of § 1, sq., c. iv. § 13, sq: Epilogue, Bk. the Ch., c. i. § 2, c. xxi. § 1.

C H A P. apostles; and obligeth the parts of the Church not to trans-
XVII.gress the acts of it: because the unity of the Church is equally concerned in them, and the substance of Christianity in neither of both. This discovereth the superstition of that imposture, which is pretended, by deriving the obligation of the Lord's day from the Jewish sabbath. For what reason can endure, that the Church should be bound to keep the first day of the week by that precept, which tied the synagogue to keep the last day of the week? Seeing then the obligation of it is to be derived from the act of the apostles (that is, from the power of the Church; for being once received by the whole Church it is for ever received to the same effect, if the premisses be true); it is the same obligation, that ties all to observe the times appointed for the service of God by the Church, whether fasting days or festivals'. The example of the primitive Christians at Jerusalem justifieth St. Hierome^s, and others of the fathers^t; affirming, that the Church should and would serve God continually in public, could the business of the world stand with it. And, therefore, that order is to be accounted most Christian, that provides most opportunity for frequenting the public service of God.

Therefore other festivals, and times of fasting, are to be observed.

§ 2. If this were considered, it would appear a mere imposture, to demand, that the Lord's day be celebrated with sermons morning and evening, and arbitrary prayers to usher them in and out; treading under feet all other times, set apart by the whole Church for the service of God by such offices as it enjoineth. If we 'weigh by our own weights, and mete by our own measures;' not only the mysteries of our

^s See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxi. § 1, sq.

^t See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 30, 31: and Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 9, sq.

^u In answer to one objecting, that the Church in her feasts "observed days," as the Jews did whom S. Paul rebukes, S. Hierome says,—"Qui vero oppositæ quæstioni acutius respondere conatur, illud affirmat: omnes dies æquales esse; nec per Parasceuen tantum Christum crucifigi, et die Dominica resurgere; sed semper sanctum Resurrectionis esse diem, et semper eum Carne vesci Dominica: jejunia autem et congregationes inter dies propter eos a viris prudentibus constitutos, qui magis sæculo vacant quam

Deo, nec possunt, imo nolunt, toto in ecclesia vitæ suæ tempore congregari, et ante humanos actus Deo orationum suarum offerre sacrificium." S. Hieron., In Epist. ad Galat., lib. ii. ad c. iv.; Op. tom. iv. P. i. pp. 271, 272.

^v See e. g. S. Clem. Alex., Strom., lib. vii. c. 7. p. 851: "Ἀμέλει τὸ γένος τὸ ἐκλεκτὸν, Ἐπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας ἤνεσθαι, φησὶ, κατ' ἐντολὴν δικαιοῦμενον· ὅθεν ὅπτε ὠρισμένον τόπον, οὐδὲ ἐξαιρετον ἱερὸν, οὐδὲ μὴν ἑορτάς τινας καὶ ἡμέρας ἀποτεταγμένας, ἀλλὰ τὸν πάντα βίον ὁ γνωστικὸς ἐν παντί τόπῳ, καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν μόνος ὡν τυγχάνῃ, καὶ θεοῦ τινὰς ἀν' τῶν ὁμοίων πεπιστευκότων ἔχῃ, τιμᾷ τὸν Θεόν."

Lord's dispensation in the flesh, but the memories of His apostles and saints, not only the time of Lent and the Wednesdays and Fridays, but the time of Advent, the evens of festivals, the Ember and Rogation days, once appointed to that purpose, must still be solemnized for the festivals and 114 fasts of God's Church^a. To set a peculiar mark upon the Lord's day, as if the time of it were more obliging than other time that is appointed to the same purpose, is to change the day, but to retain the Jews' superstition: as Calvin most truly hath told them^v, who in other things commit idolatry to his opinion, but wherein he follows the whole Church (in this point, and in the state of souls before the resurrection^w), bid him farewell.

§ 3. The case is the same in the qualities of places, as well as of persons^x. For the exercise of Christianity by the law of this kingdom, there must be places where all must meet; they must be limited by the authority of the Church; they must not be balked for other places of men's private choice, but by those that are willing to be charged with schism for doing it. They, that quarrel the bishop's power in all other things, must call this also in question, when they mean to 'weigh by their own weights,' and 'mete by their own measures.' They are very studious to confound the difference

How places and persons become qualified for God's service.

^a See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxi. § 31, 32, 52—55.

^v "Paulo hic cogor esse longior, quod hodie ob diem Dominicum tumultuantur nonnulli inquieti spiritus: plebem Christianam quiritantur in Judaismo foveri, quia retinet aliquam dierum observationem. Ego autem respondeo, citra Judaismum dies istos a nobis observari; quia longo intervallo differimus in hac parte a Judæis. Non enim ut ceremoniam arctissima religione celebramus, qua putemus mysterium spirituale figurari: sed suscipimus, ut remedium retinendo in Ecclesia ordini necessarium." Calvin, Instit., lib. II. c. viii. § 33: Op. tom. ix. p. 100.—"Ita evanescent nugæ pseudo-prophetarum, qui Judaica opinione populum superioribus sæculis imbuerunt, nihil aliud afferentes nisi abrogatum esse quod ceremoniale erat (id vocant sua lingua diei septimæ taxationem), remanere autem quod morale est, nempe unius diei observationem in heb-

domade. Atqui id nihil aliud est, quam in Judæorum contumeliam diem mutare, diei sanctitatem animo eandem retinere." Id., ibid. § 34: going on to say of those who had so taught, that "crassa carnalique Sabbathismi superstitione Judæos ter superant."—He held also (ibid.), that "neque sic septenarium numerum moror, ut ejus servituti Ecclesiam astringam; neque enim Ecclesias damnavero, quæ alios conventibus suis solennes dies habeant, modo a superstitione absint." And that he once thought of actually changing the day to Thursday, is alleged, although upon no very strong evidence: see Bramhall, Disc. of Sabbath and Lord's Day, Sect. i.; Works, Pt. iv. Disc. i. vol. v. p. 10. note e. And see above, Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxi. § 26.

^w See Epilogue, ibid., c. xxix. § 37.

^x See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. ix. § 10: and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxii. § 1—13.

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Preaching
not con-
vertible
with minis-
tering the
sacra-
ments.

between priests and deacons by having all called ministers; being a term that may serve all orders, ministering those offices which the Church enableth them to minister^r. But they, who would impose this sense upon the style of "ministers of God's word and sacraments,"—that all, and no other but they, who are ordained to preach, are ordained also to baptize and celebrate the eucharist^s,—must be told, that this is an imposture, till they shew better reason for it than hitherto hath been shewed. For I conceive I have shewed sufficient reason, that the power of celebrating the eucharist is convertible with the power of the keys, qualifying all Christians for the eucharist: which, in the bishop only, extendeth to public causes, concerning his whole Church or diocese; but in all presbyters, to private causes, wherein it may be questionable between God and the conscience, whether a Christian be qualified for the eucharist or not^a. As for the sacrament of baptism: that, as the bishop only allows it in any case that may be questionable, so the ministering of it may come to a deacon in the priest's absence; nay, to a layman, rather than that any child should die unbaptized^b. Neither is the office of preaching restrained either to priests or deacons alone by any other authority, than that of God's whole Church^c; which being once passed in the case by the general custom and practice of it, it must be the greatest sacrilege in the 115 world, that is, the sacrilege of schism, to transgress it.

Times,
places,
persons,
and things,
consecrated to

§ 4. The respect due to the memories of the apostles, and other saints and martyrs of Christ, is a reason sufficient to determine the time and place for the service of God^d. To question, that they are not just occasions for the consecrating

^r See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. ix. § 5. note p: Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 37, c. v. § 96. And so also in Baxter's Account &c. before quoted, throughout: and especially (as in the substitution of "minister" for "priest" in the rubric before the form of absolution at the Hampton Court Conference—see L'Estrange, Alliance of Div. Off., c. iii. note H. p. 189, so) in the Except. to the Bk. of Comm. Prayer in 1661, requesting "that as the word *minister*, and not *priest* or *curate*, is used in the Absolution and in divers other places, it may throughout the whole book be so used instead of those two words" (Cardwell, Conferences,

c. vii. pp. 307, 308).

^a See *ibid.*: and Cartwright as quoted in Epilogue, Conclusion, § 16. note g.

^b Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 77, sq.; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 13, sq.: and especially § 35.

^c See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 23; Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xix. § 12; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. viii. § 11.

^d See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. ix. § 4; Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. xi. § 4; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 22; and Review of it, c. iii. § 20; Epilogue, Conclusion, § 16.

^e See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 15.

of festivals and of churches to the service of God in honour of their memories, is a just presumption, that men seek to be saved by some other Christianity than that, which their doctrine and their blood planted. But their names, and the festivals and the churches that bear their names, are but circumstances, determining that service to be acceptable to God, which is performed in the unity of His Church; the authority whereof assigneth them to that purpose. No more are the utensils and ornaments of churches, the vessels in which the sacraments are celebrated. But they, who think it superstition, that these things should be set apart from vulgar use and reserved only for God's service, plainly commit idolatry to their own imaginations in it. For it is manifest, that consecration was in force*, not only by the law of Moses, but before it, under the law of nature, as the fathers call it[†]; under those precepts, which God gave Noah after the flood, as the Jews will have it[‡]. And, therefore, it tended not only to figure Christ to come, but to maintain the service of God, and that reverence which it ought to be performed with. What colour can there be, that the consecrations that were in force by the Law were figurative of Christ to come[§]? And the sacrilege of Judas, as well as of Ananias and Sapphira, remain unquestionable; because the subsistence of the Church upon oblations consecrated to that purpose from the beginning is as visible as the Church[¶]. As for the sense of the Catholic Church from the beginning^{||}, he that believes the unity thereof cannot question it. They therefore, that have the impudence to make that superstition, which the people of God both before and since Christ have always used for the service of God; do they not commit idolatry to their own imaginations, which they prefer so far before all the world besides? Indeed the solemnity of consecration requires

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God's service under the Gospel.

[John xii. 6; Acts v. 1—10.]

* See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 52—59.

† See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxix. § 11. note o.

‡ See *ibid.*, c. iii. § 7. note g.

§ Ceremonies are "a bar to the Jews' conversion. . . . Is not their unbelief and incredulity touching the Messiah strengthened and confirmed from the retention of those very things in the Christian Church, whereby He was typed and prefigured?" Θεαρωματος or

the Great Myserie of Godliness &c., by Edward Douglas M.A. Minister of the Gospel at Olaves - Silver - Street (sic), London, p. 58. 4to. Lond. 1661.

¶ See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xvi. § 30. note b; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxii. § 3: Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 21, 22.

|| See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. ix.; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 30, 34.

CHAP. XVII. a further question, of ceremonies in the service of God: whether or no they be for the advantage of God's service; whether or no it be in the power of the Church to determine 116 them for that purpose. For the solemnity of consecrations passes not without ceremonies.

Ceremonies signifying by institution necessary in God's service.

§ 5. We have this character of the Presbyterians published^k for their advantage:—that they “allow” the “natural expressions of reverence and devotion,” as kneeling, and lifting up of the hands and eyes in prayer; as also those mere circumstances of “decency and order,” the omission whereof would make the service of God either not decent or less decent: but ceremonies of “instituted mystical” signification they allow not.—But are not the mysteries of Christianity, the incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, things instituted by God, not determined by nature? Is not the signifying of them, whereby they come to remembrance, the means to procure and to increase that reverence and devotion, which we are to attend the service of God with, and the inward affection which it expresseth? And why not then ceremonies, instituted to signify things, which God's grace, not nature, determineth? Shall it be Christianity, to believe the institution of things above nature for our salvation by God's grace; and shall it be prejudicial to Christianity, to institute the means of procuring that reverence and devotion, which the remembrance of them in

^k The particular reference here intended, is possibly to a sermon of Mr. John Cotton on 1 Cor. xiv. 40, pp. 38, 39; which is the first of three treatises published 4to. Lond. 1660, under the title of *Some Treasure Fetched out of Rubbish or Three Short but Seasonable Treatises* (found in an heap of scattered Papers). &c. &c. The writer of it distinguishes the service of God into 1. the “essential worship” itself, 2. the “natural ceremonies or voluntary compositions or gestures of the body,” 3. the “circumstances and order of performance;” all which he allows of in various ways: and then proceeds to denounce signs significant, mystical or moral, instituted by man.—“We humbly represent, that we hold ourselves obliged, in every part of Divine worship, to do all things decently, in order, and to edification; and are willing thereby to be determined by authority in such things as, being merely cir-

cumstantial, are common to humane actions and societies,” &c. *First Address and Proposals of Ministers &c.* in 1661 (in Cardwell's *Conferences*, c. vii. p. 282, or as quoted above in c. i. § 5. note h).—“It being doubtful whether God hath given power unto men to institute in His worship such mystical teaching signs, which not being necessary *in genere*, fall not under the rule of ‘doing all things decently, orderly, and to edification.’” &c. *Excerpt. ag. Bk. of Common Prayer* (in Baxter's *Accompt &c.*, or in Cardwell, *ibid.* p. 310).—See also the defence of these Exceptions, in *The Grand Debate between the most Rev. the Bps. and the Presbyt. Divines &c. &c.*, pp. 55, sq. 4to. Lond. 1661: or in Baxter's *Life of Himself* (edited by Sylvester), fol. Lond. 1696: and H. D.'s *Discourse of Liturgies &c.*, c. xvi. § 6, sq. pp. 88, 89. 4to. Lond. 1661.

the public service of God requireth? Shall the worship of God by Christians be tied to signify no more than nature directeth Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans, to signify by it? Compare this new Gospel with the perpetual practice of God's people, whether before or after the Law, whether before or after Christ; and you shall easily see, that it cannot be accounted superstition, but by those that commit idolatry to their own imaginations.

§ 6. Let the signification be that, which natural reason is able to interpret in all sorts of Christians: and whether they allow it to be called "mystical" or not, they must allow it as properly "religious;" that is, as tending to advance that devotion, which the religion of a Christian signifieth, in the point of God's service. And truly I do not, nor doth this Church to my knowledge, allow the ceremonies of the Church of Rome; the signification whereof is not to be understood by all sorts of Christians, but [which] require books 117 of learning to interpret their significations. They, that serve God in a language unknown to the people, do accordingly, when they serve Him with ceremonies which they cannot understand. Allowing it reformation to serve God in English¹, I allow it reformation to cut off the superfluity of such ceremonies; as stealing the nourishment of devotion from the heart, wherein God hath placed His service. And, therefore, I think it reason to submit to this issue;—whether or no the ceremonies in question be according to the use of the primitive Church, which the Reformation pretendeth or should pretend to restore. For I find, that in the primitive and good times of Christianity the Church was far enough from seeking such abstruse and far-fetched significations. And that is a visible rule, which the common profession of reformation determines. But I allow no man to allege the use of the primitive Church, grown out of use long before the Reformation, in bar to any ceremony now settled by law; not 'weighing by the same weights,' nor 'meting by the same measures,' in all other things. It is neither good conscience in them, nor would be in the public, to change a law of the land upon a pretence, which they that allege will not stand to in another case.

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What kind
of signifi-
cation re-
quisite.

¹ See above, c. xv. § 6. note s.

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Not
enough for
the Pres-
byterians
to "allow"
ceremo-
nies.

§ 7. But is it enough for presbyterians to "allow" ceremonies, which nature teacheth, to "allow order and decency" in circumstances? Have they debauched this wretched people to such horrible profaneness and irreverence, that they can think fit to pray sitting on their seats; to such barbarous confusion, that they can think every man's own fancy the best order to exercise the liberty of Christians in God's service: and now think to satisfy with "allowing" the contrary? What shall the Church gain by reconciling them, if, having contributed so much to the destruction of order, they contribute not more than so to the restoring of it? But that must be the care of superiors. I will only mention the sign of the cross; a ceremony of so much reverence, and so general use in the whole Church of God from the beginning, that nothing but the difficulty of recalling it, preserving unity among ourselves, can excuse this Church for not restoring it in many other offices^m. But to put it out of the office of baptism would be to condemn the whole Church of God, without giving satisfaction to them, who, having obtained the silencing of it in consecrating the eucharist according ¹¹⁸ to the liturgy under Edward VI.ⁿ, have thereby been encouraged to demand so much more.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OFFICES WHICH THE FATHERS CALL SACRAMENTS, FOR THEIR CEREMONIES.

WHY THE BISHOP ONLY CONFIRMETH. THE EFFECT OF ORDINATION REQUIRETH CEREMONY IN GIVING IT. WHY THE ORDINATIONS OF OUR PRESBYTERS ARE VOID. THE NECESSITY OF PENANCE. THE OBSERVATION OF LENT, AND THE USE OF IT. THE NECESSITY OF PRIVATE PENANCE FOR THE CURE OF SECRET SIN. OF ANOINTING THE SICK, ACCORDING TO ST. JAMES. MARRIAGE OF CHRISTIANS NOT TO BE RULED BY MOSES' LAW. INSTITUTED CEREMONIES ARE SACRAMENTS WITH THE FATHERS. THE CEREMONIES OF THESE OFFICES JUSTIFY INSTITUTED CEREMONIES.

Offices
which the
fathers
call sacra-
ments, for
their cere-
monies.

BUT, for the justifying of ceremonies, why should I allege any thing but those offices of the Church, which the fathers have called "sacraments^o," as well as baptism and the eucharist? I conceive I have alleged so sufficient a reason for the difference between those two and the rest, that slander itself

^m See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxx. § 8.

ⁿ See *ibid.*, note b.

^o See *ibid.*, c. xxx. § 35. note h.

cannot undertake to blast my meaning in that point. For things necessary to the salvation of Christians as Christians, are by that mark for ever distinguished from things necessary to the salvation of Christians as members of the Church^p: because the salvation of private Christians is concerned in not understanding the intent of the former sort; but, in the latter sort, cannot be concerned by not understanding the intent of them, but by violating that order and unity of the Church which the regular use of them serveth to maintain. That which I am to say of them here, consists of two points:—that they are offices necessary to be ministered to all Christians, concerned in them;—and that they are to be solemnized with those ceremonies, for which they are, without any cause of offence, called “sacraments” by the fathers of the Church.

§ 2. How necessary is it, that those that are baptized infants, when they come to discretion and to receive the eucharist, should give account of the hope that is in them, and undertake their Christianity upon which it is grounded. For he hath not this hope to God, he appeareth not to the Church to have it, but upon these terms. And thus far the parties seem content^q. But why should not presbyters confirm, as well as bishops; that can baptize and celebrate the eucharist, which is more to the salvation of Christians^r? By commission from bishops, that they may do it, is a point very disputable^s. The practice of the Greek Church in the case is not new^t; besides some appearance of the like under St. Gregory in the west^u. But that serves not the turn. They must have the catechizing of them after their mode; and make the grounds of salvation what they please, and not what the Church appointeth^x. So the answer is easy. For

Why the
bishop only
confirmeth.

^p See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 10—13.

^q See Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 15, 16: Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xvi. § 16, 17; c. xx. § 9: and for the year 1661, below, c. xxi. § 9.—See also the quotations from the Directory &c., in the Review just quoted, § 2, note b, § 16, note e.

^r See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 12, 13; Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 48, note d; and Except. ag. Bk. of Common Prayer,

in Baxter's Accompt &c., or in Cardwell, Conferences, c. vii. p. 329.

^s See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 63: Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 49: and Bingham, XII. ii. 4—6.

^t See references in note q; and Bingham, XII. ii. 4.

^u See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 49, notes m—o.

^x “The Catechism is defective as to many necessary doctrines of our reli-

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neither is baptism or the eucharist ministered but by authority from the bishop; and to catechize beside that form which the Church allows, is to sow the seed of everlasting dissension in matter of faith. He, that thinks there was a reason, why St. Peter and St. John should come to confirm those whom the deacon St. Philip had baptized, can never want a reason, why the bishop alone should do it. For he cannot minister the means of salvation alone. But the faith, and the unity of his Church with the rest, is not to be preserved without him. Therefore the gift of the Holy Ghost, which baptism promiseth, dependeth upon the bishop's blessing; because it dependeth upon the unity of the Church. Therefore heretics and schismatics, who by departing from the unity of the Church bar themselves of the effect of their baptism, being received with the bishop's blessing, in the primitive Church, were justly thought to recover their title to it⁷.

The effect
of ordina-
tion re-
quireth
ceremony
in giving
it.

[1 Tim. iv.
14: 2 Tim.
i. 6.]

§ 3. If ordination^a were taken for the conveying of public authority to minister the offices of God's Church by the act of those, that have received by their ordination authority to propagate the same; there would be no marvel, that St. Paul should suppose a "grace" received by Timothy "through the laying on of" his "hands" or "the hands of the presbytery." For if the profession of Christianity infer the grace of baptism; shall not the profession of that Christianity, which the state of the clergy in general, or that particular degree to which every man is ordained, importeth, infer the grace which the discharge of it requireth? What is there to hinder

gion: some even of the essentials of Christianity not mentioned except in the Creed, and these not so explicate as ought to be in a catechism." Exceptions against Book of Common Prayer, in Baxter's Accompt &c.; or in Cardwell, Conferences, c. vii. p. 310. And, further on (Cardwell, *ibid.* pp. 325, 327), certain special changes in the Catechism are required; as e. g., for—"baptism, wherein I was made a member of Christ,"—they would substitute,— "wherein I was visibly admitted into the number of the members of Christ." And it is also desired, that "somewhat" be added, "particularly concerning the nature of faith, of repentance, the two covenants, of justification, sancti-

fication, adoption, and regeneration."

—"That each congregation may have a learned, orthodox, and godly pastor residing amongst them, to the end that the people may be publicly instructed and edified by preaching every Lord's day, by catechising," &c. &c. First Address and Proposals of Ministers (being the first of the two Papers quoted above, c. i. § 5. note h), in Cardwell's Conferences, c. vii. p. 279.

⁷ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 31.

^a See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xii.: Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. vii. § 2: Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 60—62, c. xxx. § 25—29.

it, but the want of sincerity in undertaking that, which the order that a man undertakes requires him to undertake? CHAP. XVIII.
 This is that, which renders those prayers of the Church of no effect as to God, whereby the power is effectually conveyed as to the Church.

§ 4. In the mean time, shall not those prayers be solemnized with due ceremony, by which so great a power in the Church is conveyed? Now seeing presbyters never received by their ordination authority to ordain others; seeing no word of God gives it them; seeing all the rules of the whole Church take it from them: the attempt of our presbyters in ordaining without and against their bishops, must needs be void, and to no effect but that of schism, in dividing of the Church upon so unjust a cause. They could not receive the power of the keys from them, that had nothing to do to give it. And therefore, in celebrating the eucharist, they do nothing but profane God's ordinance^a. Therefore the lawful ordaining of them is not re-ordaining; but ordination indeed, instead of that which was only so called.

Why the ordinations of our presbyters are void.

§ 5. If a Christian after baptism fall into any grievous sin, voiding the effect of baptism; can it fall within the sense of a Christian to imagine, that he can be restored by a "Lord have mercy upon me?" No, it must cost him hot tears, and sighs, and groans, and extraordinary prayers, with fasting and alms; to take revenge upon himself, to appease God's wrath, and to mortify his concupiscence: if he mean not to leave an entrance for the same sin again^b. If his sin be notorious, so much the more: because he must then satisfy the Church, that he doth what is requisite to satisfy God; that is, to
 121 appease His wrath, and to recover His grace. The Church may be many ways hindered to take account of notorious sin. But the power of the keys, which God hath trusted it with, is exercised only in keeping such sinners from the communion, till the Church be so satisfied^c.

The necessity of penance.

§ 6. And for this exercise, the time of Lent hath always
 The observation of

^a See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 14, 15: and Letter concerning the Present State of Religion among us, § 15: and Due Way of Composing Differences, § 19.

^b See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov.

of Gr., c. xxxiii. § 4—11; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. ix.

^c See *ibid.*, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. ix. § 15—28: Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 50.

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XVIII.

Lent, and
the use
of it.

been deputed by the Church^d. The fast before the feast of the resurrection stands by the same law by which that stands. For the feast was from the beginning the end of the fast^e. So the Lent-fast, and the keeping of the Lord's day, stand both upon the same authority. For the Lord's day is but the remembrance of the resurrection once a week. It doth not appear, that the fast was kept forty days from the beginning^f. That it was kept before Easter, whensoever Easter was kept, that is, from the time of the apostles; it doth appear^g. The baptizing of converts, the restoring of the relapsed, and the preparing of all by extraordinary devotion to solemnize the resurrection; was the work of it^h. Did this Church desire the restoring of this order, and yet disown Lent? Daniel abstained from "pleasant meat," when he fasted; the Jews forbid all that comes of the vine on the day of atonementⁱ; the whole Church of God always forbore flesh and wine, when they fasted^k. And shall our licentiousness make the difference of meats superstitious? Then let the late Parliament-fasts be reformation, that provided a good breakfast to fast with, and heard a sermon as well after dinner as before.

[Dan. x.
3.]

The necessity of private penance for the cure of secret sins.

§ 7. If sin be not notorious, there is no cause why it should not be pardoned without help from the Church^l; supposing that the sinner exact of himself that penance, which the Church would or ought to impose. But whether all sinners can be brought to know what that is; or, knowing, to impose it upon themselves: let the common reason of Christians judge. They, that assure them of pardon and the favour of God without it, whether it be themselves or their false teachers; plainly they murder their souls. The Church of Rome, in making the keys of the Church the necessary means for pardon of all sin that voids the grace of baptism^m,

^d See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxi. § 38.

^e See *ibid.* § 32.

^f See *ibid.* § 32—35: and Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 22—25.

^g See Epilogue, *ibid.*

^h See Bingham, XXI. i. 11—13.

ⁱ Food and drink are alike forbidden on the day of Expiation, unless a portion of the former less than the middle finger, or less of the latter than would fill the mouth. See Maimonides, De

Solennit. Expiationum, c. i. § 4, c. ii. § 1; in T. Crenii Fascic. vii. Opusce. quæ ad Hist. ac Philol. Sacr. spectant, pp. 822, 825. Rott. 1696. That wine (unless new from the press) broke a fast, see Id. De Jejunio, c. v. § 6; *ibid.* p. 813.—See also Lightfoot, Temple Service, c. xv.: Works, vol. i. p. 962.

^k See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxi. § 39—44.

^l See *ibid.*, c. ix. § 29, sq.

^m See *ibid.* § 2, note s.

goes beyond the bounds of truth ; in procuring a law, that all submit to it once a year^a, goes not beyond the bounds of justice. It were to be wished, that the abuses of that law might be cured without taking it away. For if it be the power of the keys, that makes the Church the Church ; it will be hard to shew the face of a Church, where the blessing of the Church and the communion of the eucharist is granted, and yet no power of the keys at all exercised^o. Nay, it will appear a lamentable case, to consider, how simple innocent Christians are led on till death in an opinion, that they want nothing requisite for the obtaining and assuring of the pardon of their sins ; when it is as manifest, that they want the keys of the Church, as it is manifest, that the keys of the Church are not in use for that purpose.

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§ 8. St. James ordaineth, that the presbyters of every Church pray for the sick, with a promise of pardon for their sins^p. This supposeth them qualified by submitting their sins to the keys of the Church, which the presbyters do manage. The promise belongs not to the office of presbyters upon other terms. He requireth them also to "anoint the sick with oil ;" promising recovery upon it. Not to all that should be anointed. For Christians then should not die, if true Christians. But as the disciples of our Lord had used it to evidence their commission to the world ; so was the "manifestation of God's Spirit," residing in the Church, granted for the benefit of His Church. Neither is there any cause, why the same benefit should not be expected, but the decay of Christianity in the Church. In the meantime, the forgiveness of sin, according to St. James, comes by the keys of the Church ; recovery of health, from the prayers of it. So the unction of the sick is to recover health ; not to prepare for death, as the Church of Rome now useth it^q : but supposing the health of the soul restored by the keys of the Church.

Of anoint-
ing the
sick, ac-
cording to
St. James.
[James v.
14, 15.]
[James v.
14.]

[Mark vi.
13.]
[1 Cor. xii.
7.]

§ 9. All the pretences for divorce of lawful marriages, all the incestuous contracts, all the unchristian solemnizing of

Marriage
of Chris-
tians not to

^a See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. x. § 34, note a.

^o See *ibid.*, Conclusion, § 69 : and Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 50.

^p See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i.

§ 22 ; Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xii. § 7—9, c. xxx. § 14—16.

^q See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xii. § 1, note p, § 3, note r.

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be ruled
by Moses'
law.

[Levit.
xviii. 7—
18.]

[Gen. ii. 24;
Malach. ii.
16.]

[Matt. xix.
4—6;

Mark x.

6—8;
Ephes. v.
31.]

[1 Cor. vii.
12—16.]

Christian wedlock, which the blessed Reformation hath authorized^r, are to be attributed to one mistake;—that the marriage of Christians stands by the law of Moses, not by the Gospel of Christ. Our presbyterians, in their confession of faith, duly prohibit marriage in those degrees of alliance, which are prohibited in blood^s. But out of Leviticus if they will prove it, their word must serve for our warrant, that this is the sense. If man and wife be “one 123 flesh,” then is a man as near his wife’s kin as his own. But man and wife are not “one flesh” by Moses’ law; licensing plurality of wives, and divorce: though by the law of paradise. It was dispensed with after the flood, and not revived but by our Lord^t. That divorce and plurality of wives was not restrained but by the Gospel^u, it is impudence to dispute, much more to deny. The marriage of the niece with the uncle of the half blood^v hath puzzled all them, that would make it unlawful by Moses’ law. The marriage of a Christian with two sisters successive[ly]^y will be as hard to condemn by the same. Granting the premisses, all these disputes cease. Marriage is the bond of one with one, not to be dissolved till death, by the law of Christ, not by the law of Moses. Whether adultery dissolve the bond or not, I leave it disputable for the present; as I find it^z. Marriage with a pagan was void by Moses’ law: St. Paul enables Christians to hold to it^a. Therefore he refers them not to the Law. Christianity improves Moses’ law in all things. Therefore Christians cannot be regulated by Moses’ law in matrimonial causes. Therefore, in the prohibiting of degrees, as well as of divorce. For Moses’ law prohibits more than that law, which the children of Noah received after the flood, had done. It were better to restrain all that which

^r See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xiii. § 19, c. xxx. § 20, note q; and Conclusion, § 56: Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 12, note r.

^s “Marriage ought not to be within the degrees of consanguinity or affinity forbidden in the Word; nor can such incestuous marriages ever be made lawful by any law of man, or consent of parties, so as those persons may live together as man and wife. The man may not marry any of his wife’s kindred nearer in blood than he

may of his own; nor the woman of her husband’s kindred nearer in blood than of her own.” Westminster Confession of Faith, c. xxiv. § 4.

^t See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxi. § 35; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xv. § 6.

^u See *ibid.*, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xv. § 6—8.

^v See *ibid.* § 14, 20.

^y See *ibid.* § 10—16.

^z See *ibid.*, c. xiv.

^a See *ibid.*, c. xiii. § 12—14.

the present canon-law restrains, than that the incests of the late licentious times should be tolerated. For the present canon-law restrains not much more than the Greek Church restrains^b. But if the authority thereof be not binding by reason of the usurpations of the Church of Rome; yet to depart from the canons of the whole Church, and of those times which we acknowledge, would be a departure from the whole Church.

§ 10. He that would bar the cross in baptism, for fear it should be taken for a sacrament^c; what would he say to St. Ambrose, that calls it downright a sacrament^d? I know not what he would say. I know what he should do. He should understand St. Ambrose by St. Ambrose, when he makes a "kiss" to be a sacrament^e: as a religious sign of that religious affection, which kinsfolk professed to their near kinsfolk; whom in his time they saluted with a kiss, to signify that; as St. Ambrose declareth. At this rate St. Paul's "holy kiss" must needs be a sacrament. For it [Rom. xvi. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; 1 Thessa. v. 26.] was a religious sign of that charity, which Christians professed to Christians, when they were to receive the communion with them. At this rate, it is no marvel that there are found seven sacraments in the fathers; for there are more than seven to be found, if there be as many sacraments as ceremonies instituted by the Church^f.

^b See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xv. § 21.

^c Baxter in a later book (*English Nonconformity Stated*, c. xii. pp. 72—75. Lond. 4to. 1689) deliberately argues in a whole chapter against the cross in baptism as a "human sacrament." The same objection occurs in the *Exceptions to the Bk. of Common Prayer*, in the *Accompt &c.*, (or in *Cardwell, Conferences*, c. vii. p. 310); alleging, that "the transient image of the cross . . . hath at least the semblance of a sacrament of human institution, being used as an engaging sign in our first and solemn covenanting with Christ; and the duties, whereunto we are really obliged by baptism, being more expressly fixed to that airy sign than to that holy sacrament." And again in the *Defence of Ministers' First Proposals*, in *Baxter's Life of Himself* (edited by Sylvester), Pt. ii. p. 256.

^d S. Ambrose (*De Spir. Sancto*, lib. i. c. 9. § 108, Op. tom. ii. p. 622. F) calls the cross by this name—"O Divinum crucis illius sacramentum"—but not the sign of the cross. He speaks of the

custom of signing with the cross, *Epist. lxxii. Ad Constantium*, § 12 (*ibid.* pp. 1073. F, 1074. A), as done by a Christian "per momenta singula, . . . utpote qui sciat sine cruce Domini salutem se habere non posse." And the *Pseudo-Ambrose* (*In 1 ad Cor. vii. 14. Append. ad Op. S. Ambros. tom. ii. p. 134. B*) speaks of the "signum crucis" (apparently, from the context, in baptism), "quo mors victa est, sanctificatio enim est."

^e "Osculum sanctum signum pacis est, in quo, ut ad invicem sibi adhaereant sublata discordia, docet." *Pseudo-Ambros.*, *In 1 ad Cor. xvi. 20; in Append. ad Op. S. Ambros. tom. ii. p. 170. B*.—"Quid tam solemne quam osculum inter avunculum et neptem," &c. *S. Ambros.*, *Epist. lx. Ad Paternum*, § 7; *Op. tom. ii. p. 1019. C*.—"Osculum, . . . quod insigne est sacrae pacis." *Id.*, *De Poenit.*, lib. ii. c. 3. § 18; *ibid.* p. 420. A.

^f See Jewel as quoted above in *Epilogue*, *Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch.*, c. xxx. § 35, note h.

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The ceremonies of these offices justify instituted ceremonies.

[1 Peter
v. 14.]

§ 11. If this be true, the discharging of instituted ceremonies will be a defection from God's Church. If confirmation, ordination, and penance, be offices, in which the Church is indebted to God and to His Church; if the effect of them be of such consequence, that they have been always solemnized with the imposition of hands: that ceremony shall be enough to make them sacraments at this rate; and yet no nearer to baptism and to the eucharist, than that reason of the difference which I have settled will allow. Nay, let the prayers of the Church for the recovery of the sick, who submit to the keys of the Church, be solemnized with anointing (a thing fit enough to be done, may but the ground upon which, and the intent to which, it is done, appear^e), and that shall be a sacrament; and yet the want of it no more prejudice to salvation, than the disusing of the "kiss of peace," which comes (without peradventure) from the apostles^h. As for marriage, the solemnity of the blessing, the ring, the sacrament of the eucharist, which according to the custom of the whole Church it ought to be ministered withⁱ; will easily make it a sacrament: though imposition of hands, which is said still to be used in some eastern Churches^j, be not used at all in the west. So the effect and consequence of these offices will oblige the Church always to keep them in use, though the Church of Rome makes them sacraments. But that sense, in which the ancient Church makes them sacraments, serves only to justify the power of instituting ceremonies in the Church.

^e See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 16, notes o, p; and Bucer there quoted.

^h See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 30; Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 32—34.

ⁱ See Tertullian, as quoted in Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the

Ch., c. xxx. § 19, note z; and Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 12.

^j See Epilogue, *ibid.*; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 26; and Selden, *Ux. Ebraica*, lib. ii. c. 24; Op. tom. ii. p. 659.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE WORSHIP OF THE HOST IN THE PAPACY IS NOT IDOLATRY. CHRISTIANITY WOULD SANCTIFY KNEELING AT THE EUCHARIST, THOUGH IT WERE. WHAT IMAGES THE SECOND COMMANDMENT FORBIDDETH. REVERENCING OF IMAGES IN CHURCHES IS NOT IDOLATRY. OF HONOURING IMAGES, AND OF HAVING THEM IN CHURCHES. MUTUAL FORBEARANCE, WHICH ST. PAUL ENJOINETH THE ROMANS, NOT ENJOINED ELSEWHERE. TENDER CONSCIENCES ARE TO SUBMIT TO SUPERIORS.

THEY, who give the honour proper to God to His creature, are idolaters. They, that worship the host, give the honour due to God to His creature. This is taken for a demonstration, that the worship of the host is idolatry^k. But will any papist acknowledge, that he honours the elements of the eucharist, or, as he thinks, the accidents of them, for God? Will common reason charge him to honour that, which he believeth not to be there? A pagan, that honours the sun for God, believes him to be God; and therefore another pagan may as well believe another creature to be God. Both idolaters, for thinking the Godhead to be in one or more creatures: but those, greater idolaters, who thought, that the Godhead, to which they took men (whether living or dead) or other creatures to be advanced, was enclosed in their images consecrated to the worship of them. He, that worships the host, believes our Lord Christ to be the only true God, hypostatically united to our flesh and blood: Which being present in the eucharist in such a manner as It is not
126 present everywhere, there is due occasion to give It that worship in the eucharist, which the Godhead in our manhood is to be worshipped with upon all due occasions. Thus, we say, He was worshipped in the ancient Church, that believed the elements to be present^l. And they were no idolaters. They, that worship the host, do not believe that they remain. Nay, they say they must be flat idolaters, if they be there^m. Zeal to their opinion makes them say more than they should say.

^k See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 1—10: and Bradshaw as quoted above in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 8. note r: and above, c. i. § 5, and Baxter's papers

as quoted in the note there. And passim in the non-conformist tracts on the subject.

^l See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 5, notes o—s.

^m See *ibid.* § 10, note h.

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Christianity would sanctify kneeling at the eucharist, though it were.

§ 2. They, that believe not transubstantiation, have cause to forbear the ceremony. But forbear kneeling at receiving the eucharist in an age that is taught already to sit at their prayers^a; and who will warrant, that all the prayers of the Church shall not come in a short time to hearing the minister exercise his gift, and censuring him for it? Were worshipping the host idolatry; Christianity, using the gesture of kneeling to signify the worship of Christ, were enough to sanctify it to God's service. And this they must grant, who serve God in churches which the mass hath been used in; taking the mass for idolatry, as they do. In fine, Jews and Mahumetaus are bound to take the worship of the host for idolatry. For they will needs take the worship of the Holy Trinity for no less. But they, who know, that the Godhead of Christ is the reason, for which His Flesh and Blood is worshipped in the eucharist, cannot take that worship for idolatry, because His Flesh and Blood is not present in the eucharist, as they who worship It there think It is. For they know, that the Flesh and Blood of Christ is no idol to Christians, wheresoever It is worshipped.

What images the second commandment forbiddeth.

§ 3. Whether or no having images in churches be a breach of the second commandment, can be no more [a] question, than whether or no to have any images be a breach of it^o. For it must forbid images in churches, because it forbids all images. If it be interpreted to forbid only idols, that is, images of false gods; it must be proved, that all images in churches are idols, before it be proved, that they are forbidden by it. It is far more reasonable to say, that the cherubims, the brazen serpent, the bulls and other images in Solomon's temple, were no breaches of it^p, than to say, that God did dispense with His own precept in those cases; having no appearance of any dispensation in the Scripture, in which

^a See the tract printed below, entitled *The Reformation of the Church of England better than that of the Council of Trent*, c. xli.

^o See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the

Laws of the Ch., c. xxvi. § 14; c. xxxi. § 36—38.

^p See *ibid.*, c. xxvi. § 11—14; c. xxxi. § 36.

the precept and the seeming breach are both recorded. But it is manifest, that the Jews allow some kind of imagery; and I doubt not but the Mahumetans do the like. And it is manifest, that the public authority of that nation or religion could never dispense in that which God's law had prohibited. But it is manifest on the contrary, that it did and might restrain that, which God's law had licensed; to set a hedge about the law⁹, and keep the people further from breaking it. Now their restraints tie not Christians, but Jews. And therefore it is manifest, that the Church is tied no further than there can appear danger of idolatry; which, if it be so heightened beyond appearance as to involve the Church in the crime of it, chargeth the schism, that may come by that means, upon those that so enhance it.

§ 4. Now, granting that Epiphanius^r and the council of Elvira^a did hold all images in churches dangerous for idolatry (of which there is appearance), it is manifest, that they were afterwards admitted all over. And there might be jealousy of offence in having images in churches before idolatry was quite rooted out, of which afterwards there might be no appearance. But no manner of appearance, that images in history should occasion idolatry to those images in them, that hold them the images of God's creatures; such as are those images, which represent histories of the saints out of the Scriptures, or other relations of unquestionable credit. The second council of Nicæa seems to have brought in or authorized addresses to solitary images of saints, placed upon pillars to that purpose: whereof there is much mention in the records of it^t. But to the images of saints there can be no idolatry, so long as men take them for saints, that is, God's creatures. Much less to the images of our Lord. For it is the honour of our Lord, and not of His image. Whereas they, who thought their false gods to dwell in their images (which thought made them idols), must needs honour them with the honour

⁹ See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxxi. § 36, note d.

^r See *ibid.* § 40, note i.

^a See *ibid.*, note h.

^t See e. g. the passage quoted in the Epilogue, *ibid.* § 49. note s: and the Confession of Faith of Basil of Ancyra (Conc. Nic. II. Act. i.; *ap. Labb.*, Conc. tom. vii. p. 56. C, D), which

speaks of the “σπεῖας εἰκόνας τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, . . καὶ τῆς ἀρχάντου δεσποῦντος ἡμῶν τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου, τῶν τε Θεοειδῶν ἀγγέλων, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, προφητῶν, μαρτύρων τε, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων,” which, he says, “ἀσπάζομαι, καὶ περιτίττωσθαι, καὶ τὴν κατὰ τιμὴν προσκύνησιν ἀπονέμει.”

CHAP. XIX. proper to God; though in so doing they honoured indeed the devil, that brought in idols. Nay, the council itself, though it acknowledge, that the image itself is honoured by 128 the honour given to that, which it signifieth, before the image; yet it distinguished this honour from the honour of our Lord^a: and therefore teacheth not idolatry by teaching to honour images; though it acknowledge, that the image itself is honoured, when it need not.

Of honour-
ing images,
and of
having
them in
churches.

§ 5. For in deed and in truth it is not the image, but the principal, that is honoured by the honour, that is said to be done to the image, because it is done before the image^v. The furniture and utensils of the Church were honoured in the spotless times of the Church as consecrated to God's service; though the honour of them, being incapable of honour for themselves, was manifestly, and without any scruple, the honour of God. But images, so long as they were used to no further intent than the ornament of churches, the remembrance of holy histories, and the raising of devotion thereby (as at the first they were used by the Church), came in the number of things consecrated to God's service. And that council was never in force in the west, till the usurped power of the pope brought it in by force^w. Nor did the western Church, when it refused the council, discharge the having of images in churches, upon those reasons and to those purposes which I have declared^x. So far they remain still justifiable. For he, that sees the whole Church on the one side and only Calvin^y on the other side; hath he not cause to fear, that they, who make them idolaters without cause, will themselves appear schismatics in the sight of God for it? For what are they else, who please themselves in a strange kind of 'negative superstition,' that they cannot serve God if they serve Him with visible signs of reverence^z? who hate the images, because they hate the saints themselves and their Christianity? And therefore, that it be not thought, that we are tied to those terms of distance which ignorant preachers drive their factions with, it is necessary to declare the grounds of truth, though it displease.

^a See Epilogue. Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 42—44.

^v See *ibid.* § 46.

^w See *ibid.* § 53—56.

^x See *ibid.*

^y See *ibid.*, c. xxvi. § 8, note r.

^z See above, c. xviii. § 5, 6.

§ 6. St. Paul, writing to the Romans, that were partly Jews, partly Gentiles, converted to Christianity (as appears by the whole epistle), forbids them to condemn or despise one another for making conscience of things ("meats," and "times" he expresseth) forbidden by the Law, or for using them without difference^a. Hence it is now argued, that nothing can be imposed upon any Christian, which out of tenderness of conscience he may think it against God's law for him to do^b. The answer is, by denying the consequence. And the reason,—because it is a particular order of St. Paul to that Church for the present estate of it at that time; and therefore it doth not follow, that the Church can make no law. For it could make no law, if it were enough to discharge any man, that it is against his conscience to obey. The evidence for this reason is this;—because it appears, that the apostles did order otherwise in the same cause, when the case was not the same. For it is manifest, that the apostles and elders at Jerusalem had made an act in council, commanding the Gentiles, that were converted to Christianity, to abstain from fornication and things offered in sacrifice to idols, from things strangled and from blood; in fine, from those things, from which strangers, that were licensed by the Law to live in the land of promise, were bound to abstain. And might not those converted Gentiles have scrupled, whether or no it were lawful for them to be so far Jews; had not the authority of the apostles been sufficient to put an end to their scruples? But it is manifest likewise, that, when St. Paul differed with St. Peter at Antiochia about the necessity of compliance with the Jews for Gentiles turned Christians, he did forbid and must needs forbid his followers to shew this compliance; lest by that means he might hold them in an opinion of the necessity of the Law for the salva-

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XIX.

Mutual
forbear-
ance,
which St.
Paul en-
joineth the
Romans,
not en-
joined else-
where.

[Rom. xiv.
1—3.]

[Acts xv.
23—29.]

[Gal. ii.
11—14.]

^a See above, c. iii. § 13, 14: Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. ix. § 16—23: Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 9—12: below, c. xxv. § 2: the tract printed below, entitled The Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences Discussed and Answered, where the arguments in the text are urged at length: and the Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c., cc. x.—xiii.

^b So, for instance, in Baxter's Ac-

count &c., Exceptions ag. Bk. of Common Prayer; in Baxter's Life of Himself edit. by Sylvester, Pt. ii. p. 320; or in Cardwell's Conferences, c. vii. p. 311; or as above, in Due Way of Composing Differ. &c., § 50, note y: and the Reply to the Bishops, in Baxter, ibid. pp. 350, sq.: and passim in the tracts of the non-conformists. See especially below, in the Plea of Weakness &c., sect. i. § 2. note c.

C H A P. tion of Christians. Here were contrary provisions with force
XIX. of law in that very case, wherein St. Paul commands only mutual forbearance at Rome, in that estate wherein he writ his epistle. And if St. Paul were in the right (which they, who take his writings for Scripture, do not doubt); then were St. Peter's followers bound to obey him, notwithstanding any tenderness in their consciences. And he commands, Tit. i. 10—15, to "stop the mouths" of those "deceivers, of the circumcision," that would not have all things "pure to the pure," because their own consciences were "defiled;" notwithstanding that they must needs have followers, that were touched in conscience, to think those things unlawful, which the Law allowed not. And, their teachers' mouths being stopped, were the hearers at their choice, whether they would follow them or not?

Tender
consciences
are to sub-
mit to
superiors.

§ 7. Whereby it appears, that inferiors are to follow the judgment of superiors in matters subject to the power of superiors, notwithstanding the scruples of their own consciences to the contrary: and that the reason, why the Romans are forbidden to condemn [and] commanded to forbear one another, is,—because St. Paul thought it not meet to order any thing else in the business during that estate;—seeing that he ordereth otherwise in it for other estates. So that all that remains is, whether the matter in question be within the power of superiors or not. In which there can be no doubt amongst us, the matters in question being acknowledged indifferent in themselves; and, therefore, capable to signify that, which Christianity not only alloweth but requireth. And certainly there is no law, whether ecclesiastical or civil, that error may not scruple at, as inconsistent with a good conscience. Why should not I believe, that a quaker is really touched in conscience, that he ought not to pay his tithes, though in obedience to the law of the land; as well as a presbyterian, that he ought not to receive the communion kneeling? For I see many of the Church of Rome suffer for denying the right of a prince excommunicate by the pope; though it be matter of civil law. Therefore, if he that grasps too much is in the way to gripe nothing, then an exception, that lies against all law, will do no effect against a few ceremonies of this Church.

CHAPTER XX.

THE DECLARATION OF THE FIFTH OF ELIZABETH ENABLETH RECUSANTS TO TAKE THE OATH OF SUPREMACY. WHAT FURTHER AMBIGUITY THAT OATH INVOLVETH. WHAT SCANDAL THE TAKING OF IT IN THE TRUE SENSE MINISTERETH. THAT THIS OATH OUGHT TO BE ENLARGED TO ALL PRETENCES IN RELIGION THAT ABRIDGE ALLEGIANCE. THE EXTENT OF SECULAR POWER IN REFORMING THE CHURCH.

THE usurpation of temporal power by the pope upon the pretence of the pre-eminence of his Church in ecclesiastical matters, hath given this crown just occasion to declare itself "supreme head" or "supreme governor" (for "the kingdom of heaven is not in word but in power," as St. Paul saith), "in all causes and over all persons, as well ecclesiastical as civil." But the capacity of several senses in words that signify human matters (capable of so great a latitude, by their nature), seemeth to have produced out of this act a sect of Erastians^d: very dangerous to Christianity, as immediately denying any ordinance of God for the visible unity of His Church, which is an article of our creed; but, by consequence, shewing all, how they may enjoy the benefit of civil law in a state, that professes Christianity, without believing any more of Christianity than they please. This capacity was restrained in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign by her injunctions^e, by the articles of religion^f, by an Act of

The declaration of the 5th Eliz. enableth recusants to take the oath of supremacy. [1 Cor. ii. 4; 1 Thess. i. 5.]

^c The supremacy was enacted by the 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 3, 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17; 1 Edw. VI. c. 12, sect. 6: all repealed by 1 and 2 Philip and Mary c. 8. § 23: and restored, with the change of "head" into "governor," by 1 Eliz. c. 1. The words in the text, except the style of "supreme head," and that the words run—"over all persons in all causes," and that "temporal" is instead of "civil," are from the form of bidding prayer in the canons of 1603, can. 55. The form slightly varies in the oath of supremacy enacted in the statutes above quoted, which were repealed 1 Will. and Mary, Sess. i. c. 8; but the form in those statutes still remains (except the word "head") in the canons of 1603, art. i. in can. 36.—That the change of style from "head" to "governor" is of importance, see Bramhall, Answ. to La Millet; Works,

Pt. i. Disc. i. vol. i. pp. 29—31: and references below in note g.

^d See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., Pref. to Reader; and Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 40; Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. ii. § 11, &c.; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 10, sq.: and Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 7—10.

^e "Her Majesty forbiddeth all manner her subjects to give ear or credit to such perverse and malicious persons, which most sinisterly and maliciously labour to notifie to her loving subjects, how by words of the said oath" (of supremacy) "it may be collected, that the kings or queens of this realme, possessors of the crown, may challenge authority and power of ministry of Divine service in the Church, wherein her said subjects be much abused by such evil-disposed persons. For cep-

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parliament^a, not to signify the abolishing or the disclaiming of ecclesiastical power in part or in whole: and to such effect, that it is acknowledged now in books written on purpose by one party of recusants^b, that they may freely take the oath of supremacy; saving the scruple that may remain, of offending those recusants who think that they may not take it. And I can by no means marvel at it. For they, who do openly profess that unlimited obedience to the pope in ecclesiastical matters, which he requireth: how can they, swearing the oath of supremacy, be thought to abjure his ecclesiastical power in England; the words of the oath being restrained by law to disclaim only the temporal effect of it?

What further ambiguity that oath involveth.

§ 2. But it is manifest, that not only the unlimited power of the pope, but all authority of a general council of the western Churches (whereof the pope is and ought to be the chief member, according to the premisses), may justly seem to be disclaimed by other words of the same oath; and that, whereas the pope usurped not only upon the crown but upon the clergy of this kingdom, all those usurpations are by the act of resumption under Henry VIII.¹ invested in the

taily her majesty neither doth nor ever will challenge any authority than that was challenged and lately used by the said noble kings of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth and King Edward the Sixth, which is and was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of this realm; that is, under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realmes, dominions, and countries, of what estate either ecclesiastical or temporal soever they be, so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them. And if any person, that hath conceived any other sense of the form of the said oath, shall accept the same oath with this interpretation, sense, or meaning, her majesty is well pleased to accept every such in that behalf as her good and obedient subjects." Injunctions by Qu. Eliz., A.D. 1559, Admonition to Simple Men: in Sparrow's Collection of Articles &c., p. 82.

^a XXXIX. Articles, art. xxxvii.: referring to the Injunctions just quoted.

^b The 5th Eliz. c. 1. § 14 provides, "that the oath expressed in the said Act made in the said first year, shall be taken and expounded in such form as is set forth in an Admonition annexed

to the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions, published in the first year of her majesty's reign" (viz. that quoted in the last note); "that is to say, to confess and acknowledge in her majesty, her heirs and successors, none other authority than that was challenged and lately used by the noble King Henry the Eighth and King Edward the Sixth, as in the said Admonition more plainly may appear."—See also Bramhall, *Schism Guarded*, sect. i. cc. 3, 4; Works, Pt. i. Disc. iv. vol. ii. pp. 392, sq.; and *ibid.* c. 9. pp. 452, sq.—Bp. Bilson, *True Differ. betw. Christ. Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion*, Pt. ii. pp. 238, 327, 349, &c., 8vo. Lond. 1586:—Bp. Carleton, *Jurisdiction, Regall, Episcopall, Papall, &c.*, c. i. pp. 8, 9. 4to. Lond. 1610:—Kg. James I., *Præmon. to All Christian Monarchs*:—and quotations to the same effect from Andrewes, Ussher, Mountague, Jackson, Mason, Jer. Taylor, Stillingfleet, Casaubon, are in the Bp. of Exeter's *Pastoral Letter*, pp. 98—106. Lond. 1851.

^b See below, § 4. note o.

¹ See, on this subject, Bramhall, *Schism Guarded*, sect. i. cc. 4—9; Works, Pt. i. Disc. iv. vol. ii. pp. 394—462.

crown. So that, when the oath declares to maintain all rights and pre-eminences annexed to the crown, you may understand that maintenance, which a subject owes his sovereign against those that pretend to force his claims from him; but you may also understand that maintenance, which a divine owes the truth, in asserting the title of the crown to all rights vested in it. Which he, that believes that some rights of the Church are invested in the crown, ought not to undertake; though as a subject, for preserving the state of his king and country, he be tied to maintain all the claims of the crown against all the enemies of it.

§ 3. Now, if an oath required by the sovereign power bear two senses in the proper signification of the words (which is more ordinary than it is believed), the subject may undergo it in that sense, which truth and right warranteth. And so, in regard the pope, not content with his regular authority in the Church, pretends temporal power in disposing of the dominions which he disclaims communion with, besides absolute power in matters of religion; it is lawful to swear, that he ought to have no manner of power in this kingdom, as things stand, till he depart from claims so unjust. But there is appearance, that the misunderstanding of it hath produced an opinion destructive to one article of the creed; to the being of any visible Church, as founded by
 133 God. And besides it is not possible, that all they, who are called to this oath by law, can ever be able to distinguish that sense wherein they ought, from that wherein they ought not, to take it. And, therefore, of necessity the law gives great offence; and that offence is the sin of the kingdom, and calls for God's vengeance upon it. Which though all are involved in; yet, in the other world, the account will lie upon them, that may change it and do not.

§ 4. Now it is manifest, that all recusants believe not the pope's temporal power, nor think themselves bound to execute such acts, as the bull of Pius Quintus against Queen Elizabeth^k. Those that do not, how should they be liable to capital punishment; which the law in some cases inflicts? For how should they be taken for the enemies of their country otherwise? On the contrary, I have shewed by the Trou-

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What scandal the taking of it in the true sense minister-eth.

That this oath ought to be enlarged to all pre-tences in religion that a-bridge al-legiance.

^k See Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 18; and above, in c. iii. § 6.

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bles of Franckford in the beginning of the Reformation¹, that there was then the same difference of opinion amongst them, that held with the Reformation, about obedience to sovereigns obeying the Church of Rome. And that the same difference of opinion was the cause of the late troubles, appeareth by the aspersion of popery upon his late majesty, alleged to justify the war against him^m. Whereby it appeareth, that they of that opinion do undergo the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, as provided only against the see of Rome and the claims of it; thinking themselves enabled, notwithstanding the same, to limit their allegiance to that which their religion shall allow. And therefore there is great reason, why the kingdom should enact a new oath, extending the original allegiance of all subjects to all cases, in which experience hath shewed, or reason may foresee, that religion may be pretended to abridge the obligation of allegiance. This I am encouraged here to declare by the late Act of the kingdom of Scotlandⁿ, establishing for the future the form of an oath, whereby the obligation of allegiance is extended to the renouncing, not only of any claim for the see of Rome,

¹ See above, c. iii. § 6.

^m See e.g. Bramhall, *Ans. to La Milletière*, Works, Pt. i. Disc. i. vol. i. p. 78: Collier, *Ch. Hist. of Gt. Britain*, Pt. ii. Bk. ix. vol. ii. p. 826: and Charles's own Protestation in 1643, quoted by the latter.

ⁿ The Scotch Act of Feb. 27. 1668 (c. 62. in Scotch Acts of Parl., vol. vii. p. 45. Lond. 1820) imposes an oath of allegiance, as follows—"I, A. B., for testification of my faithful obedience to my most gracious and redoubted Sovereign," &c., "affirme, testifie, and declare by this my solemne oath, that I acknowledge my said Sovereign only supreme governour of this kingdome over all persones and in all causes, and that no forraign prince, power, state, or person, civill or ecclesiastick, hath any jurisdiction, power, or superiority, over the same. And therfor I doe utterly renunce and forsake all forraign power, jurisdictions, and authorities; and shall at my utmost power defend, assist, and maintaine his Mäties jurisdiction forsaide against all deadlie: and shall never decline his Mäties power and jurisdiction, as I shall answer to God." To this it subjoined an "Acknowledgment of his Mäties Prerogative:" which among other things declares, "that it

is unlawfull to the subjects of whatsoever quality or function to convocat, convene, or assemble themselves for holding of Councils, Conventions, and Assemblies, to treat, consult, and determine in any maters of state, civill or ecclesiastick (except in the ordinary judgments), or to make leagues or bands upon whatsoever colour or pretence, without his Mäties speall consent and approbation had thereunto;" and "that the League and Covenant" &c. is "not obligatory."—In 1662 (c. 54. *ibid.* p. 406) a "declaration to be signed by all persons in publick trust," was enacted: which repeated and enforced the renunciation of all leagues and covenants "upon pretence of reformaõ or other pretence whatsoever."—The (English) Act of Uniformity, which passed the House of Commons in July 1661, required subscription to a declaration, "that it is not lawfull upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the king;" and abjuring also the Solemn League and Covenant: the latter clause to remain in force until March 25, 1682.—Thorndike must have written the text early in 1661, before the Act of Uniformity (see the begin. of c. xxi. below).

but of all pretences whatsoever (whether upon the account of religion or of civil right) of abridging the obligation of it. For though I neither maintain nor find fault with the terms which it useth; yet the agreement and the difference between the case of both kingdoms, as it evidenceth to all the necessity, so it determineth to them, that are to understand the state of both, the agreement and the difference of that which ought to be provided. And seeing it is the true consequence of the common Christianity, that enables the kingdom to do this; because, supposing (as it doth) the state of this world, it cannot extend to the altering of it: there is great reason, why a divine should be allowed to say it, not entering upon other considerations, wherein religion is not concerned. For, in the next place to the bringing in of a new provision, the conscience of the kingdom is best discharged, the scandals that may be occasioned removed, the wrath of God prevented or appeased, by the secular power's allowing these interpretations to pass without contradiction, that may enable all estates to depose it with "judgment," as well as with "truth and righteousness." We have this evidence for that which I say; that the authorities of those divines of this Church, that have declared the sense of the oath of supremacy with public allowance, are now alleged by the papists themselves*, to infer, that the matter of it is lawful, as capable of the sense which they declare.

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[Jerem. iv.
2: and see
Isai. xlviii.

1.]

* See e.g. *Reflexions upon the Oathes of Supremacy and Allegiance by a Catholick Gentleman, an obedient son of the Church, and Loyal Subject of his Majesty* (scil. Hugh Cressy), 8vo. 1661: in sect. vi. (pp. 25, sq.) of which, Bilson, Carleton, Bramhall, Kg. James I., besides the 39 Articles and the Injunction of Queen Elizabeth &c., are quoted, to shew, that they "attribute only a civil power to the king in matters ecclesiastical, and that they do this with the allowance of our princes, who questionlesse have authority to interpret oaths" &c. &c.: while in sect. viii. pp. 47, sq., explaining why Romanists still cannot take the oath, it is alleged, first, that "the whole kingdom . . . does unanimously agree at least in this point, that the supremacy ascribed therein to his majesty does not at all prejudice the spirituall jurisdiction of pastours, with which the king does not meddle;" and secondly, that "Catho-

lies" may say "that they are ready to swear that which Protestants" (viz. those above cited) "do confidently affirm to be the sense of the oath, but the oath itself according to the present form they dare not take," &c. &c.: with more to the same purpose. See also the account in White Kennet's Register, p. 480 (from Clarendon's Animadv. on Cressy, p. 76. 2nd edit. Lond. 1674) of the same writer's proposal in the first edition of his Exomologesis (Paris 1647),—of "a protestation or subscription," which "in truth did not differ much in substance or sense from the oaths which are enjoined by the law," and which "no doubt he could have taken himself, and did then believe that all other Catholicks might have taken it likewise,"—omitted in 2nd edition both of 1647 and 1653: and the Petition of the Roman Catholics to Parliament in 1661 for the repeal of the penal Acts against them (White

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The extent of
secular
power in
reform-
ing the
Church.

§ 5. Now, the bounds of reformation being visible by the faith and the laws of the Catholic Church, the extent of secular power in ecclesiastical matters and over ecclesiastical persons (and therefore in the reforming of them), preserving ecclesiastical power in persons that have it by the founding of the Church from God, cannot remain invisible. For, in the first place, there can be no question, that the sovereign as a sovereign is to maintain his own rights by such means, as he finds meet, against all usurpations under pretence of the Church and the authority of it. For the common Christianity assureth him, that all such usurpations are contrary to it. And besides, as a Christian sovereign, it is his inheritance to be a member of the Church, and a protector of all his subjects in the same right. Therefore all Christian sovereigns are born advocates and patrons of the faith, and of the rights of the whole Church. And if by lapse of time they be gone to decay, if by any express act they have been infringed; it lies in them to restore their subjects and themselves to those rights, being brought into evidence by the authority and credit of the whole Church. But seeing the determining of the matter of ecclesiastical law, as well as of controversies of faith, belongs to those that have authority in the Church by the foundation of it; of necessity, the fitting of the present laws of every Church to those, which the whole Church hath been ruled by from the beginning, as the difference, which may appear in the state of those bodies to which they were given, shall require, will by virtue of God's

Kennet, *ibid.* p. 476).—The same doctrine is put forward by Father Walsh, *Some Few Questions concerning the Oath of Allegiance*, &c. 4to. 1661. (anon.).—And so also, R. Caron, *Remonstrantia Hibernorum contra Lovanienses Ultramontanasque censuras* &c., fol. 1665; where the proceedings of this section of the Romanists (both English and Irish) at and before the Restoration are described and defended.—And see above in § 1: and *Due Way of Composing Differences* &c., § 18, notes h, i.—See also Dupin, *De Ant. Eccl. Disc.*, *Diss. Hist.* vii. c. iii. § 3 in fin., p. 570 (quoted by Collier, *Ch. Hist. of Gr. Brit.*, Pt. ii. Bk. viii. vol. ii. p. 697); who tells us, that the Briefs of Paul V. “haud magni sunt hac in re poulderis; et tunc non defuerunt in Anglia Catholici plures qui hoc jura-

mentum salva fide præstiterunt et præstari posse docuerunt, ut Blackwellus, Widdingtronus, et alii: cumque novissime consulti essent doctores Parisienses” (scil. the Sorbonne), “utrum idem juramentum Carolo Angliæ Regi præstari posset, id sine ulla difficultate fieri posse docuerunt; et suo chirographo testatum esse omnibus voluerunt, quod si quis velit Brevia Pauli defendere, is oportet ut dicat aliis de causis quam propter rejectam pontificum in temporalia potestatem juramentum fuisse ab eo improbatum, ac maxime ob verbum supremi domini, quo putant aliqui tribui regi Angliæ supremam non in temporalia modo sed et in spiritualia potestatem; quam ipsum affectare certum est.” Dupin's book was published in 1686.

law belong to those, that have such authority by the foundation of the Church. And, upon these terms, the right of secular power in Church matters is "accumulative" and not "destructive" to the rights of the Church^p. And upon these terms only the sovereign is justifiable at the great day of judgment, in things that may be done amiss in reforming the Church^q.

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CHAPTER XXI.

THE PRETENCE OF INFALLIBILITY MAKES THE BREACH UNRECONCILEABLE. SO DOTH THE PRETENCE OF PERSPICUITY IN THE SCRIPTURE. THE TRIAL MUST SUPPOSE THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. THE FANATICS FURTHER FROM THE TRUTH OF CHRISTIANITY THAN THE CHURCH OF ROME. THE CONSEQUENCE OF THEIR PRINCIPLE WORSE THAN THAT OF INFALLIBILITY. THE POINT OF TRUTH IN THE MIDDLE BETWEEN BOTH. HOW SALVATION IS CONCERNED IN THE MATTER OF FREE-WILL AND GRACE. SALVATION CONCERNED IN THE SACRAMENTS UPON THE SAME TERMS. THE ABUSES OF THE CHURCH OF ROME IN THE FIVE SACRAMENTS. THE GRACE OF ORDINATION. THE REFORMATION PRETENDED, NO LESS ABUSE ON THE OTHER SIDE. THE POINT OF REFORMATION IN THE MEAN BETWEEN BOTH. THE SUPERSTITIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME. THE SUPERSTITIONS OF THE PURITANS. WHY THE POPE CANNOT BE ANTICHRIST. HOW IT IS JUST TO REFORM WITHOUT THE SEE OF ROME.

AND upon supposition of the premisses, for which I conceive I have produced competent evidence, I proceed to take the balance in hand, and to put the extremes into the scales: 137 that I may put it to the conscience of all, that are resolved to prefer truth before faction or prejudice, where the point of reformation lies upon terms of right; and how near the public powers of this kingdom are bound to come to it in this case, when an uniformity in religion is to be settled by law for the Church of England. In the first place, then, the infallibility of the present Church is to be held for an error of pernicious consequence in the Church of Rome^r. For it submits all the parts of Christianity to the passion and in-

The pre-
tence of
infallibility
makes the
breach un-
reconcil-
able.

^p See Calderwood and Gillespie as quoted in note g to Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 5.

^q See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 1—6, and c. v.; and Review of it, c. iv. § 1—3; Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xi. § 35—38, c. xix. § 13, 14; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of

the Ch., c. xxxiii.

^r See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. iv. § 21, c. xxxi. § 51; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 63—70; and Conclusion, § 25, 26: Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 4, 5; and above, c. ii. § 3.

CHAP. terest of persons, that shall be for the present in power to
 XXI. sway those matters, wherein the whole Church is concerned. It is a thing manifest in the world, that, though that which concerns all in point of religion is to be treated by all, yet that which is treated by all is concluded always by the authority of a few. So things passed, when councils were frequented. The freedom of councils being interrupted, and the present Church accepted for infallible; the see of Rome will of necessity be the present Church, and the passions and interests thereof will have as much power in matters of religion as those passions and interests can allow and stand with. What the effect thereof may be, I need not argue to those, that profess the Reformation upon that account. Only thus far they may seem excusable, that there is no act with force of law, tying all of that profession to maintain it^a. Infallibility may be claimed for the whole Church; and that is true. And it may be claimed for the present Church; which is false. They, that pretend to reduce us to the Church of Rome, would spoil their own market, if they should distinguish thus. Therefore they plead infallibility without distinguishing.

So doth the
 pretence of
 perspicuity
 in the
 Scripture.

§ 2. On the other side, there is as much difference between the sufficiency of the Scripture for the salvation of all, and the clear evidence of all that is necessary to be known for the salvation of all to all in the Scriptures^b. The one is as true, and the other as false, as the infallibility of the present Church is false, and the infallibility of the whole Church is true. And to appeal to the Scriptures alone, when the sense of them only is questionable, is to declare, that we will submit to no other trial but our own sense: as they, who declare the present Church infallible, can never depart from any thing which once it hath declared.

The trial
 must sup-
 pose the
 Catholic
 Church.

§ 3. For it is manifest, that they who appeal to the Scrip- 138
 tures alone, having before this appeal declared themselves in the points of difference between the Reformation and the Church of Rome, do declare themselves tied in conscience to stand to that sense of the Scripture, upon which they ground their opinion in the matters of difference. What means then can remain to bring that to a trial, which causes division

^a See Epilogue as quoted in last note.

^b See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. v., xxviii.

upon these terms, but to acknowledge one catholic Church, which our creed professeth? and, by consequence, to submit our sense of all Scripture, that remains in question, all difference in doctrine, all laws of the Church, to be determined according to the sense and practice of the whole Church, that is, within the bounds of it? For to proceed to divide the Church still into more and more parties and communions, till we have lost the sense of any obligation to hold communion with the whole Church, is more destructive to the substance of Christianity, than all that corruption, which the Reformation pretendeth to cure. But confining our sense of the Scripture, our opinions in matter of doctrine, and the laws which we demand, within that which the faith and the laws of the whole Church may appear to require; we are half the way onward to the point of reformation, having the ground and the reason and therefore the measure and the terms of it.

§ 4. The mistake of the Schools, and of the council of Trent after the Schools, in the nature of justification, and the effect of infused righteousness, to which they ascribe it, is no way destructive to Christianity^a. No more is the opinion of satisfaction and merit in the good works of Christians, so long as it is grounded upon God's promise^v; which they, that inflame that opinion to the highest in the Church of Rome, must acknowledge to come into consideration, whether they will or not. As for the merit of grace by the works which a natural man is able to do; commonly called "*meritum congrui*," as that which is fit for God to give, though not for the worth of the works^x: it is indeed an error of greater danger, but never was general in the School, and now generally disallowed^y; so far it was always from being enjoined by the Church. But what is this in comparison of that furious doctrine, that the assurance of a man's predestination is justifying faith? in which the opinion of absolute predestination to glory, and of God's predetermining a man to do all that he doth, is twisted together

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The Fanatics further from the truth of Christianity than the Church of Rome.

^a See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxx. § 17—21: and Conclusion, § 27: and above, c. x. § 2.

^v See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxiii. and compare Bk. III.

Of the Laws of the Ch. c. xi. § 1—3.

^x See *ibid.*, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxv. § 17. note z; c. xxxiii. § 16. note y.

^y See *ibid.* c. xxxiii. § 15, 16.

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with an enthusiasm, that we are justified and made the children of God by being assured hereof by His Spirit; not supposing any condition of Christianity, in consideration of which it is had, and by the knowledge whereof it is assured us². For they, that believe, that God's predetermination is the reason and the ground of freedom in man's will, and of contingency in the effects of it, supposing freedom and contingency, do thereby bar the ill consequence of their own mistake. But he, that can think himself assured of that which the Gospel promiseth, not being assured that he performeth the Christianity, which by his baptism he undertaketh; why should he hold himself tied, why should he study and endeavour himself, to perform it?

The consequence of their principle worse than that of infallibility.

§ 5. Nay, holding his Christianity, and the Scriptures which teach it, by the same dictate of the Spirit, which assures his salvation upon those terms; why should he not hold that, which Christianity and the Scriptures teach not, with the same devotion and assurance, which he accepteth the Scriptures and his Christianity with? Why should he not, with the Gnostics and Mahomet and the Manichees, place his salvation in that which the Spirit teacheth him beside and above the Scriptures; allowing Christianity for proficients³? The same consequence takes hold in some measure of those, who believe the infallibility of the present Church. For, making the sentence thereof the only reason of believing, they tie themselves to accept whatsoever it shall decree, for matter of faith; and, therefore, concerning their salvation as much, as it concerns their salvation to believe the Holy Trinity. Indeed there is not so much danger for them. For the persons, on which they repose themselves for the Church, being persons of that interest in the world, which cannot stand with the open corrupting of Christianity: the fear is, that they may authorize those corruptions, which the coming of the world into the Church shall make popular; not that they shall think it for their interest to change that, which it is not popular to change.

The point of truth in

§ 6. In the mean time, having shewed the point of Refor-

² See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. i. § 8, 11, c. vii. § 7, xxxi. § 42, 49: Letter Concerning Present State of Religion, § 7—9: Due Way of Com-

posing Differences &c., § 13.

³ See Epilogue, Conclus., § 17, 18, 38, 39: and above, c. ix. § 1. and references there.

mation by shewing the point of truth, whereby all that the Reformation disputes with the Church of Rome is cleared; namely, that that faith which moveth to undertake baptism is the faith which alone justifieth^b: I have shewed withal^c, that the express profession hereof is that, which must clear us from all imputation of the schism with the Church of Rome, and of compliance with any fanatics that have taught the opposite heresy; being by such profession excluded from all liberty of teaching it for the future. They, who take justifying faith to be confidence in God through our Lord Christ, do commit the mistake which I have shewed^d. And if they go farther,—to think, that by being assured of God's grace they can never die out of that estate;—they may indeed think themselves tied to return to God by repentance^e; but may they not easily be deluded to neglect it, thinking themselves certain beforehand that they shall do it? Which if it be considered, the danger of the mistake will appear no less, than that which the doctrine of the council of Trent threateneth.

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the middle
between
both.

§ 7. As for the question between man's free-will and God's predestination and grace^f: taking it by itself, as not complicated and twisted with the other concerning justifying faith; the difficulty of it being so great as it is, the true resolution of it, which is the reconcilement of grace with free-will, can by no means seem to concern the substance of faith, necessary to be held for the salvation of all Christians. But the denying, either of man's free-will, or God's free grace, may and certainly doth concern it. And therefore, the second council of Orange having determined, as well that no man is appointed by God to death (and therefore to sin), as that whosoever perseveres until death is appointed by God unto effectual grace^g; there appears no necessity, why the Church should run any hazard of division by decreeing farther in the point (which we see come to pass in the United Provinces^h), having that decree, received of old by the western Church, to settle the bounds of necessary truth.

How salvation is concerned in the matter of free-will and grace.

^b See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. vi., and c. vii. § 1.

^c Ibid., Conclusion, § 54, 66; and above, c. ix. § 4—8, c. x. § 1—3.

^d See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxx. § 11—16.

^e See *ibid.*, c. xxxi. § 2, notes u, x.

^f See *ibid.*, cc. xxi.—xxvi.: and above, cc. xii., xiii.

^g See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxvi. § 24, 26, 27, 29.

^h Scil. by the Synod of Dort.

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XXI.

Salvation
concerned
in the sa-
craments
upon the
same
terms.

§ 8. Nor is there any other means to settle the necessity of baptism and of the holy eucharist, but the profession of this truth for the sense of our creed in the article of "one baptism for the remission of sins:" the neglect whereof hath occasioned not only the sects of our Anabaptists, Quakers, and other enthusiasts and fanatics; but hath given Socinus ground enough to count baptism indifferent¹, and some of our fanatics to think it a mere mistake, that any man was ever baptized with water to make him a Christian since the ceasing of Moses' law and John's baptism². As for the sacrament of the eucharist; that which concerneth salvation in it is manifest, admitting the premisses: namely, that they, who make good or revive the covenant of their baptism in receiving it, shall receive the Body and Blood of Christ, and by consequence His Spirit, hypostatically united to the same, to enable them to perform it³. To which purpose it must needs be requisite, that this tender be attributed, not to the faith of him that receives (though the tender must needs become frustrate without it), but to the faith of the Church, and the act of that faith in executing the order of our Lord and deputing the elements to be the Body and Blood of Christ by consecration before the receiving of them⁴. This whoso holds, shall neither be engaged either to transubstantiation or consubstantiation, nor yet to hold either of both destructive to the salvation of them that are bred in them; holding that which is necessary to salvation, namely, the renewing of the covenant of baptism in and by communion in the holy eucharist. As for them, who, abhorring transubstantiation, communicate with consubstantiation⁵; it is enough that I say, as afore, that they 'weigh not by their own weights,' nor 'mete by their own measures.' For how is it more destructive to the grace of the sacrament,

¹ See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. vii. § 24; Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. i. § 7, c. v. § 6, 10; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. vi. § 5.

² See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 17, note p: Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. vii. § 24; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. vi. § 4: and Letter Concerning Present St. of Religion, § 11.

³ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. ii. § 8—27, &c.

⁴ See *ibid.*, c. iii. § 1, sq.

⁵ See *ibid.* c. iii. § 7, sq. for the Lutheran doctrine.—That the Presbyterians, Scotch and English both, did not altogether fraternize with the Lutherans, see above, Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. vii. § 45. note r: and compare also Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 45: and Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxix. § 19. But, generally speaking, the Lutherans were taken in the gross with the other foreign reformers.

that the Body and Blood of Christ is thought from the consecration the subject of the accidents of those elements that once were, than that they should possess the same dimensions which the substance of the elements filleth; and that, not by virtue of the consecration, but of the hypostatical union of the Flesh and Blood of Christ with His Godhead? But the error of the Sacramentaries^o, taking this sacrament for a mere sign, to confirm a man's faith, leaving it indifferent whether consecrated or not, leaves it also indifferent whether used or not; though the Socinians^p only own the consequence. But if the faith which it confirmeth be thought to be the assurance of a man's predestination, then involveth it the heresy of the Fanatics.

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§ 9. As for the rest of those ordinances, which the Church of Rome counteth sacraments, as well as baptism and the 142 eucharist, though not to the like effect; it is manifest, that they tend all of them to a wholesome communion in the holy eucharist. Confirmation was for many hundred years given after baptism before receiving the eucharist^q; which was to be received by those, that were baptized, upon their baptism^r. If the bishop himself baptized them (as usually he did baptize those, that were baptized in the mother-church at the usual times of Easter and Whitsuntide^s), then did he confirm them immediately. If they were baptized in their parishes, which fetched chrism from the mother-church on Maunday Thursday in token of the license to baptize which they had from the bishop^t; they were brought to the mother-church to be confirmed^u. A manifest sign of that which I said;—that confirmation is reserved to the bishop, because his authority it is, that must allow the baptized to be of the number of the Church^x. For whereas the gift of the Holy Ghost, promised in baptism, depends never the less upon the

The abuses
of the
Church of
Rome in
confirmation.

^o See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. i. § 3: and Conclusion, § 21, note q.

^p See *ibid.*, c. i. § 3, note f.

^q See Bingham, XII. i. 1, 2: and Jer. Taylor, On Confirmation, Works vol. v. pp. 605, sq.

^r See Bingham, *ibid.* 3: and above, Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxiii. § 36—43; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. viii. § 27: and Waterland, Works, vol. vii. Advertise-

ment, and p. 136, note k.

^s See Bingham, XI. vi. 7.

^t See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xvi. § 17, note q: c. xx. § 49. note 1: and Bingham, XII. ii. 1, 2.

^u See references in last note: and in Chemnitz, Exam. Conc. Trid., P. ii. pp. 67, 68, De Confirmatione.

^x See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 52, 63: Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. vii. § 15, 16: Epilogue,

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continuing of the baptized members of God's Church: is it strange, that the Holy Ghost, which baptism promiseth a Christian as a Christian, should be given him again by confirmation, as a member of God's Church; when he, that believes and lives as a Christian otherwise, cannot have the Holy Ghost, unless he continue in the Church, over and above? Now that all are baptized infants, how necessary it is, that confirmation should pass upon them, before they come to receive the eucharist, I need not dispute; both sides acknowledging, that as well the trial of their knowledge, as the exacting of their profession in Christianity, is a thing due unto them from the Church. And therefore, in the Church of Rome, where this substance of the office is not provided for^s, it is little more than a shadow: professing unity with the Church by seeking the bishop's blessing, but neglecting the reason, for which the unity of the Church is provided by God for the salvation of a Christian; to wit, the exacting and allowing of his Christianity.

In the
other four
offices.

§ 10. All ordination tends to the celebration and communion of the eucharist^a: as well that of bishops, to the intent that they may ordain the other orders; and that of deacons, that they may wait upon the celebration of it; as that of priests, that, receiving the power of the keys to war-

Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xvi. § 16, 17; c. 20. § 49: and above, c. xviii. § 2.

^r See Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 16: Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xi. § 25. note m, c. xvi. § 5. note 2; and Conclusion, § 53: and above, c. xvi. § 10, c. xviii. § 2.—And for the non-conformists of 1661, the Except, against the Bk. of Common Prayer, in Baxter's Life of Himself, Pt. ii. pp. 329, 330: which make no objection to confirmation itself, merely desiring that "imposition of hands may not be made . . . a sign to certify children of God's grace and favour towards them, because this seems to speak of it as a sacrament;" and "that confirmation may not be made so necessary to the Holy Communion, as that none should be admitted to it unless they be confirmed;" and lastly urging a stricter qualification for candidates. See also Baxter's later work before quoted, viz. his English Non-conformity Stated; where he argues at length for confirmation as an act on the

child's part towards the Church, so it be no more.

^a The council of Trent (Sess. vii. can. i. De Confirmatione, ap. Labb., Cone., tom. xix. p. 779. C) condemns the doctrine that confirmation is not "verum et proprium sacramentum," or that "nihil aliud fuisse quam catechesim quamdam, qua adolescentiæ proximi fidei suæ rationem coram Ecclesia exponebant." The Catechism of the council of Trent appoints the age for confirmation at eleven or even *six* (P. ii. c. 3. § 15): and denies, that the name of it has any connection with the practice, "quod olim infantes qui baptizati erant, cum jam adulti essent, ad episcopum adducebantur, ut fidem Christianam quam in baptismo susceperant, confirmarent; ita ut confirmatio nihil a catechesi differre videatur; cuius consuetudinis nullum probatum testimonium afferri potest." (ibid. § 18.)

^a See Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. iv. § 12: Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxx. § 25—29.

143 rant the effect of it, they may therefore have power to celebrate it. Whereby it may appear, how great an abuse it is to this ordinance in the Church of Rome, that a priest is ordained to sacrifice for quick and dead: understanding, "for the dead," to deliver their souls from purgatory-pains to the sight of God's face; but, "for the living," that all, that assist (or assist not, so the priest intend them), though they mind not what is done, much less understand or assist it with their devotions, by virtue of the work done have the sacrifice of Christ's cross applied to them to such effect as the priest shall intend^b. Whereas the celebrating of ordination with the communion of the eucharist signifieth plain enough, that the grace of ministering aright the office which they receive depends upon the Christianity, which they profess to receive it with by communicating in the eucharist; as well as the effect of it, upon the Christianity of those to whom they shall minister the same. As for the ministering of the keys of the Church in penance, whether public in notorious sins, or private for the assuring of those which are not notorious that they have right to the eucharist; you see it tends still to communion in it. And you may as easily see, how great is the abuse of this ordinance in the Church of Rome; when it is taught, that submitting to the keys of the Church by confession turneth imperfect sorrow for sin (or, as some say, sorrow for the guilt of punishment, not for the offence of God, which they call "attrition") into "contrition," which is that sorrow which entitleth to forgiveness^c. Whereas the power of the keys is ordained to procure this sorrow, by barring a sinner from the communion till it appears that he hath it; not that, submitting to the keys, *ipso facto* he hath it. And upon this abuse there hangs a second;—that, when the sinner, undertaking the penance enjoined to make his

^b For the double matter and form in Romish ordinations (viz., for priests, on the one hand, imposition of hands, with the words "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum, Quorum remisistis peccata" &c., and, on the other, the delivering of the paten and chalice, with the words "Accipe potestatem offerre sacrificium Deo, missasque celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis"), see the Pontif. Roman., pp. 58, 59. Rom. 1645: and Courayer, Def. of Angl. Ordin., cc. vi.,

xii. pp. 93 sq., 203 sq. Oxf. 1844; Bramhall, Answ. to S. N., § 4. Works, Pt. iv. Disc. vii. vol. v. pp. 214 sq.; Cosin, Papers on the Validity of Ordin. of Priests in Ch. of Engl., Works, vol. iv. pp. 241, sq.; Morinus, Comment. De Ordin., P. III. Exercit. vii.—And for the statements of the text, see Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. v. § 24, 26; Conclusion, § 71.

^c See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xi. § 4, and Conclusion, § 26.

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conversion appear, is thereupon admitted to the communion before the performing of it (for which there may be many reasonable occasions, though not according to the primitive rule), the performing of it is thought, and said, not to pretend the qualifying of him for pardon, but the redeeming of temporal pains, remaining due after sin is pardoned, and therefore to be paid in purgatory if not satisfied here^d. Things, whereof there is no mark in the faith and practice of the catholic Church. The unction of the sick, I have shewed to be only an appendage of the ministry of the 144 keys, in that estate, tending to the recovery of bodily health^e: and therefore called "extreme unction" by abuse in the Church of Rome; as if the intent of it were to prepare against the conflict of death with the spiritual enemies of the soul. For though the Church, ordaining prayer for bodily health, can by no means forget the health of the soul, if it mean to remember the common Christianity; yet appeareth it nevertheless, what ground and occasion the institution of St. James pretendeth. And so it appeareth, what dependence the unction of the sick holdeth upon the communion of the eucharist. As for the marriage of Christians: if it be under a peculiar rule by virtue of the common Christianity, and that the interest of the Church in allowing of marriages is grounded upon the same^f; it is far from any imputation of abuse, that the Church of Rome celebrateth the same at the eucharist^g. For seeing our Christianity is particularly concerned in the duties of marriage; how should the grace of God, enabling to discharge the said duties, be expected, but by reviving the obligation of our common Christianity, which the receiving of the eucharist signifieth? I will not undertake to clear the see of Rome from all abuse of ecclesiastical power^h, in multiplying the impediments of marriage, as beyond necessity, so beyond the interest of Christianity; and in dispensing in them again for favour or for reward, as having been prohibited for no better reason

[James v.
14, 15.]

^d See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xi. § 1—14; and Conclusion, § 28, 71.

^e Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xii. and c. xxx. § 14—16: and above, c. xviii. § 8.

^f See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xiii. § 1—18: Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 26, c. iv. § 86; and Review of it, c. iv.

§ 43: Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 12: and above, c. xviii. § 9.

^g See Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 43, note e.

^h See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xv. § 21—24.

than this,—that power appears most in that which there is least reason for. On the other side, dispensing in those degrees, which the law of Moses prohibiteth, and therefore Christianity ought to be farther from allowing, it seemeth to stretch the power of the Church beyond the bounds of it. And thus it appeareth, first, what relation these offices hold with the eucharist and the communion of it; and then, what is the point of reformation, in which the voiding of those abuses standeth.

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§ 11. On the other side, they that now are content with confirmation, so they may have the giving of it themselves, and the catechizing of them that receive it, after their mode¹; not distinguishing themselves from the Fanatics, cannot be presumed to catechize according to the Christianity of God's Church. But inasmuch as they usurp unto
 145 themselves authority without their bishops, and against them; they cannot make members of God's Church by the confirmation, which so they may give. So they bar the gift of God's Spirit, which baptism promiseth a Christian as a Christian, by barring the unity of God's Church. Again, ordaining all whom they ordain to one and the same office^k, of preaching the word and ministering the sacraments:—first, they usurp the power of ordaining, which they never received any authority by their ordination to exercise; and that, in despite of their bishops, as seducing the people from the way of salvation, which by their ordinations they pretend to teach:—so, receiving no power of the keys by their usurpation, they receive no power to celebrate the eucharist, but only to commit sacrilege, by profaning so high an ordinance^l:—and, then, they tread under foot the hierarchy of bishops, priests, and deacons, in despite of the whole Church; dividing the authority of their bishops among themselves, but abolishing the order of deacons, by confounding the title of ministers (common to all three orders, for ministering their several offices) with that sense in which the lowest order are called deacons, for ministering to bishops and priests in their offices^m. As for the power of the keys, which is not that

The re-
formation
pretended,
no less
abuse on
the other
side.

¹ See above, § 9; and c. xviii. § 2. note x.

^k See above, c. xvii. § 3. notes y, z; and references there.

^l See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 14, 15, 21, 55: Letter concerning the Present State of Religion, § 1, 15.

^m See references in note k; and Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xii. § 15, 16; Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. iv. § 28, 39; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 68, 69; and Review of it, c. iii. § 14—17.

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which God left His Church, unless the effect of it be the binding and loosing of sin: it is plain enough, that, under pretence of taking away the scandal of notorious sin, they would have power to shame and domineer over their neighbours, overtaken with sin; but without pretence of curing their sin, for the condition upon which they are restored^a. Such discipline goes no further than the outward man, and the restraining of him from sin for shame of the world. The presumption of a voluntary change in the inward man, for hope of God's grace, by the sacrament of the eucharist, must be the effect of the keys of God's Church. As for this power in sin that is not notorious, what do they pretend more than their preaching? Which whether it be such as shews the cure of sin, let their diligence in preaching mortification witness. And yet, whether every Christian can learn, or will be induced, merely by preaching, to use that mortification which is requisite; let them that are able judge. But what visiting of the sick do they pretend, but to pray by them, or comfort them; without ever entering into the ground of their comfort upon examination of the conscience? The blessing of marriage they have reserved to the Church^o; but upon an ungrounded presumption, that the marriage of Christians is to be ruled by the law of Moses: the insufficiency whereof being discerned by the people, when they were loose from the law of the land, hath occasioned all the incests and other disorders of the late times^p. In the mean time, whereas all these offices are either provided to bring Christians to the eucharist or to be celebrated with the eucharist, it is demanded, that godly ministers be not tied to celebrate the eucharist above thrice a year^q. It should rather be demanded, how they come to be counted "godly ministers," that demand this.

The point
of reforma-

§ 12. I shall not need to say, how the point of reformation

^a See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. ix. § 15, c. xi. § 25: and for the Presbyterian Discipline, the Books of Discipline, and Spottiswoode's History; or the summary of both in Bramhall, Fair Warning, Works, Pt. ii. Disc. i. vol. iii. pp. 241, sq.; or in Maxwell's Burden of Issachar, published in 1646, reprinted in the Phoenix, vol. ii.: and as a singular proof of the actual working of that discipline upon the every-day life of individuals in a par-

ticular parish, in its most vigorous days, scil. from 1579 to 1634, the extracts from the Kirk-Session Register of Perth, published in the Spottiswoode Miscellany, vol. ii. pp. 225—311. Edinb. 1845.

^o See Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 12. note r: and above, c. xviii. § 9. notes r, s.

^p See Edwards's Gangræna, Pt. iii. pp. 3, 4.

^q See above, c. xvi. § 6. note t.

is found, through which the line of it is to pass, in these particulars. Confirmation fitteth for the eucharist by the profession of Christianity and by being a member of God's Church. Ordination giveth some degree in the clergy above the people, and therefore supposeth the profession of retiring from the world more than other Christians undertake to do^r. The eucharist conveyeth God's Spirit for the performing of this profession, sincerely and resolutely made. Both requiring the unity of the Church, both are to be ministered by that authority, without which nothing is to be done in each Church. The reconciling of notorious sin is the bishop's peculiar^s. The priest hath authority to cure that which is made known to him. But this authority is not arbitrary in either of both. The rigour of ancient discipline by the canons of the Church, is quite out of force. But in these lees and dregs of Christianity, which now we draw, there is some reasonable ground to presume upon, that a sinner is resolved to live a good Christian for the future. Let that be limited; and the power of the keys will have effect, in barring the sinner from the communion, till the presumption be visible in him. But to what shall the keys of the Church reconcile him, when the eucharist is celebrated but thrice a year? To what purpose is the visiting of the sick, but that upon such presumption they may have the eucharist, to maintain them in the great journey which they are going? The duty of marriage among Christians depends wholly upon this supposition,—that God gives the married an interest in one
147 another's body, which cannot be dissolved but by death. Therefore it is celebrated with the eucharist; that they, who marry with the resolution of Christians, may be enabled by the Spirit of God, which the sacrament promiseth, to perform the same.

§ 13. The charge of superstition upon the Church of Rome is to be justified by many particulars, in tendering those things to God for His service, wherein His service consisteth
not. In the first place, the multiplying of masses for the

The super-
stitions of
the Church
of Rome.

^r See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxii. § 13, 23: and Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 22—24.

^s See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the

Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 60; Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xi. § 11—15; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 52; and Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. iv. § 10—12.

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quick and for the dead, without any pretence of the concurrence of a congregation to the action, much less of any communion¹. At this rate it matters not much in what language it is performed; seeing there is no man's devotion required, to assist the priest in it. The like is seen in the vows of pilgrimages, and in the visiting of divers churches for the gaining of indulgences. For had men nothing else in mind than that service, which is acceptable to God in all places; why should they think themselves more acceptable to God for the travel, which they undergo that they may perform it far from home? whereby they forego that opportunity for it, which they know, without bettering the mind; which, were it as it might be, would find means to better itself every where. But there appears in it a carnal affection to the memories of saints, out of a carnal affection to the things of this world; wherein carnal men hope to be assisted by the saints in recompense of their voluntary devotions, though Christianity allows them not the confidence to seek them at God's hands. The same is to be said of an innumerable number of things, that monastical orders observe: nay, of the overvaluing of the estate itself of continence, or retirement from the world; which, being no part of Christianity, but a help and an opportunity, for that wherein it consisteth, satisfieth outside Christians with that which pagans can do, the outward work, without that inward disposition, which only Christianity formeth. All these and many more observations, which they set innocent Christians on work about, must needs speak them superstitious; notwithstanding that there is always in them a pretence of serving God according to Christianity. For the more straw and chaff, the less grain; and where the intention of the mind is spent upon the shell of Christianity, there can it not have strength to bring the kernel of it to ripeness. The ceremonies wherewith they 148 overcharge the public service of the Church are of the same nature. For they, that understand not the meaning of them, and therefore distinguish them not from the office which God accepteth, must needs put that to the account of His service, which is but the means to procure it.

¹ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Conclusion, § 32, 67, 71: and above, Laws of the Ch., c. v. § 24, 26; and c. xv. § 7.

§ 14. But what shall we say to them, who think they oblige us, when they "allow" the people to kneel, to lift up their eyes, and to hold up their hands, at their prayers? Do they not think they oblige Almighty God in serving Him without any other sign of reverence? It is not possible, that they should stand upon it to the disquiet of the Church, if they did not. Did they not take it for the service of God, that the same houses should be common and holy, stables and churches, the same vessels chalices and drinking cups, the same tables altars and dining boards?; it is not possible, that they should trouble the Church about it as they do. But it is plain enough, that they serve Him without reverence or devotion, because they think so. To these men, all set times of fasting, all the estate of continence, all obedience to superiors, all works of mortification and penance, stand suspected for superstitious. They would not think themselves far enough from the Papists, if they should do the good works of Christians. For fear of private masses, the eucharist must be celebrated thrice a year. And we must have the *opus operatum* of a sermon, in exchange for the *opus operatum* of a mass. But this is not reforming of religion. It is stocking up the vineyard of the Church, instead of pruning it. I need not say what is reformation, and at what point it stands. The distance from the extremes makes the mean visible. The truth is, there will be necessarily superstition in all religions, so long as the Church hath chaff and corn in it. For they, that are sensible of that obligation to God which they are not willing to discharge, will always discharge themselves to God upon that, which they are content to do for His service, but which He is not content with, because it signifieth not the obedience of the inward man, which He requireth. Not that there must needs be superstition in using things indifferent of themselves; much less in using such, as in reason may serve to advance attention and devotion in God's service. But

140 because, as there may be superstition in using them, so

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The super-
stitions of
the Puri-
tans.

* See above, c. xvii. § 5, note k.

† See e.g. quotations from Dugdale's *Troubles &c.*, above in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 53. note q; and the

quotation from *Persecutio Undecima*, in Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Pt. i. p. 61; and Edwards' *Gangræna*, Pt. iii. pp. 18, 27, 32, 253, &c.

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there is superstition in thinking, that by forbearing them a man does God service. But to think schism acceptable to God, rather than use them, is without doubt as great superstition as any the Church of Rome teacheth.

Why the
pope can-
not be anti-
christ.

§ 15. Having shewed why the Church of Rome cannot be charged with idolatry^a, I may from thence infer that the pope cannot be antichrist^b. I do not grant, that either St. Paul in the second chapter of his second epistle to the Thessalonians, or St. John in the Apocalypse, speaks any thing of antichrist. But he, that "exalts himself above all that is called God," as St. Paul speaketh there, must be one that should make himself God according to the idolatry of the Pagans^c. And the "fornication," which the whore of Baby-

[2 Thessa.
ii. 4.]

[Rev. xvii.
2.]

lon, in the Apocalypse, makes the nations "drunk" with, is necessarily the same idolatry. Therefore, if the pope teach no such idolatry, he cannot prove antichrist either by St. John or St. Paul. The fathers have thought, that both of them prophesy of such a one as shall indeed be a false Christ, if ever there shall be such a one; because he shall impose a new religion, as from God, upon all whom he shall seduce^d. But St. John's Catholic Epistles, where antichrist is mentioned, do not signify, that any such is to come^e. And, therefore, we are not tied to their opinion in the interpretation of a prophesy, which is no matter of faith.

How it is
just to re-
form with-
out the see
of Rome.

§ 16. But though the pope be not antichrist nor the Papists idolaters, yet I conceive I have shewed sufficient reason, why this kingdom and Church of England might and ought to reform religion without and against the consent of the Church of Rome; supposing that, which seems to be manifest by all that hath followed,—that the Church of Rome would never have condescended to any such change. And, the unity of the Church determining the measure and

^a Above, c. i. § 5—7.

^b See Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 16. c. v. § 31—53: Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Ch. Tr., c. xxiii. § 1—29; and Conclusion, § 41: Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c., cc. ii., vii.: and above, c. i. § 2. note e.

^c So Grotius, *ad loc.*; and see his *Append. de Antichristo*, Op. tom. iii. p. 480: and in p. 477, he refers to S. Ambrose, S. Chrysostom, Theodoret,

Sedulius, Primasius, Œcumenius, and Theophylact; as holding, that he, of whom St. Paul speaks in 2 Thessa. ii. 4, "spretis diis aliis sibi vindicaturum omnium deorum honores."

^d See below, Reformation of Ch. of Engl. better than that of the Council of Trent, cc. viii., ix.: and the other references given above in c. i. § 3, 4. notes e, f.

^e See references in last note.

the bounds of reformation, they must needs be the same in-
 deed, as they would be, were the pope antichrist and the
 Papists idolaters; though, to those that believe them so,
 because they believe them so, the measure and the bounds
 of reformation will never appear to stand where indeed they
 do. But let them look to the consequence of their own
 imaginations. This one must needs render them schisma-
 tics to God; abhorring communion upon imaginary reasons :
 150 but will render us with them schismatics, both to God and
 to His Church, if we make all that to be reformation, which
 their imaginations, tainted with such a prejudice, would have
 to be law to this Church and kingdom.

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CHAPTER XXII.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE QUESTION CONCERNING OUR SERVICE. THE
 REFORMATION PRETENDED, ABOMINABLE. SUCH PREACHING AND PRAY-
 ING AS IS USUAL, A HINDRANCE OF SALVATION RATHER THAN THE MEANS
 TO IT. WHAT ORDER OF SERVICE THE CONTINUAL COMMUNION WILL RE-
 QUIRE. WHAT FORM OF INSTRUCTION THIS ORDER WILL REQUIRE. OF
 THAT WHICH GOES BEFORE THE PREFACE IN OUR COMMUNION-SERVICE.
 OF THE PREFACES, AND THE PRAYER OF CONSECRATION. OF THE PRAYER
 OF OBLATION, AND THE PLACE OF IT. OF THE COMMEMORATION OF THE
 DEAD, IN PARTICULAR. WHY THE COMMUNION-SERVICE AT THE COMMU-
 NION-TABLE, WHEN NO EUCHARIST. A SECONDARY PROPOSITION, ACCORD-
 ING TO PRESENT LAW.

I CONCEIVE I have, by this time, shewed a reason for that
 which I said in the beginning;—that there is so much in
 question between us and the Puritans (comprising in that
 name all the parties, into which it stands now divided), as,
 if it were decided for them, would give the Papists the ad-
 vantage against the Protestants. Now, as for the great
 151 question amongst us, concerning our service^c; if it were truly
 stated, it would soon be at an end. If it may be once con-
 sidered, that the question is, in deed and in truth, whether
 sermons shall drive the communion out of the Church or
 not; whether or no arbitrary prayers in the pulpit shall

The pre-
 sent state
 of the
 question
 concerning
 our service.

^c See Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 34, sq.

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XXII.[1 Tim. ii.
1, 2.]

chase out of the Church those, which St. Paul commanded to be made, and the Church by his command hath frequented ever since^d: I conceive, the dispute would be easily decided. And that is the thing in question in deed and in effect, how little soever it appear. Certainly, if there were never any common prayers made in the pulpit; if there were always common prayers made at the altar: they, who had no common prayers but at the eucharist, had the eucharist as oft as they had common prayers. Not as if the Church did never assemble but when the eucharist was celebrated. But because their desire and endeavour was to celebrate the eucharist once every day, and that in the morning unless it were a fast; and always at dismissing the assembly, as the principal office of it^e. For hence the eucharist came in time to be called "the mass" (which had formerly been the name of the assembly itself) from the "dismissing" of it^f. And they, who endeavoured to celebrate the eucharist every day, were not like to let Lord's days and festivals pass; or think them solemnized as they should be by Christians, without it.

The reformation pretended, abominable.

§ 2. Since therefore I claim that this came by tradition of the Church from St. Paul's order, I will infer no less than I have proved;—that to change the communion every Lord's day and festival, together with morning and evening prayer every day in the Church, and that with the litanies upon Wednesdays and Fridays, which the law of the land hitherto requireth, for two sermons every Sabbath with arbitrary prayers afore or after them^g, would not be reformation but apostasy. For it is manifest, that at the Reformation the eucharist was in possession in all churches, though the communion had been surceased. Nor was it ever excepted, that the frequenting hereof had in it any colour of abuse, or abatement to that very Christianity which we receive from

^d See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxv. § 1, sq.; and Conclusion, § 72: Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. vii. § 33, c. x. § 39; and Review of it, c. vii.: Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 38: and above, c. xvi. § 6—9.

^e See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 37—43.

^f See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov.

of Gr., c. iv. § 3.

^g See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 24, 44; and Review of it, c. viii. § 17: Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxv. § 1, 2; and Conclusion, § 72: Letter concerning the Present State of Religion, § 18: Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 37, 39.

our Lord and His apostles. The abuse was in private masses. CHAP.
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It was also a just complaint, that the people were not taught their duty out of the Holy Scriptures; and that the instruct-
152 ing of them by preaching was neglected beyond all reason and conscience^b. But was it ever pretended, that the re-forming of the abuse in private masses consisteth in two sermons a Sabbath (for we must speak like Jews, if we will not offend tender consciences), with the prayers of the people, such as the minister shall please, before or after it; which is the reformation now pretended? Had it been said, that this is reformation, when abuses were so visible that the name of reformation was popular; it had been easily answered, that this were to bring the chief office of Christianity to little or nothing. And therefore, if this be the form that was called reformation in some places, it must be said, that it was easier to see what ought not to be, than to settle what should be. But for a Christian kingdom, having upon de-liberation settled an order whereby the eucharist is to be celebrated all Lord's days and festivals, for reformation's sake to leave ministers of tender consciences free not to celebrate it above thrice a year (and that, having a competent number to communicate, which may be not once in seven years), as now is demandedⁱ; I hope it shall never be said "in the streets" [2 Sam.
i. 20.] of "Gath," that it past undetested.

§ 3. It is necessary for him, that is come to the state of Such salvation as a Christian, to learn how he is to live as a Chris- preaching and pray-
tian; and to grow every day in the knowledge of his duty, ing as is
that he may discharge it. But shall he be able to do this by usual, a
hearing two sermons every Sabbath, and as many more, as hindrance
if he did nothing else? Or may he not be able without it? of salvation
Certainly, that which their preachers now do is so far from rather than
being necessary, that it is no fit means to the salvation of the the means
generality of God's people. They may easily make it a trade to it.
never to fail, to while out an hour or two in the pulpit in
discoursing the meaning of their text, in framing doctrines
out of it and proofs of those doctrines (more plentiful a great
deal, when they are so manifest that they need not, than

^b See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxiv. § 1, sq.; c. xxxii. § 49, 50: and above, c. xv.

§ 6. note t.

ⁱ See above, c. xvi. § 6. note t.

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[Luke vi.
1.]

¹ See the folio volumes of sermons by Bates, Manton, Calamy, Baxter, Bunyan, &c., for specimens of the non-conformist discourses.—According to Burnet (Hist. of His Own Times, Bk. ii. vol. i. pp. 329, 330), the style of preaching in the Church at this time was "overrun with pedantry, a great mixture of quotations from fathers and ancient writers, a long opening of a text with the concordance of every word in it, and a giving all the different expositions with the grounds of them, and the entering into some parts of controversy, and all concluding in some, but very short, practical applications." And "this," he says, "was both long and heavy, when all was pye-balled, full of many sayings of different languages: and "the common style of sermons was either very flat and low,

or swelled up with rhetoric to a false pitch of a wrong sublime."

^k "Facete de hoc loco" (scil. Luke vi. 1.) "consulentem se Hieronymum elusit Gregorius Nazianzenus, promittens dicturum se ea de re, sed in ecclesia, ubi Hieronymus, toto populo acclamante, cogeretur scire quod nesciret, aut si solus tacuisset, futurum ut ab omnibus stultitiæ condemnaretur. Quam rem narrans Hieronymus, hoc *ἐκφώνημα* (acclamationem hanc) subjicit, 'nihil tam facile quam vilem plebeculam et indoctam concionem linguæ volubilitate decipere, quæ quicquid non intelligit plus miratur.'" Grot., ad Luc. vi. 1: and see S. Hieron., Epist. xxxiv., Ad Nepotianum (Op. tom. iv. P. ii. p. 262), whose words Grotius quotes.

may come to pass, I need say to no man, that hath seen what hath come to pass amongst us. I let pass less abuses of vain-glory, priding itself in the volubility rather than eloquence of language, and rendering more able curates, not so ready speakers, contemptible to their people; and the like. In which regard it may many times be questioned, whether the gifts of praying and preaching, which we hear so much of, be gifts of God's Spirit, which ordinarily suppose Christianity; or of the evil spirit, which always put it to flight. For all that I have said of the bad effects of preaching, is to be understood much more of those prayers, whereby evil doctrine is repeated to God, for a blessing of His Spirit upon it. For Christian people, being weakly superstitious (as the generality of all people are), are apt to place the bond of that religion, wherein they think themselves tied to God, in that which they see and hear alleged to God in so reverend postures.

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§ 4. That form of service, which we hitherto use, hath well deserved all that hath been said in defence of it; being assaulted by violent hands, even in those parts in which it ought to be inviolable. Nevertheless, professing, as I do, 154 that the restoring of the continual communion is such a point of reformation^k, that the Church is not to be at rest till it be brought to effect; I must not stick to declare, what will be requisite to render our communion-service useful to that purpose. I have said^l, that the word liturgy is proper to signify nothing else but that form of service, which the communion is celebrated with. But I have shewed also^m, that those prayers for all states and conditions of men in Christ's Church, which are contained in our litanies, are to be offered up to God at the celebrating of it. And seeing it was at the Reformation, and is at present, a law in the Church of Rome, that all Christians should be present at mass all Sundays and festivalsⁿ; and that reformation consists in restoring the communion: it seemeth to me, that the pretence of reformation is not made good, till the present

What order
of service
the con-
tinual com-
munion
will re-
quire.

^k Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 7, 37—40: Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. xvi. § 33, xxiv. § 11; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxv. § 20; and Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 37.

^l See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the

Laws of the Ch., c. xxiii. § 2.

^m Ibid., c. v. § 10, c. xxiii. § 7: Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 27, sq.: Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 29.

ⁿ See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 71. note i: and Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 40.

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provision be brought to effect, that the eucharist be celebrated all Sundays and festivals in all churches and chapels; and so, that all Christians may be tied to be present; that they may be brought as near, as the Church ought to bring them, to communicate. Supposing this the intent of the Church, how should it be attained without two assemblies every Sunday and holy-day morning in all churches? For let never Sabbatarians hope to make us so perfect Jews, as to bring us to dress no meat of Sundays*. If they could, a parish can never be all at church at once. The order of the Church never becomes the Church, till it demonstrate a care of all Christian souls alike. Between the hours of eight and twelve there is time enough for two assemblies. For who would wish, that either of them should last above an hour? The liturgy is an office consisting of psalms and lessons, intermixed with hymns, and of the eucharist; which the common prayers for all states, conditions, and necessities in the Church, are to be offered up to God with. Now, though that which we call the first service be complete for the intent of it, yet I must needs find it too long for this purpose,—to allow time both for the eucharist and for the instruction of the people;—which I do not intend to exclude out of those assemblies, which I confine to an hour. And how easy were it to frame for this purpose an order of psalms and lessons, according to the order of the whole Church; which requires, that the epistles be read after the Old Testament, and the gospels after them: as in our communion-¹⁵⁵ service the gospel comes next afore the creed. For there would be room for brief lessons^p out of the Law and historical books, out of the sapiential books and prophets, and after for the epistles and gospels (which not only we, but the Lutherans^q, as well as the Church of Rome, do now

* See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxv. § 21; and Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 40.

^p See Serv. of God at Rel. Asa., c. x. § 17.

^q "Nach den Collecten auff die Sontage oder ander Fest-tage wird die gewöhnliche Epistel für dem altar deutsch gelesen, wie auch droben vermeldet ist; und können dieselbigen Episteln aus den gewöhnlichen Epis-

tel und Evangelien Büchern genommen und gelesen werden, oder sonst auss der Bibel Altes und Neues Testaments." Liturgy of the Duchy of Mecklenberg, p. 179. a. Luneburg, 1659: proceeding to assign epistles and gospels for each holiday. See also the rubric, *ibid.*, p. 162. a, placing the epistle and gospel on Sundays and holidays after the collect and before the Nicene Creed.—So also in the Kirchen-Ordnung for Brandenburg and Nurem-

use); with hymns between each, according to the canon of Laodicea^r, received by the whole Church^a.

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§ 5. This is the place for the instruction of the people according to the order of the whole Church. And truly the greater and more solemn assemblies may be capable of edifying by learned and eloquent sermons, which the generality of parish-churches (the edification whereof the Church is to study) are very little the better for. And the endless number of strifes, that arise about the Scripture, and variety of judgments, fancies, and interests, in what is fit to be preached, make the design of homilies necessary; rather to restrain the abilities of indiscreet preachers, than to help the incapacities of unlearned preachers. Only that they be so framed, as to contain a course of familiar instruction in the whole body of Christian doctrine; not concerning faith alone, but all the chief duties of Christians: which these that we have do not satisfy, though not unfit for the time when they were set forth. And being so framed: though it be all one to the edification of the Church, whether the matter of them be delivered by word of mouth, as every minister can best insinuate it into the minds of his hearers, or as it may be couched word for word in writing; yet will it be absolutely necessary, for the instruction of all, preserving the unity of the whole, that the ordinary have account, not only negatively, that nothing be taught the people contrary to the form, but positively, that the whole matter of it be taught the people, in such times as the law shall determine; to be repeated again and again, for the certain proficiencie of all. For it must not avail to say, that the people will not come to church unless they may be entertained there with variety. Unless the people be content to be conducted by that which is best to save their souls, though it please not their fancies; it shall be but a Church in name, that shall be ruled by the
156 fancies of those, whom it is to rule. And when the interest of public peace so visibly concurrcth with the interest of

What form
of instruction
this
order will
require.

berg (folio 1533), *Ordnung der Mess*, fol. xlvii. b: and in the similar *Ordnung* for Brunswick and Luneberg, "publicirt 1569, und 1615 revidirt," 4to. Hanover 1853. p. 98, in the service for "Mass or Communion." The latter has "sequences" also between

the epistles and gospels.

^r Quoted in *Serv. of God at Rel. Ass.*, c. x. § 11; and see *ibid.*, note n.

^a The canons of Laodicea form part of the *Codex Canonum Eccles. Univ.*; in Justellus and Voellus, *Biblioth. Can. Vet.*, tom. i. pp. 49, sq.

C H A P. saving souls, it will hardly become the profession of a Chris-
XXII. tian kingdom, not to trust God for the success of that which
is designed upon so Christian considerations.

Of that
which goes
before the
preface in
our com-
munion-
service.

§ 6. This is the place, where the first service ended, and the second began, in the ancient Church¹. The creed follows after the sermon in Dionysius; who, writing a little before the council at Chalcedon, is the first that mentions it in the service². He calls it a "hymn," and we may call it the catholic hymn; glorifying God for the substance of Christianity, with His whole Church. That which we call the second service, following immediately hereupon, was nothing but the eucharist, and the prayers of the Church which it is to be celebrated with³. And that is the reason, why I do not think our communion-service sufficient for those assemblies, in which the first is too long to be used. For the office ought to consist of psalms and lessons with hymns interposed, of an instruction, and of the eucharist; with the prayers which it is celebrated with. Now it hath been always the use of Christ's whole Church, even from the apostles, to offer at the eucharist both the bread and wine which it is to be consecrated of, and also what their hearts moved them to contribute for the maintenance of God's service⁴. And, therefore, the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church is here proper, in regard of those that offer to that purpose; the rest, that offer not, concurring with their prayers, to that effect for which they offer. The confession of sins afore the eucharist is seen in some of the ancient liturgies⁵; nor do I find it questioned on any hand, as either unseasonable, or not requisite in this action. The decalogue and answers, which since Queen Elizabeth's time we begin the communion-service with⁶, seem more proper

¹ See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 2, 22.

² See *ibid.* § 20. The date here assigned to the pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, scil. a little before A.D. 451, is midway between that of Dailè (circ. 520), and those of Pearson (circ. 340, i. e. about the last years of Eusebius of Cæsarea) and Cave (circ. 362). See Cave, *sub nom.* Pseudo-Dionysii.

³ See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 21, 22.

⁴ See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of

Chr. Tr., c. xvi. § 33—36; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., cc. ii. § 18, v. § 9; and Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 42—45.

⁵ See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 5—10.

⁶ Here again the change assigned to Queen Elizabeth ought to have been assigned to the *second* Book of Edw. VI. See L' Estrange, Alliance of Div. Offices, c. vi. pp. 226, 246; and above in c. iii. § 6. note y.

to be placed here, to branch forth the particulars of those sins which we confess. For the commandments are certain heads, to which men may refer the sins, for which they ask pardon, and grace to avoid them. But there is great reason, why they are not found in the service of the ancient Church. The reason is, because the decalogue is proper to the Law, and improper to Christianity. And it is a sad effect hereof which we see. For it is certain and manifest, that the Sab-
 157 batarian error hath had the rise, or increase, from the construction, which ignorant preachers have made, of the prayer for remission of sins against this fourth commandment, which the Church prescribeth. Nor have I ever found any authority of the Church for using the decalogue for the rule, by which the sins of Christians are to be ranked; but only in some late offices^b, of those ages, which we, who profess the Reformation, are not to own.

§ 7. After the confession of sins, the general preface, which follows after *Sursum corda*, would be enlarged, with thanksgiving to God for making the world and man; for not forsaking man having forsaken Him, when he was made lord of His creatures, but first sending the fathers, to reclaim their several ages, then giving the Law and the prophets, to instruct His own people in His service; and when these means took not the effect which He sought, for sending His Son to redeem and reconcile us to Him by the death of His cross^c. After this, the proper prefaces, and the Seraphim's hymn, are of too ancient and general use in the catholic Church^d to be omitted, without a mark of apostasy, from the devotion of it, which they express. The prayer, which we consecrate with, seemeth agreeable to the intent of God's Church; but more agreeable in that form, which the first

Of the
prefaces,
and the
prayer of
consecra-
tion.

^b "I do not find in any Liturgy, old or new, before this of the fifth of Edw. VI., . . . that the Jews' Decalogue was used in the service of the Christian Church." Additional Notes, at the end of Nichols, On the Bk. of Common Prayer, p. 38.—L' Estrange (Alliance of Div. Offices, c. vi. p. 246) quotes a manual of prayers by one Gilbertus Cognatus A.D. 1553, as containing the decalogue used as in our communion-service: and mentions also that it is enjoined by Henry VIII. and by Ed-

ward VI.: scil., in the Primers of 1535 and of 1545 (pp. 27 sq., and 460, Oxf. 1848), and in the 2nd Book of Edward VI.—Palmer, Orig. Liturg., c. iv. sect. ii. vol. ii. pp. 33, 34, mentions a service in the Sarum Missal in some respects resembling the practice in question.

^c See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 38—44: Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. iv. § 9, 10.

^d See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 42—44.

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Book of Edward the VI.^e (revived by the Scottish liturgy^f) prescribeth. And that memorial, or prayer of oblation, which is there prescribed to follow immediately after the consecration, is certainly more proper there, than after the communion, ending with the Lord's prayer, and the peace after that. For this is the form of the whole Church, so constant and so uniform, that I am thereby persuaded, that the close of it,—“For Thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever,”—being always frequented by the Church either in terms or in substance in this place, upon that occasion afterwards came to be put into the copies of St. Matthew's gospel^g. For it is well enough known, how many ancient copies and commentaries have it not^h. But there is not any of the ancient liturgies, that hath not some form of doxology in this place, either in the same terms or to the same purposeⁱ. And seeing it is manifest, that the kiss of peace^k is an apostolical custom, and used in the western Church before the communion (though before the consecration, in other places); though the ceremony be set 158 aside, in regard of the change of times and customs, it

* Scil. by the retaining in the prayer of consecration the following words—“And with Thy Holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these Thy creatures and gifts of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ.” See e. g. L' Estrange, c. vii. p. 293.—See also above in Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 104. note k.

^f The Scotch liturgy stands thus—“And of Thy almighty goodness vouchsafe so to bless and sanctify with Thy word and Holy Spirit these Thy gifts and creatures of bread” &c. (as in last note). See L' Estrange, *ibid*.

^g “Quod sequitur, ‘Quoniam Tuum est regnum, potestas, et gloria in secula seculorum,’ cum in vetustissimis exemplaribus Græcis non exstiterit, exstet autem et in Syriaco et in Latino contextu et in Arabico, argumentum nobis exhibet unde discamus non Arabicam tantum et Latinam versionem sed et Syriacam factam postquam Ecclesiarum *Λειτουργία* (formula sacrarum actionum) formam certam acceperat. Nam ex Græciæ consuetudine cæpta est ascribi hæc *δοξολογία* (concelebra-

tio) magis quam pars precationis, Latinis omnibus ignota.” Grot., in Matth. vi. 13.

^h “Deest Steph. B. Cant. Cod. Vatican. Comp. . . Copt. Vulg. Tertull. Cyprian. Hieron. Chromat. Ambros. Augustin., Latini omnes. E Græcis, Orig., Nyssen., Autor Catech. Mystag., . . etiam ubi Dominicam orationem ex professo interpretantur. . . Simplicem eam, qualis hodieque extat, citat quidam Apostolicarum Constitutionum interpolator, quisquis ille: cæterum recentioris aliquanto ævi. Variatam postea, Nominibusque Filii et Spiritus Sancti auctam dedere liturgiæ. Sed ut epiphonema sc. commune, quod aliis orationibus pariter ac Dominicæ passim appendunt. Solus, quod sciam, per sæcula aliquot Chrysostomus ceu Dominicæ orationis partem proponit explicatque, codices istius ævi haud dubie secutus: in quibus, undecunque traductam, tum demum comparuisse, fidem facit concinnata sub ætate ista Versio Gothica, in qua (ut et in Syriaca) *δοξολογία* hæc occurrit.” Mill. ad loc.

ⁱ See notes g, h.

^k See above in c. xviii. § 11, note h.

should not seem burdensome, that the Christianity is remembered, which it expresseth. CHAP.
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§ 8. But if my opinion might pass, I would not rest contented herewith. I would enlarge this memorial with all the principal heads of our litanies, which might seem to comprise the necessities of all estates and conditions in the Church; according to that measure which the time would allow. For this would be the offering of Christ's sacrifice upon the cross for the necessities of all Christian people; which the whole Church of Christ hath always frequented from the beginning, without any pretence of sacrificing Him again, no reason requiring any more than to commemorate that sacrifice. And here would there be room for all private and public necessities, as well of the Church and kingdom, of the diocese, province, and country, and the respective governors thereof, as of the congregation, and of any particular member of it; and that, according to such order, as the ordinary may find cause to give, in cases that do indeed require a provision for the time. The ancients, celebrating the eucharist every day, had by that means daily opportunity of interceding for particular necessities, according to St. Paul's order; for such "intercessions" the word "*ἐντεύξεις*" signifieth. Of the
prayer of
oblation,
and the
place of it. [1 Tim.
ii. 1.] They, that consider not the defect which follows upon the decay of this order, are ready to impute the defect, that is found, of forms of intercession for particular occurrences, to the prescribing of set forms by the Church, not allowing the arbitrary fancies of curates¹. But he, that hath known the manifold folly and malice, that our London pulpits have vented, taking upon them to intercede for what occasions they think fit, in what form they please, will find it absolutely necessary to redeem the scorn, that our profession

¹ See e.g. the Papers &c. at the Savoy Conference, in the Account already quoted, p. 71.—Among the Exceptions to the Bk. of Common Prayer (Baxter's Life of Himself, Pt. ii. p. 319), one is, that "the whole body of the common prayer also consisteth very much of meer generals; as, 'to have our prayers heard, to be kept from all evil, and from all enemies, and all adversity, that we might do God's will;' without any mention of the particulars in which these generals exist." And in the First Address &c. of the

Ministers (ibid. p. 235), there is a request, that "the minister may not be confined" to the liturgy "but that he may also make use of" his "gifts;" and that there may be "an addition or insertion of some other varying forms in Scripture phrase, to be used at the minister's choice;" and in the Defence of this address (ibid. p. 249), great indignation is expressed at the bishops' reply, that this and similar liturgies would "open a gap to sectaries for private conventicles."

CHAP. XXII. suffers from such disorders, by banishing those prayers out of the pulpit. And because the communion will not be renewed so frequent[ly], as to meet with all those occasions, which in the ancient Church it did serve for; it must needs be a Christian design to enlarge the first and daily service with such forms, as may serve for most of such occasions, preventing the offences which have been. For the hope of prevailing with God for that, which presseth particular persons, is the charity of the congregation in equally desiring the necessities of all Christians. When the eucharist was celebrated upon some particular occasion, according to the custom of the ancient Church; it appears, that the general form was throughly observed, the particular occasion only mentioned. The eloquence, whereby the Church hoped to prevail with God, was the devotion and unity, which it celebrated the sacrament with.

Of the
commemo-
ration of
the dead in
particular.

§ 9. But I must by no means leave this place, till I have paid the debt which I owe to the opinion which I have premised^m; and openly profess, again and again, that we 'weigh not by our own weights, nor mete by our own measures,' if, believing one catholic Church, and enjoying episcopacy and the Church-lands upon that account, we recal not the memorial of the dead, as well as of the living, into this service. There is the same ground to believe the communion of saints, in the prayers, which those that depart in the highest favour with God make for us; in the prayers, which we make for those that depart in the lowest degree of favour with God; that there is for the common Christianity: namely, the Scriptures interpreted by the perpetual practice of God's Church. Therefore there is ground enough for the faith of all Christians, that those prayers are accepted, which desire God to hear the saints for us, to send the deceased in Christ rest and peace and light and refreshment and a good trial at the day of judgment and accomplishment of happiness after the sameⁿ. And seeing the abating of the first form under Edward VI.^o hath wrought no effect, but to give them that

^m Above, c. xvi. § 1—3. And see Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. vi. § 30, c. x. § 70; and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxviii. § 28, sq.; c. xxix. § 38—54.

ⁿ See Epilogue, *ibid.*

^o See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxix. § 53.

notes n, o: and for the alteration in the review of 1661 (subsequently to the publication of the Epilogue, but prior to the remark in the text) in the Prayer for the Church Militant (*viz.* the insertion in it of the remembrance of the dead now found in it), Serv. of

desired it an appetite to root up the whole: what thanks can we render to God for escaping so great a danger, but by sticking firm to a rule, that will stick firm to us, and carry us through any dispute in religion, and land us in the haven of a quiet conscience; what troubles soever we may pass through, in maintaining, that the reformation of the Church will never be according to the rule which it ought to follow, till it cleave to the catholic Church of Christ in this particular.

§ 10. I am not to expect, that this proposition will take effect, because some points of it will seem to be only one man's opinion; though it shall never be that one man's opinion further than it appears to be the visible order of the whole Church from the beginning, or the necessary consequence thereof in this estate. For the Church of Rome obliging all to hear mass all Sunday and holy-day mornings^p, and the reformation of the abuses, which we protest against in the mass, consisting in restoring the eucharist; the Reformation will not be able to justify itself in this point, till there be a provision, that all may communicate, as they ought to do. And for the commemoration of the dead in the oblation; though the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth do silence it^q, yet under Edward the VI. it was retained^r. And they, who were gratified afterwards by silencing it, do now demand, as for reformation, that the eucharist be not imposed upon tender consciences, for fear they should not have room enough for their arbitrary sermons and prayers^s; which they can never secure the Church that they shall agree with the profession of it. What they will demand next for reformation, how shall it appear? For the standard of tender consciences is as invisible, as that of Venner's spirit, that made the rising for King Jesus^t. And having a

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Why the communion-service at the communion-table when no eucharist.

God at Rel. Ass., c. vi. § 30. note r. See also above, c. iii. § 6. note y.

^p See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 71. note i; and Due Way of Composing Differences, &c., § 40.

^q See above in § 9. note o.

^r See *ibid*.

^s See above, c. xvi. § 6. note t.—“If all the Common Prayers be twice a day read, the time for psalms and sermons will be short.” Def. of Ministers' Proposals &c. (in Baxter's Life of Himself, Pt. ii. p. 254).

^t The account of Venner's rising against Charles II. shortly after the restoration, in January 1661, is in White Kennet's Register, pp. 354—356, 361, 362; and Burnet's Hist. of His Own Time, Bk. ii. vol. i. pp. 272, 273.—A pamphlet of his is referred to in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. vii. p. 308, entitled “A Door of Hope, or a Call and Declaration for the Gathering together of the first Ripe Fruits unto the Standard of our Lord King Jesus.”—See also below, Reformation of the

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visible rule in the consent of the whole Church, it will be either want of skill, or want of charity, not to distinguish the remembrance of the dead, which the whole Church hath always frequented, from the opinion of purgatory and the custom of praying to the saints, which succeeding ages have added. But in the mean time the reason is visible, why the communion-service is to be said at the communion-table", notwithstanding tender consciences; which perhaps many, that mean well, do not perceive. If Christian people, being seduced by perverse teachers, cannot be made sensible of their duty in frequenting the communion; the Church is not to forbear calling them to it, and putting them in mind of it. We see there are those, who will needs be "ministers of the word and sacraments," that have ministered no communion to their churches in so many years. Instead of taking shame upon them for such abominable contempt of Christianity, this "mischief" is now "imagined for a law;" when a law is demanded', by which tender consciences may not be tied to celebrate the eucharist once in many years. Take away the communion-service from the communion-table; and what mark shall remain of the duty, that lies upon the public, to reduce the law of the catholic Church, which is God's law, into force? What hope of reducing it, if the mark be once blotted out? So much it concerns, to hold up a daily protestation of the right and duty of the Church; and a contestation with all public persons in the Church and state, to bend the utmost of their endeavours to redeem such an inconsequence and indecorum in God's service, as the silencing of the principal office in it. And we are alive at this day, by God's goodness, to call God and man to witness; that, if order be not taken in so great a concernment, the fault will be chargeable on those that do not their parts towards it, at the great day of judgment.

[Pa. xciv.
20.]

A second-
ary pro-
position
according
to present
law.

§ 11. But if my proposition may not hope for effect: in the next place I shall wish, that all curates would agree in that, which by law they may do, so far as I know the law;

Ch. of Engl. better than that of the Council of Trent, c. ix.

* One of the Exceptions to the Book of Common Prayer (Baxter's Life of Himself, Pt. ii. p. 318) contains the following requisition—"That the minister be not required to rehearse any part of

the liturgy at the communion-table, save only those parts which properly belong to the Lord's Supper; and that at such times only when the said holy Supper is administered."

* See above, c. xvi. § 8. note t.

or, rather, that all ordinaries would agree to impose it upon them:—that is, to divide the service of God on Sunday and holiday mornings into two assemblies, as it stands divided into two services²; that all householders may stand accountable for their whole families, to see that they serve God in the church all Sunday and holiday mornings; as before the Reformation all people were obliged to do³. For though by the present law there is not provision for all Christians to communicate, yet is there order for the service of God by psalms and lessons mixed with hymns, and by the common prayers of the Church, perfectly summed up in the litanies. And they, who shall have performed it, shall have celebrated the Lord's day, or festival, with it; though not so like a Christian, as had he been at the celebrating of the eucharist. The communion-service might serve as it is for the second assembly; provided that it be, for the reasons premised, at the communion-table. The homily or sermon after the gospel, comprising that instruction or exhortation which is necessary for all Christians, would easily come within one quarter of an hour; were curates, by the wisdom and diligence of their ordinaries, restrained from impertinencies, and held to their duties⁴. The common prayers of the Church, which are perfectly summed up in the litanies; if they were used at this assembly also, they would make the service of
 162 God as complete, as the absence of the eucharist would allow, being the principal office of it. And this is no more than is required by the eighteenth of Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions⁵. For as the litanies, being used after the consecra-

² See Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 40.—“Till the last review in 1661 the litany was designed to be a distinct service by itself, and to be used some time after the morning prayer was over: as may be gathered from the rubric before the Communion in all the old Common Prayer Books, which order, that ‘after morning prayer, the people being called together by the ringing of a bell, and assembled in the church, the English Litany shall be said after the accustomed manner.’” Wheatley, Ration. Illustr. of Bk. of Common Prayer, c. iv. Introd. § 5. p. 163. Oxf. 1839.—Thorn-dike's proposal would seem to be this—that the morning prayer *with the litany* should be used first on Sundays

and holidays, and after this the communion-service (with or without the celebration of the eucharist) with a sermon and also the litany over again.—The litany is used now in the communion-service after the sermon at the consecration of a bishop.

³ See Epilogue, Conclus. § 71; Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 40.

⁴ See Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 37, 38.

⁵ This injunction (in Sparrow, p. 72) enacts, that “they shall not from henceforth in any parish-church at any time use any procession about the church or church-yard, or at any place; but immediately before the time of communion of the sacrament, the priests

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tion, as that injunction requireth, would be the complete prayer of oblation, according to that which hath been said; so, when the eucharist is not celebrated, the common prayers of the Church for all necessities of all estates of Christ's Church would be as completely offered to God by the litanies, as they ought to be offered when the eucharist is not celebrated. And this course would take away some appearances of inconvenience, arising from the change of time, and the difference which it hath produced in the use of those services of which our office consisteth: which, because common reason understands not, therefore the people may check at; and yet superiors may not perhaps find sufficient cause to make any change for the removing of them. The extreme length of the office, as now it is used, is to be counted in the number of these. Besides, in that case, there would be no necessity of a prayer before the sermon; which now bringeth this visible inconvenience, that the prayer "for all states of Christ's Church," which is to follow next after the sermon, goeth before the sermon also. For that prayer, which the fifty-fifth canon enjoineth^b, is to the very same effect with that, which is to follow after the sermon, "for the whole state of Christ's Church." As for other arbitrary prayers before or after sermons, we are all witnesses, what a trumpet they were of the late civil war; what a means to prepare the minds of people to it. And therefore if, after so fresh experience, the state shall suffer the Church to leave any room for them in the order of God's service: the state as well as the Church must be *felo de se* in doing it; and they, that shall insist upon such demands, do neither more nor less than ask leave to do the same again.

An objection in it, answered.

§ 12. Indeed it is easy to foresee an appearance of inconvenience, that might be objected, if this course should be put in practice. For when the eucharist is not celebrated, the litanies then must follow next after the prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church;" the substance whereof is

with others of the quire shall kneel in the midst of the church, and sing or say plainly and distinctly the Letany which is set forth in English, with all the suffrages following, to the intent the people may hear and answer; and none other procession or Letany to be

had or used, but the said Letany in English, adding nothing thereto, but as it is now appointed."—See also the Injunctions of Edw. VI.; in Sparrow, *ibid.* p. 8.

^b Can. 1603, canon 55.

the same that is repeated again in the litanies, as containing more briefly the sum of that, which in them is branched out 163 into more particulars. The practice of the ancient Church furnishes the answer. The nineteenth canon of Laodicea, ancienter without doubt than any form of liturgy extant, prescribes two prayers to be made just before the consecration, “*διὰ προσφωνήσεως* ;” that is to say, the deacon “bidding the people pray” for the necessities of the Church, which he did name to them from point to point^c. That this is the meaning of the canon, we understand by all the eastern liturgies. For there is none of them, in which the same prayer is not repeated again and again ; the deacon inditing to the people the particulars which they are to pray for, sometimes more briefly, sometimes more at large^d. And in one of them, namely, the Latin copy of St. Basil’s liturgy, they are expressly called the “first,” the “second,” and the “third litanies^e.” Thus ancient is the custom of bidding prayer in the Church. For St. Augustin also, for the Latin Church, remembers it ; when he says, “*Cum communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur*”—“When common prayer is bidden by the deacon’s voice :” *Epist. cvi.*^f And hereby it appeareth, that it was then thought no inconvenience, that those common prayers of the Church should be repeated more than once. For being the chief act of their assemblies, and the end for which the eucharist was celebrated ; to wit, that by the memory of Christ’s sacrifice upon the cross all the necessities of His Church might be rendered recommendable to God : it is no marvel, that they insisted upon them more than once. And therefore, if, in this decay of Christianity, the continual celebration of the eucharist cannot be revived ; in the next place it remains, that these common prayers be maintained and frequented with as much devotion, as in so wretched times as we see can be obtained. I have said nothing of that, which is commonly called preaching, or of any provision for it ; because I say nothing of the first service, and of the use of it at other times besides Sunday and holiday mornings. But it is easy for me to say, that there will be as much op-

* See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. v. Sainctes, Antv. 1560, pp. 36. a, 37. a, § 22, c. vii. § 33, c. x. § 23, 30, sq. 39. a.

^d See *ibid.*

^e Quoted in Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 34. note a.

* See it in the edition of Claude de

C H A P. XXII. opportunity for it in the afternoons, as the abilities of the generality of preachers can be thought competent to employ with that, which shall be fit to entertain the people. I know the general opinion inclines to employ that time with the exposition of the Catechism^s. But the doctrine of the Catechism is the work of that time, when men's wits are at the best. And if the exposition be not prescribed, as well as the Cate- 164 chism, more inconvenience may soon be found in that course than in the pulpit.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HOW THE LAW DISTINGUISHES MORAL PRECEPTS FROM POSITIVE. HOW THE SPIRITUAL SENSE OF THE DECALOGUE CONCERNS CHRISTIANS. THE MEANING OF THE FIRST COMMANDMENT IN THIS SENSE. THE EXTENT OF THE SECOND COMMANDMENT. OF THE THIRD COMMANDMENT. WHAT THE SANCTIFYING OF THE SABBATH SIGNIFIETH. THE MEANING OF THE FIFTH AS TO CHRISTIANS. THE MEANING OF THE FIVE LAST ACCORDING TO CHRISTIANITY.

How the Law distinguishes moral precepts from positive.

Now, since this secondary proposition leaves the decalogue and prayers of it in the place which now it holds in our service, I will not leave this point without expounding the decalogue in that sense, which the principle, upon which I maintain the agreement of the Old Testament with the New, requires^b. For upon that exposition depends the true meaning and intent of that prayer, whereby the Church enjoins the people to ask pardon of God for their transgressing of the several precepts; the misunderstanding whereof hath occasioned the error of the Sabbath, which only England of all Christendom is disquieted withⁱ. Most divines do so reason of the decalogue (because the most of the precepts thereof are moral), as if the difference between ceremonial, judicial, and moral (and much more between moral and positive) were expressly delivered by the letter of Moses'

^s See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 93: and L' Estrange, Alliance of Div. Off., c. iv. Annot. A. pp. 139—141.—Charles II.'s Directions concerning Preachers of Oct. 14. 1662 (in White Kennet, Register, p. 796) direct the afternoon exercise to be

upon the Catechism or at any rate the Liturgy.

^b See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. xii., xiii.; and Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. v. § 10: &c. &c.

ⁱ See above in c. xxii. § 6. notes a, b.

law. Whereas in deed and in truth the moral precepts of God's natural law, though of greatest consequence to the everlasting estate of immortal souls (which the Law supposeth rather than expresseth), are only the matter of the carnal covenant: which contracteth not for the doing of them out of that reason and with that intent, which God requireth; because it contracteth not for the world to come, wherewith that intent is rewardable. For as the keeping of the precepts materially qualified that people for the land of promise; so the keeping of them in obedience to God, and for His service, qualified them then for heaven, as Christians: always supposing the expectation of Christ's coming for the redemption of God's people. Therefore, though it be necessary for divines, under Christianity, to distinguish between moral and positive in Moses' law^k; yet they will confound the ground of that distinction, as it took place under the Law to God's people, if they expect that the letter of the Law should express it.

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§ 2. The not considering of this is that, which suffers not men to see that sense, which the plain letter of the decalogue signifieth; being transported with a prejudice, that the moral law signified as much to the Jews, and required as great duty of them, as the exposition of them preached by our Lord Christ requireth of Christians. Whereas, by that which I have said, it may appear, that the mistake, which our Lord corrects in the meaning of Moses' law, is the heresy of the Scribes and Pharisees, promising everlasting life in recompense of the outward observing of it^l. Whereas the Law indeed rewardeth it with the land of promise; intimating only the reward of the world to come to those, that should serve the Searcher of hearts from the heart in expectation of the Messiah His coming^m. So the decalogue, being the brief of those conditions upon which God contracted with the generality of that people for the land of promise, carries not with it the least presumption in reason, that whatsoever it containeth, is either moral or perpetually positiveⁿ; to wit, according to the carnal sense, which the letter of the Law

How the spiritual sense of the decalogue concerns Christianity.

[1 Chron. xxviii. 9;
2 Chron. vi. 30;
Jerem. xvii. 10;
Acts i. 24;
Rev. ii. 23.]

^k See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xii. § 9.

^l See *ibid.*, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxii. § 32, sq.

^m See *ibid.* § 13, sq.: and Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. xii., xiii.

ⁿ See *ibid.*, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxi. § 15.

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first presenteth. Indeed, according to the spiritual intent of it, by which true Israelites were conducted even then to the world to come, it signified and required the same spiritual obedience, which the gospel obliges us to; though in a measure proportionable to those helps of grace which God then gave, compared with those, which the coming of Christ hath brought forth. So that, in one word, admitting the literal¹⁶⁶ sense of the decalogue to be that which obliged the Jews, the spiritual sense, which it is to carry with Christians, is to be valued by the correspondence of the New Testament with the Old in the matter of every particular precept.

The meaning of the first commandment in this sense.

[Exod. xx. 2; Deut. v. 6.]

[John i. 47.]

§ 3. What can be more manifest than this, in the preface to it? Can Christians say truly, that God ever delivered them “out of the land of Egypt,” and “the bondage” of it? Must they not all say, that God hath delivered them from the bondage of sin and Satan, correspondent to it? Might not all “true Israelites, in whom was no guile,” say the same, in regard of that worship of idols, which all other nations were enslaved with, and the sin to which it engaged? Therefore a Jew understands this first precept to be the chief point of his law;—that he acknowledge but one God, but that One Whom his fathers knew. And if the matter be examined, it will appear, that both Jews and Mahumetans^o stand at distance with Christians upon this false pretence,—that the faith of the Holy Trinity agreeth not herewith. For the Alcoran insinuateth this poison everywhere. But the Christian goes farther in the meaning of this precept: and, believing the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be that one God Which gave them this precept, believes himself redeemed from the bondage of sin by the Blood of the Son and by the grace of the Spirit; and therefore, making the will of God the ground, and His glory and service the intent, of all his doings, renounces all respect to the pleasure or profit or honour and greatness of this world, so far as it is not the means to serve God; acknowledging, that, when he declines from this resolution, he makes his “belly his god,” or his riches his “idol,” as St. Paul saith; or rather the devil, that offers him some

[Ephes. v. 5; Phil. iii. 19; Col. iii. 5.]

* See the Koran in Sale's translation, cc. iv., v. pp. 81, 92, with Sale's note on the former passage.—See also

the Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xvii. § 34; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Church., c. xxii. § 27.

little part of that which our Lord refused in gross, the god whom he worships. CHAP.
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§ 4. The second commandment, setting forth God for a God that is jealous of His people whether they worship Him or not, manifestly supposeth their covenant, to forsake all other gods beside Him, a contract of marriage between Him and His people. Which if it be so, it is no less manifest, that the images, which the precept supposeth, are the representations of other gods, which His people were wont to
 167 "commit adultery with," by worshipping them for God. [Matt. iv.
10; Luke
iv. 8.]
 For seeing it is manifest, how much idolatry was advanced by imagery (though it may be without it^p); there can be no marvel, that there should be a peculiar precept against it. The extent of the second commandment.
 Wherefore it is manifest, that Jews, by the letter of this precept, are tied from all images, which their elders, who had the power of limiting what is lawful and what is not by the Law^q, should declare to be unlawful. But to think, that their declarations ought to bind Christians, were to imagine that Christians ought to be Jews. And, the letter of the Law forbidding all images at all times and in all places as well as some, it is not possible to shew, how Christians can be tied from any kind of image at any time or in any place, more than others, by the letter of this precept. But by the positive part of the precept, implied in the negative which it expresseth,—“Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them,”—Christians must needs find themselves bound to that worship of God “in spirit and truth,” which it is not possible for Jews to think themselves tied to in consideration of the land of promise: and therefore, having the word of God for the rule of their worship, must needs condemn the worshipping of God by any imagination of their own devising, for superstition and will-worship; in standing upon that, which God declareth not that He regardeth, for the discharge of their duty to Him; and in tendering Him things of their own choosing for the worship which they acknowledge to be due. For, as I said afore, it is not possible, that they, who lay such a weight of their diligence upon things of their own choice, should discharge the duty of “worshipping Him in
[Jer. iii. 2,
xiii. 27. &c.:
Ezek. xxiii.
&c. &c.]
[John iv.
23, 24.]
[John iv.
23, 24.]

^p See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxvi. § 20, 25.

^q See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. ii. § 11, sq.

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Of the
third com-
mandment.

§ 5. Confining the literal intent of the decalogue to those gross sins, by which all Jews were to understand, that the interest of the nation in the land of promise must become forfeited, as all reason requireth; the "taking of God's name in vain," in the third commandment, is in plain terms to swear that which is false, as the Chaldee paraphrase renders it^v. But a Christian "takes up God's name" in professing

^r See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xiv. § 2: Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxvi. § 5; and c. xxxi. § 36: Conclusion, § 45: and above, c. i. § 4, sq.

^s See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 41, 53.

^t See *ibid.* § 54—56.

^u See *ibid.* § 40, 41.

^v "חַוֵּה, quod Philo vertit ἐν παραλογ

(*in vanum*), quomodo et LXX., Hebræorum doctissimi, quos inter rabbinus Abraham, interpretantur *falso*." Grot. in Matt. v. 33: going on to quote ample authorities for this interpretation.—Among the collection of opinions (some of them very important truths, others hideous heresies) denounced by the Presbyterian pastors in London in 1647 to the Westminster

Christianity. And when the world sees him do any thing that agreeth not with his profession, without doubt he takes it up "in vain." For there never was any "true Israelite, in whom was no guile," that "worshipped God in spirit and truth;" but he might then understand, that he "took God's name in vain," if, professing the worship of the only true God, he should live like those that worshipped idols. Much more a Christian, knowing that he is bound to direct all his actions to the end of God's glory and service out of obedience to His declared will, must needs know, that he shall not be guiltless to God, if they be not suitable to the profession which he weareth.

§ 6. It is questioned, how God "blessed and sanctified the seventh day" at the creation of all things; the keeping of the Sabbath being first commanded after the coming of the Israelites out of Egypt^a. For some would have it understood by a prolepsis or figure of anticipation⁷;—that God, in consideration of His resting from all His works on the seventh day, when He gave the Law, made that day the Sabbath. Others think, that He sanctified it from the beginning for a day of His service; though the rest which the Jews were commanded, sitting still all the Sabbath, came in force from the giving of the Law⁸. And, truly, the memory of the seven days of the week, which hath been preserved among all nations^a (who cannot be thought to have learned any matter of religion from the Jews), seems to intimate a tradition of the creation remaining among them. But it is to be considered, that, when idolatry prevailed, the worship of the seven planets was a prime part of it; and astrology, which appropriates the seven days of the week to them, a great means of propagating the same^b. And therefore, the memory of the creation being obliterated by the superstition which the devil had grafted upon it, the observations of heathen people are rather to be imputed to this than to that. And, otherwise, there is nothing in the Scripture to answer Tertullian with; demanding of the Jews, which of the fathers

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[John i.
47; iv. 23,
24.]

What the
sanctifying
of the Sab-
bath signi-
fied.
[Exod. xvi.
5, 23—30.]

Assembly, one is, "that the meaning of the third commandment is, Thou shalt not forswear thyself," for which they cite the Baptist writer Tombes (Neal, Hist. of Puritans, vol. iii. p. 328).

^a See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxi. § 13, 14.

⁷ See *ibid.* § 13. note c.

⁸ See *ibid.* § 8, 12.

^a See *ibid.* § 14. note g.

^b See *ibid.*

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before the Law kept the Sabbath^c. But howsoever, if we be Christians, we must not question, that the blessing which God "hallowed the seventh day" with, is the rest of Christ's Body in the grave on that day; by which that rest from the travail of sin and the punishment of it, which Christianity professeth and promiseth, was purchased for Christians. For, upon this ground, all the time of the Gospel is that "Sabbath," which the Jewish Sabbath signified; and the fulfilling of the fourth commandment is the rest of a Christian from all his own works all the days of his life. Not that I doubt, that under the Law the day was to be set apart for the offices of God's service; but because there are other precepts of the Law, Num. xxviii., Levit. xxiii., by which that is provided for^d. By virtue of which precepts, according to the correspondence between the Law and Gospel, not only the first day of the week is set aside by the apostles for the service of God instead of the seventh day, which the Jews observe; but also other days of assemblies, being appointed by the Church, are to be observed by God's people for the same reason as the seventh. For even the seventh day itself was observed, and was to be observed, by Christians for the same reason, so long as the custom of the Church required them to observe it for that purpose. Besides, the letter of the Law having forbidden any work upon the seventh day,¹⁷⁰ common reason would serve without any precept of the Law to infer, that they ought to meet for the service of God; which His people had always professed, when they had nothing else to do^e. Otherwise it is true, which Origen^f so often chargeth, that they could not assemble without some breach upon the strict sense of that command, "not to stir out of their place" on that day. And this sitting still is as properly "sanctifying" the day, as "the blood of bulls and goats, and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling the polluted, sanctifieth to the purity of the flesh;" according to the epistle to the Hebrews, ix. 13. So the keeping of this commandment, under the Gospel, is the "serving of God all the days of a man's life;" as our Catechism expoundeth it.

The meaning of the

§ 7. When the fifth commandment promiseth long life to

^c Quoted in the Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxi. § 14. note i.

^d See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 12.

^e See *ibid.*

^f Quoted *ibid.* note b: and Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxii. § 13.

them, that "honour father and mother;" will any man say, that this promise is made to Christians, that profess to take up Christ's cross and to lay down their lives for Christ? If he do, let him say, what land it is which Christians are promised; if it be not the land of the living, which the land of Canaan figureth. Wherefore it is manifest, that the honours due to the king, and all civil powers under him, are due by the letter of this precept; as properly comprised in the name of "father," according to the use of that language^s. The obedience also due to the elders of the synagogue, is, by the metaphorical signification of the word "mother," standing [Hos.iv.5.] for the synagogue, derived from the terms of this precept^s. But, according to the correspondence between Christianity and Judaism, God is our Father, and our mother is the Church. And therefore, as in temporal and civil things he is a rebel, that honours not the king, so in matters of religion he is an apostate from the Church, that honours not the commands of it, within those bounds which the command of God limiteth. And thus the five first commandments (according to the method of Christianity, abridging an infinite number of Jewish observations into one very weighty precept) enjoin every one of them the whole duty of a Christian to God; the acknowledging and worshipping of the only true God extending itself to living as a Christian, to resting from the works of the old Adam, and to the honour of God by keeping His commandments as they are delivered to us by His Church.

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fifth as to
Christians.

- 171 § 8. The four precepts that follow, are under one and the same consideration in this place. Murder, adultery, theft, and false witness, are things, that either take away or abridge the interest of particular Jews in the land of promise. And if the public were accessory to the multiplying of them, accordingly the public interest thereof in God's promises must needs become questionable. Among Christians, seeing these are crimes which cannot consist with any interest in the world to come, the very first motions of them are commanded to be

The meaning of the five last according to Christianity.

^s See e. g. Marinus Brixianus, *Thes. Linguae Sanctae*, sub vocc. *DN, DN*.—Drusius also on Hos. iv. 5 (ap. Crit. Sac.) interprets "mother" in that verse to mean the synagogue. Gro-

tius (ad loc.) interprets it of the nation. See also, for the meanings of the word "father," Lightfoot, *Exercit. on S. Mark* xiv. 36, Works, vol. ii. pp. 354, 355.

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[Rom. ii.
29.]

[Deut.
xxiv. 1, 2.]

suppressed and mortified. And, certainly, whosoever was "inwardly" a "Jew in spirit" did understand himself bound to abstain from them, not for fear of punishment, but for love of goodness; which love, the love which Christ hath prevented us with, advanceth to that height, which Christianity professeth. But this obligeth us to assign the last commandment a meaning by itself, distinct from all that which is prohibited by the former precepts. And truly he, that finds not the peculiar law of the Jews in the prohibition of "coveting another man's wife," must be strangely transported with prejudice. For, adultery being prohibited afore, "coveting another man's wife" cannot be understood but by sowing seeds of dissensions and other ways of enticing, whereby a man may seek to make another man's wife his own; by the law of the Jews, which allowed a man to put away a wife that pleased him not. And, therefore, the rest of the precept must be 'weighed in the same balance;' to forbid any way of fraud or force, whereby a man may make his neighbour's goods his own. Therefore the matter of this precept is expressed by "*Μὴ ἀποστερήσης*," Mark x. 19^b. And the Jews reduce the precepts of "not coveting," or "lusting," under the title of "rapine" and "oppression;" as you may see in Maimoni¹. And therefore, whether you restrain St. Paul's "Thou shalt not covet," Rom. vii. 7, to that which this precept forbiddeth; or enlarge it to that, which is forbidden by the other four: Christians are, by this precept, forbidden to entertain any motion of lust towards that, which is another man's. And St. Augustin's observation,—that the sum of the Law is comprised in the first precept, commanding the love of God, and the last, forbidding concupiscence¹,—is fully verified: understanding the love of God to be commanded by all the five precepts, comprising, all of them, the whole duty of a Christian to God; but the love of a man's neighbour by the other five, forbidding any lust toward a man's own advantage by another man's disadvantage. And

^b See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xii. § 35.

¹ The 11th title of the *Manus Fortis* or *Lex Secunda* of Moses Maimonides is *De Damnis*, to which the text appears to refer: and see Grot. ad Matt.

xix. 19.

¹ Quoted in Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxii. § 16. note y: and see also *ibid.*, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xii. § 9. note l.

so you see, what a Christian prays for in praying to God to "have mercy upon" him for anything, wherein he hath offended against any precept of His law for the past, and to give him grace to "keep" it for the future. In particular, for the fourth commandment: that, if he will pray as a Christian should pray, he must pray to God to have mercy upon him, in whatsoever he hath not rested from the works of the first Adam; begging grace to do it for the future.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

THAT NO CLERGYMAN OUGHT TO BE OF MORE DIOCESES THAN ONE. OF INFERIOR ORDERS IN THE CLERGY, AND THEIR OFFICES. THE CONVERSATION OF THE CLERGY, AND THE USE OF CHURCH-GOODS. THE GROUND FOR PROMOTIONS TO HIGHER DEGREES. THE UNIVERSITIES MAY BE SERVICEABLE TO SOME PART OF THIS DISCIPLINE. REASONS FOR IT. PUBLIC FAME OF SIN TO BE PURGED BY ECCLESIASTICAL PROCESS. SINNERS CONVICT BY LAW NOT TO COMMUNICATE BEFORE PENANCE. THE CURE OF NOTORIOUS SIN THE BISHOP'S OFFICE. THE CHURCH NOT REFORMED WITHOUT RESTORING PENANCE, PUBLIC OR PRIVATE. WHAT MEANS THERE IS LEFT FOR THE RESTORING OF IT.

I HAVE yet two particulars to mention; both much to be desired for the justifying of that Reformation, which we profess. The one is an express canon of the whole Church 173 concerning the discipline of the clergy: the other is an evident consequence of the like canon in this estate, when religion is settled by the law of the kingdom, concerning the discipline of the people. The former is the restoring of that canon of the whole Church, which confineth all orders of the clergy to their respective Churches^k. In the language of this time, it signifieth the voiding of all privileges to hold Church-

That no clergyman ought to be of more dioceses than one.

^k "Μη ἐξείναι κληρικῶ ἐν δύο πόλεσιν καταλέγεσθαι ἐκκλησίαις κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ, ἐν ᾗ τε τὴν ἀρχὴν χειροτονήθη καὶ ἐν ᾗ προσέφυγεν, ὡς μέλζονι δῆθεν, διὰ δόξης κενῆς ἐπιθυμίαν· τοὺς δὲ γε τοῦτο ποιούντας ἀποκαθίστασθαι τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν ᾗ ἐξ ἀρχῆς χειροτονήθησαν καὶ ἐκεῖ μόνον λειτουργεῖν· εἰ μέντοι ἤδη τις μετετέθη ἐξ ἑλλης εἰς ἄλλην ἐκκλησίαν, μηδὲν τοῖς τῆς προτέρας ἐκκλησίας ἔτοι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὴν μαρτυρίων ἢ πτωχείων ἢ ξενοδοχείων ἐπικοινωνεῖν πράγμασι· τοὺς

δέ γε τολμῶντας μετὰ τὸν θρον τῆς μεγάλης καὶ οἰκουμένης ταύτης συνόδου πράττειν τι τῶν νῦν ἀπηγορευομένων, ὥρισεν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐκτίπτειν τοῦ οἰκείου βαθμοῦ." Conc. Chalced. (A.D. 451), can. x.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. iv. pp. 760. D. 761. A.—See also Bingham, VI. iv. 8; Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxv. in fin.; and above in the Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 29. note e.

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preferment in more dioceses than one. It is the evident consequence of that order, which the whole Church hath derived from the act of the apostles themselves; constituting several cities, and the territories thereof, the seats of several Churches and their dioceses¹. It is manifest, that this order was in force (though in a diverse measure in divers countries^m) from the beginning all over Christendom: and that, with the like respect to the Churches of mother-cities in all provinces. It is also manifest, that the canon grounded upon this order was in force, till the usurpation of the see of Rome, seeking benefices for their creatures all over Christendom, authorized the dissolving of it, by privileges, the greatest benefit whereof themselves enjoyed: so that, the surceasing of it being an abuse of the papacy, our professing of reformation requires the restoring of it.

Of inferior
orders in
the clergy,
and their
offices.

§ 2. But the restoring of it will signify more than the terms of it express. It will infer the restoring of some part of that ancient discipline of the clergy, upon which the credit and authority thereof with and over the people from the beginning of Christianity was grounded. It is well enough known, how very anciently, how very generally, inferior orders of clergy were instituted by the Church under the hierarchy founded by the apostlesⁿ; for a fence to St. Paul's rule, that "no novice" should be ordained. For when Christianity was propagated all over; then those, that had lived mere laymen all their lives, might as well be counted "novices" in Christianity, compared with them that were grown up from their youth in these inferior orders, as those that were newly converted to Christianity in St. Paul's time. The employment of these orders in reading the lessons, in singing the psalms, in attending on the person of the bishop, and the orders of their superiors, in the ministry of ecclesiastical offices^o, was most commonly but an exercise for the time. The exercise¹⁷⁴ of their humility, their meekness and patience, their sobriety,

[1 Tim.
iii. 6.]

¹ See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. iii.: Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. xi. § 2, 10: Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii.: Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. vi. § 18; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xviii. § 8: Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 26.

^m See the remarks on the differing extent of dioceses in different countries,

above in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 18, and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch. c. xx. § 57.

ⁿ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 64: and references in the note there.

^o See *ibid.*: and Bingham, and Thomassin (Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl.), as there quoted.

and content in a mean condition,—living upon some small pittance, which the stock of the Church was able to allow without prejudice to the poor,—was that which made them fit to be advanced to higher degrees. The study of the Scriptures was the employment of the time, that remained to spare from their attendance upon these ministries. For as for other studies; while idolatry continued in credit in the world, it was generally suspected for scandalous, to study the learning which idolaters had brought forth^p.

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§ 3. True it is, many of them, not being book-learned or otherwise content with so religious a poverty, and living sometimes by their hand-work (that they might charge the Church the less) as well as upon their pittances, looked not after higher degrees. Others, embracing a religious life, and having means for their support, thought it a scandal to their profession to receive any thing from the Church; knowing, that what they spared must come to the poor. And, generally, innumerable of all orders, especially bishops and priests, taking upon them their orders, gave up their estates to charitable uses. For it was scandalous for those, that gave them not up, to live otherwise than those, that had nothing to maintain them but the allowance of the Church, did live^q. But to increase their estates out of Church-goods was a thing, which the canons not only prohibited but made void^r. For all canons, from the canon of the apostles to those at this day in force in the Church of Rome, disable the clergy to dispose of Church-goods by last will and testament^s. The authorizing of the clergy to marry, brought in

The conversation of the clergy, and the use of Church-goods.

^p See the canons and passages of the fathers on the subject in Bingham, VI. iii. 4: and the account of S. Jerome's renunciation of profane studies, from his letters and works, in Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.*, tom. xii. S. Jerome, art. ix. pp. 24—27. On the other hand, S. Basil has a homily instructing how to employ such writers in education, *Hom. de Diversis* xlii., *Op.* tom. ii. pp. 173. D, sq.: and S. Augustin both employs and defends profane learning (*De Doctr. Christiana*, lib. ii. c. xxvi. § 40, sq., *Op.* tom. iii. pp. 35. F, sq.), comparing it to the spoiling of the Egyptians by the Israelites. See, however, also the account of Origen and others, who imported profane learning into the Church, in Euseb., *H. E.*, lib. vi. cc. 18, 19. pp.

218. C, sq., and Nicephorus, *H. E.*, lib. v. cc. 12, 13. tom. i. pp. 358. D, sq.: and compare also Nicephorus, *ibid.*, lib. x. c. 26. tom. ii. pp. 56. D, sq.: quoted by Fronto Ducæus on S. Basil as above cited.

^q See *Due Way of Composing Differences &c.*, § 21—23.

^r See *ibid.* § 22. note p.

^s See *ibid.*—"Ἔστω φανερὰ τὰ ἴδια τοῦ ἐπισκόπου πράγματα, εἴη καὶ ἴδια ἔχει, καὶ φανερὰ τὰ Κυριακά. Ἰν' ἐξουσίαν ἔχῃ τῶν ἰδίων τελευτῶν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ὡς βούληται καὶ οἱ βούληται καταλείπει, καὶ μὴ προφάσει τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων διαπίπτειν τὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἐσθ' ὅτε γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας κεκτημένου, ἢ συγγενεῖς, ἢ οἰκέτας. Δίκαιον γὰρ τοῦτο παρὰ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων."

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upon consideration of very great necessity, must needs derogate from the obligation of this rule in point of conscience¹. For it must needs infer a right to provide for wives and children, which the Church alloweth, out of Church-goods. But it can by no means abrogate the same, without altering the state of the clergy (professing retirement from the world beyond other Christians), without extinguishing the interest of the poor in the goods of the Church; both of them subsisting by God's law, and therefore by no means to be extinguished. And therefore it is requisite, that the married clergy content themselves with a sober maintenance, and provision for themselves and the disposing of their children in the world, without converting the goods of the Church to raise them estates. For it is utterly a mistake to think, that Church-goods were provided to the end, that the clergy might equal the port of their parallel ranks in the laity in expense. It is much against the intent of the canons, that the clergy should maintain familiarity with the laity, by correspondence in entertainments, or other occasions of promiscuous conversation, such as their office bringeth not forth. For that "hospitality," which parsonages and other benefices are chargeable with², is not the entertainment of their equals among the laity: but the providing for the distressed wayfarers, or those that are from home upon such occasions as charity requireth to support; besides the casual necessities of the poor, either at home, that would attend upon the service of God but that their honest labour will not bear them out in it, or abroad, that appear to be in present distress, whatsoever the occasion may be that puts them to try the charity of Christians. In fine, there is nothing more contrary to the profession of the clergy, than too great indifference in conversing with the laity, of what rank soever. For the authority, which ought to be in them for the advising, exhorting, instructing, and reproving of all sorts of people, whom their ranks may call

[1 Tim. iii.
2; Tit. i.
8.]

ποις, τὸ μὴ τε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ζημίαν τινα ὑπομένειν ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου πραγμάτων· μὴ τε τὸν ἐπισκόπον ἢ τοὺς αὐτοῦ συγγενεῖς προφάσει τῆς ἐκκλησίας δημεύεσθαι· ἢ καὶ εἰς πράγματα ἐμπίπτειν τοὺς αὐτῷ διαφέροντας, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον δυσφημῶς περιβάλλεσθαι." Can. Apost., can. xxxiii.; ap. Cotelier., PP. Apost., tom. i. p. 448. And see Van Espen, Jus Eccl. Univ.,

P. ii. sect. iv. tit. i. c. 4; tom. iii. pp. 157, sq.

¹ See Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 22: and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxii. § 32, sq.

² How clerical revenues are held subject to claims of "hospitality," see Gibson's Codex, in the places referred to in the index under the word.

them to converse with, upon occasions which their office either breedeth or alloweth, stands upon this ground,—that voluntary familiarity engages them not any way to approve those actions, which they should rather discountenance.

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§ 4. And this was the ground for the rule of promoting the clergy to higher degrees; and, in fine, to the bishoprics of their respective Churches^v. For it is true, by the leave of the bishop, being dismissed, they might hold their degree in another Church. But the expectation of being promoted lay in the trial that they gave of themselves, and in their merit from their own Church. No man could pretend any thing to it in any other Church regularly. How much the translating of bishops is against the rule of the primitive Church^w, appears by Constantine's commending Eusebius of Cæsarea for refusing the see of Antiochia^x; by the reproaches extant of the other Eusebius, the supporter of 176 Arius, for removing from Berytus to Nicomedia^y. True it is, it was dispensed in upon great occasions. But every privilege is an exception to a law. Always, the service which every one did his Church, was that which entitled him to the nomination of the clergy, to the suffrage or approbation of the people, to the consent of the suffragan bishops, and especially of the metropolitan. This was, and will be always, the catholic form of electing bishops. The interest of the crown is well enough consistent with it; providing a negative for it,—that any man may be refused, whom the crown shall not approve^z. The dependence of the people upon their bishops, which the interest of Christianity necessarily requires, cannot be maintained otherwise.

The ground for promotions to higher degrees.

§ 5. The means to bring this education of the clergy, and by consequence the discipline grounded upon it, out of use, is said to be the erecting of universities in these western

The universities may be serviceable to some

^v See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxii. § 35: and Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 24: and Coteler, ad Can. Apost., can. xiv. (PP. Apost. tom. i. p. 434), and Beveridge on the same canon, Synodic., tom. ii. in fin. pp. 22, 23; quoted by Bingham, VI. iv. 6.

^w See Bingham, VI. iv. 6.

^x Euseb., Vit. Constantini, lib. iii. cc. 61, 62, pp. 518. C—519. C: and see Tillemont, Mém. Eccl., tom. vii. art. Eusebe de Cesarée, art. iii. p. 45. 2nd edition.

^y S. Athanas., Apol. cont. Arian., § 6; Op. tom. i. p. 129. B—D.—Euseb., Cont. Marcellum Ancyrat., lib. i. c. 4. p. 18. D. in fin. Demonstr. Evangel., Paris 1628 (who praises his Arian namesake):—Epist. Alexandri Episc. Alexandriæ, ap. Socrat., H. E. lib. i. c. 6. p. 10. B:—Theodoret, H. E., lib. i. c. 19. p. 49. B, D (where may be seen the reproaches heaped upon him by Constantine for the act).

^z See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxiv.

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XXIV.part of
this dis-
cipline.

parts of Christendom. For this was, without question, a far shorter way to the knowledge of the Scriptures, the canons, and the rites and customs of the Church. But it was the way also to lose that gravity, that sobriety, that abstinence and meekness, upon which the credit of the clergy with the people had been raised. And by that time, or rather long before, corruption in the chief guides of the Church must needs have rendered inferior degrees conformable. It is not my meaning to insist upon the restoring of the ancient discipline; which nothing but the wisdom of God's Spirit, and tradition from the apostles, could have furnished the simplicity of the primitive Christians with. The discipline of the universities may be serviceable to the Church; may it be recovered from that licentiousness and disobedience, which anarchy hath privileged in youth^a. I insist upon that which I have proposed already^b, though no heed is given to it. The general rule of the Church, to found bishoprics in cities, was not every where observed in England. Some dioceses are so large, that the cathedral churches cannot be made serviceable under the bishop to the government of the whole diocese. If colleges of presbyters were erected in all the head towns of counties, the youth of the counties that pretend to the clergy, restoring this canon, must be under the inspection of the same^c. If, before their going to the university, they were listed under them, as expecting employment and maintenance under them, that is, within the county; then must they make account to approve their conversations and studies to them, as having no other way to live in that estate to which they addict themselves. As for the course of finding employment and maintenance for them, I will go no further to particulars than I have done. It is enough, that the intention should be the restoring of the primitive canons, as the estate of this time will require or allow. 177

Reasons
for it.

§ 6. It would be no small gain, that by restoring this canon the complaint of pluralities would be silenced^d. For that persons, whose abilities and trust are approved to the bishop by information of the said presbyters, should have the care of more than one church; would be no more inconvenience,

^a See the tract printed below under the title of *The True Principle of Comprehension*, sect. vii., xi.

^b *Due Way of Composing Differ-*

ences &c., § 27, 28.

^c See *ibid.* § 29.

^d See below, *Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c.*, c. xxv.

than that those presbyters have a care of the county, the bishop of the diocese. Always supposing, that the incumbent upon the cure, and the rate of his maintenance, be allowed or rather constituted by the bishop, to whom that right originally belongs. I will say no more to justify this proposition, but this;—that he, who is obnoxious to several Churches, that is, to several dioceses, either as to the duty of governing or of being governed, can by no means be accountable to both; according to that account, which the constitution of the catholic Church requireth of every order and degree of the clergy:—and again, that, seeing all exemptions, privileging against the ordinary rule and government of the Church, are the effects and consequences of the papacy and the usurpations thereof, the^e Reformation which we profess cannot be justified in itself (though in comparison it may abate of the abuse which went afore) without restoring a rule of such consequence. But all this while it is no part of my intent, that those, who are presently possessed by the law of the land, should be presently destituted. But that a course be provided for the future, to which the world may be disposed by degrees.

§ 7. In the second place, for the justifying of our Reformation, and towards restoring the discipline of penance, it is requisite, that all malefactors, convicted by law of capital or infamous crimes, or others of as great malice to God though not so destructive to civil society, should stand excommunicate, when their lives and liberties are saved, till they satisfy the Church of their conversion to God^d. The law of this land, providing no other trial for sins of uncleanness but that of the ecclesiastical courts, hath hitherto enabled them to proceed to the trial of public scandals by deposing witnesses *ex officio*^e: which, according to the rest of the ignorance and malice of the blessed Reformation, hath been

* Misprinted, "thereof, that the," in ed. 1662.

^f See Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 50. notes t, x; and Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxv.

^g The 1 Eliz. c. 1, establishing the High Commission Court, was held to empower it to administer to a person accused an oath *ex officio*, whereby he or she is obliged "to make present-

ment of" his or her own "crime or offence, or to confess or accuse" himself or herself. This is repealed and abolished by 16 Car. I. c. 11: and excepted by the 13 Car. II. c. 12, which "explains" and repeals the act of Charles I. but does not restore the High Commission Court or the oath *ex officio*. See Fuller, Ch. Hist., Bk. ix. pp. 183—187.

Public fame of sin to be purged by ecclesiastical process.

CHAP. XXIV. construed for an usurpation upon the liberties of Christian people^b. For it is manifest, that under the Old Testament the rulers of God's ancient people were able, every one within the sphere of his authority, to oblige all men to answer upon oath in any thing, wherein they should adjure them to answer. For upon this account our Lord Himself, being subject to the Law, answered the adjuration of the high priest. And the Levitical law prescribeth a trespass-offering for him, who, being adjured to speak his knowledge in any business, should conceal it. This the Jews extend to the adjurations of private persons, if made in open court¹. But there is no question, that the princes and judges of that people, each in the matter of his office, obliged their inferiors to answer their knowledge; so that they were perjured *ipso facto*, concealing that which they knew of any man's cause¹. Under the Gospel it is evident, that the bishop in consistory with his presbyters did try all scandals in the Church, by summoning all persons within the diocese to witness their knowledge; and that to this effect, that, if any man were detected to have concealed his knowledge, he became thereby liable to penance, as for a heinous sin¹. And Constantine the Great, authorizing by an act of the empire (yet extant) the sentences of bishops in all causes that should be brought to them by consent of parties, gives this reason for it;—because their authority was able presently to discover that, which civil courts could not bring to light by tedious suits². Whereby it appeareth, that all Christians found themselves tied to answer the truth, which their pastors summoned them to declare, for discharge of their conscience. Christianity being corrupted by the coming of the world into the Church, it might become requisite, that the generality of this authority should be restrained within such bounds as emergent

^a So e. g. Smectymnuus, Answ. to Humble Remonstrance, sect. xi. pp. 43, 44: urging, that "nemo tenetur prodere seipsum;" &c. &c. But see Gibson's remarks on the subject, Codex, p. 1042: which put it in a very different light.

¹ See Selden, De Synedr. Vet. Ebræor., lib. ii. cc. 11, 12; Op. tom. i. pp. 1485, sq.; and Grot. ad Matth. xxvi. 63.

² See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. iv. § 16; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 38—44, c. iii. § 46, c. iv. § 74, 85.

³ See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv.

§ 74: and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxiii. § 8.—The law assigns as a reason for its enactment, that "Multa quæ in judicio captiosæ præscriptionis vincula promi non patiuntur, investigat et promit sacrosanctæ religionis auctoritas."—The genuineness of this law is disputed: see above in Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 8. note p.—See also Thomassin, Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl., Pt. III. lib. i. c. 26. tom. iii. pp. 83. a, sq.

abuses might oblige the law to provide. But when a power CHAP.
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 179 so nearly concerning Christianity is cried down for a usurpation upon the Church; it appeareth, that Christianity is at a low ebb, if they, who understand so little in the Scriptures or in matters concerning the Church, dare undertake to reform it. Adultery is one of the sins, which the ancient Church in some places durst not warrant forgiveness; and, therefore, did not restore adulterers to the communion, no not at the point of death¹. If the law therefore provide no other trial for it but by the Christian court¹; to take away that means of trial, which the Church inheriteth of God's ancient people, is, in some measure, to authorize adultery in a Christian kingdom; that is, to call down God's vengeance upon it. Rather it should be provided, that inquisition after all scandals upon public fame might be authorized, upon terms fit to prevent abuses; though not for civil punishment, which the Christian court should have nothing to do with, yet for the bringing of sin under penance.

§ 8. And therefore much more, that sinners, which are Sinners
convict by
law not to
communi-
cate before
penance.
 become notorious by conviction in court according to the civil law of the land, ought not to be admitted to the communion, without satisfying the Church by performing fit penance, that God is satisfied. And the curate indeed seemeth to be enabled by the present law to refuse all such the communion, much more; if he be able to refuse those, that seem scandalous, till they be tried^m: and if he do not what he is able to do, must answer God for the soul, which he poisoneth, by giving him the eucharist, who bars himself the effect of it, his repentance not being manifest, as his sin is. But if the law will not bear out the curate in refusing him till he have satisfied: the choice is hard for him, that hath a family, to forfeit his benefice by doing that, which the law that places him in it bears him not out in; though the power of the keys, which he hath by God's law, oblige him to it. And therefore there may be hope of mercy for him, that is seduced in so hard a choice. But then the vengeance must remain upon the kingdom, and upon those, that have power to right our common Christianity and do not. The Refor-

¹ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 1—4, and references there: and below, Disc. of

Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxv.

^m Canons of 1603, can. 26, 27: and rubric before communion-service.

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The cure of notorious sin the bishop's office.

§ 9. I go no further at present than this step to the restoring of penance, whether public or private. I see there is very good hope, that an end will be put to all that abominable merchandize of public penance, which hath been so just a scandal in this Church°. Such abuses must be taken by those, that value their superiors as they ought, for reformed, so soon as they are resumed into the bishop's own hands. For no man ought to be scandalized, that all such sins shall not be put to public penance; seeing it will be in the bishop, either in his own person or by committing any difficult case to the most skilful and most faithful of his clergy, to attain satisfaction of a man's conversion in private, before he restore him to the communion by loosing him from his sin. And the conscience of his inferiors shall stand discharged, ministering the same upon his order. In the mean time, the bishop's conscience stands answerable to God, both for the soul, that shall perish by being reconciled before qualified therefore, and for the infection of the Church by the sin, which is re-admitted before it be mortified. The case is the very same in all sins, taking all for convict of them which the law convicteth: and, therefore, in all those which the law convicteth not, whensoever it shall enable the Church (as the law of a Christian kingdom should do) to convict them by inquisition *ex officio*, to the effect of curing them by reducing them under penance.

The Church not reformed without restoring

§ 10. Now it is true, public penance is, and was at the Reformation, utterly surceased in the Church of Rome. But private penance was in use, as still it continues (though under those great abuses which I have taxed^p); as the prime

° See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xi. § 24, and note 1: and compare also Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xi. § 16; and Review of it, c. xi. § 7. And see below, Plea of Weakness &c. Discussed and Answ., sect. v. § 2. note z.

* The Convocation of 1661, after revising the Prayer-book, proceeded

January 17, 1664 to revise the canons and constitutions of 1640 (of which the 14th concerns commutation of penance, referring it always to the bishop); but the design (although authorized by the crown) came to nothing. See White Kennet, Register &c., pp. 605, 630.

^p See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the

institution of our Lord and His apostles, though seldom mentioned in the records of the Church in comparison of public penance, so famous in all the primitive fathers. For the Christian court being afterwards divided into the outward court of the Church and the inward court of the conscience (the one concerning all jurisdiction to any effect of excommunication, the other concerning sin that is not excommunicated, because not notorious but voluntarily made known); the sentence of excommunication being released, a man comes not to the communion in any case of sin, till he voluntarily undergo the keys of the Church by opening that sin in this inward court, which he puts the outward court to bring to light. And thus were the keys of the Church in force before the Reformation under the see of Rome. Now, were public penance restored, then might it clearly be said, that a reformation were effected in this point. For penance absolutely so called, in the ancient Church, is public penance^q. Some sins of less consequence were referred to some one of the presbyters, to be cured in private, by the ancientest customs and canons of the Church^r. But there is but little mention of them in comparison of the greater that were restored by public penance. So the restoring of public penance would be effectively reformation, that is, the restoring of that which was; though private penance were not enjoined by law. And of necessity there would be great hope, that Christians, understanding by the use of public penance the need they have of the keys of the Church to assure them the cure of their sins, would be moved in conscience voluntarily to seek that help for the cure of their secret sins. For by that means first came private penance into so general use, that it was possible for the Church of Rome to procure secret confession once a year to be settled for a law of all Christian states under it^s. And did the law here maintain public penance, then were the heresy of the Fanatics, and all imaginations tending to any degree of it, quite put to flight; the people receiving this impression from the law, that their sins

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penance
public or
private.

Laws of the Ch., c. xi. and Conclusion, § 28, 32, 71: and above, c. xviii. § 5—7.

Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 20—40; and above, c. xviii. § 5—7.

^q See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the

^r See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. ix. § 2. note s, c. x. § 34. note s.

CHAP. XXIV. which no man knows, but only God, cannot be cured at an easier rate than those which the world knows. But as the matter is: so long as the keys of the Church are not in force, that is, in use, for the restoring of sinners to the communion upon presumption that they are restored to grace, grounded upon the works of repentance which they shew; it is a hard task to maintain the claim of reformation in the Church. For the Church is founded upon the power of the keys: and therefore, where that power is not in force, as during this time of our blessed Reformation, there it is a Church in hope and right, rather than in deed and in being. We publicly profess to seek the restoring of penance. And because we have not effectively sought that which we profess to seek, God hath brought upon us that heavy vengeance ¹⁸²

[**Ps. cv. 5.**] which we have felt. The "marvellous work, that He hath shewed" in restoring us, obligeth all to lay it to heart; and never to give over the thought of it, till by degrees it be restored in some measure. Christian souls perish, because they know not what help they want. The blessing of the Church, and the communion of the eucharist, being ministered to all without difference, give no man any ground of salvation by being allowed it. And yet the Church is provided by God, that all may have ground for that hope by being of the Church. All, that minister the office, by ministering the same maintain simple souls in a confidence, that they want nothing requisite. Whereas it is not enough for our discharge, that any man may, unless there be probable means, whereby all may, be saved. But that can by no means be maintained, where the power of the keys is not in force^a.

What means there is left for the restoring of it.

§ 11. The difficulty indeed of the business appears as much by the scandals, which the Scottish presbyteries^t, and our "triers"^w here, for the very little time they had, have given, as by those which served to bring auricular confession

^a See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xi. § 21, c. xxi. § 38; and Conclusion, § 69: Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 50: and above, c. iii. § 12.

^t See above, c. xxi. § 11. note n.

^w See Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 16. notes e, f:

Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xi. § 25. note m; c. xvi. § 5. note z: and Conclusion, § 8, 53: Letter concerning the Present State of Religion among us, § 2, 3, 14: and above, c. xvi. § 10. note m.—See also Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, Pt. i. pp. 170—178.

out of date. And no marvel. For all the cries for discipline, which our presbyterians make, seem to demand, that their power in it be as arbitrary as their prayers. No rule, no bounds, no limits proposed, within which it shall be ministered; which is the difficulty. Nor is it possible to reduce the severity of the ancient canons; which the Church of Rome itself hath abated to secret penance. And yet, supposing the premisses, it will be necessary to follow them in such a form as the world at present may bear; not referring the measure of trial, to be required for the verifying of a man's conversion, to the discretion of a curate or a parish, but referring it to the bishop, and to those whom he shall discharge his burden upon in the cathedral church, in those colleges which I have proposed, or in the diocese. And yet it seems necessary to refer the witnessing of the effect to the curate and to the parish. For what can be more reasonable, than to presume of a good effect, when they that see a man's daily conversation attest it? As for the measure; it will be a great work for the synods of the provinces to agree upon
 183 such a form, as the legislative power of the kingdom may find cause to authorize and put in force. Which were it effected, it would not seem unreasonable to trust particular ministers with the cure of secret sins, having a rule before their eyes to direct their proceeding. I say it would seem reasonable, supposing the premisses; supposing the clergy lived in that respect to their superiors, in that exercise of their deacon's "degree," in that sobriety (furnishing discretion in valuing men's actions), which their people may have
 [1 Tim. iii. 13.]
 ground to trust their souls with. For at the present, the blessed Reformation having so far persuaded the people that the minister hath nothing to do but to preach till they be sure of their salvation, who will marvel, that they regard not those who detest such impostures? Nor would this be less benefit to the public peace, and the quiet of superiors, even the sovereign; who must be content to have their actions scanned in the pulpit, till there be a course, whereby their people may be conducted in those things, which the pulpit cannot nor ought to decide. The Scottish presbyters have made us understand, how well they understand the bounds of ecclesiastical power; how much they desire to attempt

CHAP. XXIV. upon the secular, as well in the pulpit as in the consistory. And where this great ordinance for the cure of sin and the salvation of souls is not duly maintained, just is it with God to make the neglect of it the seed of public troubles; the maintenance whereof would contribute as much to the public peace, as to the salvation of souls.

CHAPTER XXV.

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GOD'S MERCIES AND JUDGMENTS REQUIRE THE PERFECTING OF THE REFORMATION WHICH WE PROFESS. THE RESTORING OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL LAWS IS NOT THE RESTORING OF THE CHURCH. YET ARE WE NOT THEREFORE CHARGEABLE WITH SCHISM BY THE CHURCH OF ROME. WHAT SCHISM DESTROYS THE SALVATION OF WHAT PERSONS; BY INSTANCES IN THE MOST NOTABLE SCHISMS. DIFFICULTY OF SALVATION ON BOTH SIDES, THE REFORMATION REMAINING UNPERFECT. AN INSTANCE HEREOF IN THE CURE OF SOULS DEPARTING, BY THE ORDER IN FORCE. A SUPPLICATION FOR A FULL DEBATE OF ALL MATTERS IN DIFFERENCE. THE GROUND OF RESOLUTION, ONE CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE FIRST AND CHIEF POINT OF THE DEBATE. THE CONSEQUENCE OF IT IN UNITING THE REFORMED CHURCHES. AN INSTANCE IN THE HAVING OF IMAGES IN CHURCHES. AN OBJECTION FOR THE CHURCH OF ROME ANSWERED. THAT WHICH EXCUSETH THE REFORMED CHURCHES EXCUSETH NOT OUR SCHISMATICS.

God's
mercies
and judg-
ments re-
quire the
perfecting
of the re-
formation
which we
profess.

It will not become a good Christian to think much, that these things are called upon at this time; before this Church be restored to the benefit of the laws, [by] which the order thereof is to be established and enforced. It will not become any 185 such to say: that the same complaint might have been made, while the Church of England was the Church of England, and before the late breaches in it; and therefore might be spared, when all ought to thank God, that we may be as we were. For the incomparable mercy, that God hath shewed in restoring the laws with the crown, and the Church with both, would leave a mark of ingratitude upon him, whosoever, having nothing to say against the truth, nothing against the great weight and high consequence of the premisses, should not think it worth the pains for all estates of the Church and kingdom to endeavour the redressing of them:

especially, the profession of reformation obliging all, that think Christians bound to stand to that which they profess, not to rest in that which our predecessors had obtained by the first attempt of it. For notwithstanding the great difficulties, which the extreme factions of papists and puritans, in Church and state, had cast in the way of all right endeavours to perfect the reformation begun, according to the true ground and measure of it; we see, what a severe account it hath pleased God to take of all estates in the kingdom, for laying aside the thought of perfecting that, which in so high a point as that of penance they had acknowledged to be defective. I do not intend to say, that the sacrileges committed under Henry VIII. had no hand in this account. For there is no such mark to glorify God's providence with, as when it is visible, that the punishment springs out of the sin. Nor is there any mean more visible towards the advancing of that confusion which we have seen, than the applying of the endowment of churches to common uses; being found at the dissolution, by the irregular power of the papacy, in the hands of monasteries^v. But of that guilt the crown and kingdom seems to stand in a good measure discharged, by restoring that part which the Church stood invested of, by the same title (as we see they have done^v) to the due property, in such a rate as the public peace might endure. As for private persons, that stand invested of the like goods by the like title: there is reason to hope, that their account redoundeth not to the account of the kingdom in the sight of God; notwithstanding that the law alloweth them to use their own conscience in owning or disowning their title. For where the unity of the Church seemeth to

^v See Thorndike's tract printed below, entitled *The True Principle of Comprehension*, sect. x.: and *Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c.*, c. xx.

^v In 1662 Charles II. "directed his royal letters to the archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, requiring them, 'that forthwith provision be made for augmentation of all such vicarages and cures where the tithes and profits are appropriated to them and their successors, in such manner that they, who immediately attend upon the perform-

ance of ministerial offices in every parish, may have a competent portion out of every rectory impropriate,' &c." Echard, *Hist. of Engl.*, vol. iii. p. 92. The ground of this measure was, that "in regard many of the impropriate rectories were annexed to sees, or cathedral and collegiate bodies, or to other ecclesiastical dignities, it was thought proper that the good example" (of restoration) "should begin amongst the clergy themselves." *Id.*, *ibid.*, pp. 91, 92.—See also below in *Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c.*, c. xx.

CHAP. be concerned, it hath been always the practice of the Church
XXV. to forbear the use of the keys, and to admit those to the communion, whose actions it intendeth not to warrant; leaving them to answer God for the same, knowing that the Church warranteth them not^a. The Church of Rome in Queen Mary's days followed this pattern^y; reconciling this kingdom to the communion thereof without restitution of that wrong, which it claimed to be done under Henry VIII. But if the kingdom be liable to an account for the sin of particular persons in detaining Church-goods, and by that means hindering the salvation of Christian people: shall we not think, that the neglect of perfecting the reformation begun, though obstructed by the difficulty which I have alleged, is and ought to be taken for the ground of that reckoning, which God hath made with us; and therefore that we are not to lay aside the thought of it, so long as there appears any means of proceeding to it? Now it seemeth manifest to common reason, that there can be no such opportunity for improving the laws of the kingdom, by which religion is to be established; as while the minds of men, after the breaches which we have seen, remain unsettled to any order in Church-matters. For, before the breach, there is appearance enough, that all means of doing this were studiously obstructed by the puritan party in parliament. And it will appear, if it be well considered, that this is it that made it popular; having always just cause of complaint (which can never be wanting in any civil laws, and therefore not in those civil laws whereby religion is settled), but always pretending an unjust way of redressing the same.

The restoring of the ecclesiastical laws of the land is not the restoring of the Church.

§ 2. But there is a greater reason for us to think, that the Church of England will not be restored by the restoring of those civil laws of the land, which gave force to the order of it, after those manifest and notorious breaches, which we have seen in it. For it is visible, that it is the secular power only, that is acknowledged by those, that return from their schism, and conform themselves to the ecclesiastical laws which it enforceth, in consideration of the temporal reward or punishment which they are enacted with. It is now

^a See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 31.

^y See *ibid.* § 32.

187 found to be the sin of superiors, when such things are imposed upon tender consciences as they are offended at; not the sin of them, who conform themselves to that which is enjoined*. And all, that hath been pretended for a change in the laws, seems now to be made a mere office of charity to the kingdom,—that it might not sin, in imposing upon tender consciences that which they were offended at;—who are safe enough from sinning, all the while that they submit to it. In like manner they, who to be capable of benefices get to be ordained anew, because the ordination was void, which they had from those who had nothing to do to give it, do profess openly enough, that they do it, not because they thought their void orders defective, but to obtain the privileges, which the law of the land annexeth to that ordination which it protecteth. At which rate the oath of canonical obedience itself will tie them in conscience only to themselves; that is, to avoid those temporal penalties, which the law punisheth disobeying the ordinary with. In the mean time the Fanatics are owned by them upon all occasions: and not only the schism of the Congregations is passed over for a weakness of tender consciences; but that damnable error of assurance of salvation without assurance of Christianity, the fry that hath spawned all the congregations of enthusiasts and fanatics, must go for a frailty of “the godly” in professing the true consequence of common principles. And seeing all severity of penalties, which may restrain the license of such conventicles, must needs insinuate an invitation of returning to communion with the Church, for those who would avoid them; it is much to be considered, that they, who shall return without disowning their schism (which is of itself always notorious), or the perverse doctrines, which have been notoriously owned for the ground of it, do manifestly bring with them their profession into the Church. For, returning only that they may avoid the temporal penalties which it inferreth, they are at liberty, in point of reputation, as well as of conscience, to practise the maxim which Machiavel teacheth,—to make themselves of that party which they intend to overthrow,—as not having engaged with the

* See above, c. xix. § 6, and references in note there; and below in The Plea of Weakness &c. Discussed and Answered.

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Yet are we not therefore chargeable with schism by the Church of Rome.

§ 3. In the mean time, the reason of the distance, which we hold with the Church of Rome, remains the same; and therefore the measure of it. The abuses, which created the necessity for parts of the Church to reform themselves without the whole, remain the same. Only we are left without hope of amendment, seeing the Council of Trent received without it. So no terms of reconciliation, but those of conquest; which how should this Church and kingdom be obliged to accept of, to the betraying of all the souls, which must needs perish by those abuses? And therefore, allowing

^a See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ix. § 19, 20, c. x. § 30, sq.; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xix. § 1, sq.: Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 3, 17: and Bingham, XVI. i. 11, ii. 10.

^b In some cases, not without rebaptizing; see Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 19, 20; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xix. § 6: in none, without acknowledgment of their error; see Bingham, XIX. ii. 9.

^c See above, in the Letter concerning

the Present State of Religion &c., § 5. note p.—There were however exceptions to this under peculiar circumstances; e. g., in the reconciling of the Meletians, and of the Donatists: for which see Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 62. notes l, m; Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 41, and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 32. notes o—q; Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 5. note h, § 17. note g.—See also Bingham, IV. iii. 12, and vii. 7, 8.

the due value of that sin which schism signifieth in the party that causeth it, we shall not need to fear the charge of it, though both parties are visibly in the state of it. For the unity of the Church being next in consideration and weight to the substance of Christianity, which the being of the Church presupposeth; the faith, which only justifieth, is seen in making good that profession, which entitleth us to be members of the Church. But that charity, whereby that faith is brought into effect, is seen in the first place in maintaining the unity thereof; which a private Christian maintaineth only by continuing a member of it. So a Christian, as a Christian, fails of his salvation by failing of that, which
 389 a Christian professeth as a Christian. But a Christian, as a member of the Church, fails of his salvation by failing of that, which a Christian professeth as a member of the Church, namely, by forsaking the unity of the Church. But a man cannot seem to forsake the unity of the Church by pursuing the integrity of that Christianity, upon which it is founded. If the corruption thereof be so great, as may seem to render the communion thereof ineffectual to the salvation of them that use it; it will be charity to join for the restoring of it to so good an effect, though a breach succeed by the misunderstanding of those, who refuse to join for that purpose. Though divers mistakes be committed in a work of so great weight and consequence; the want of charity will lie on that side, which shall refuse that reason, which had it condescended to, those mistakes might have been redressed. How much more, when there is no other choice left, but either to continue at the distance under which we were born, or to give ourselves up to the will of those, who, not having given satisfaction in the trust which they undertake, condescend to no terms of better assurance for the future.

§ 4. And, truly, though the sin of schism hinder salvation more than any other sin, because it involveth the body of the Church, and so hindereth the salvation of more; yet is there no cause to think, that all, who are involved in the state of schism, are involved in the sin of it. The less cause there is for it, the greater breach of charity by it. Therefore the greater, the more visible, the causes are of that change which occasions it, the less is to be imputed to them that fol-

What schism destroyeth the salvation of what persons; by instances of the most notable schisms.

C H A P. low such causes; especially to private Christians, when such
XXV. causes are as visible on the one side, as the interest of each man's salvation is visible to the contrary on the other side. Besides, I said afore^d, that schism in the Church is the same with civil war in the state of the world. Now though war cannot be just on both sides for the heads and causes of it; yet for those, that follow their heads in causes too difficult for private persons to judge, it will be no guilt of blood to follow that authority which appears to them visible. Which if it be true, as it is evidently reasonable, there will no question remain, that there may be salvation on both sides of a schism. The schisms of the Novatians, Montanists, Donatists, Meletians, and perhaps divers others, were grounded upon 190 such causes, as the unity of the Church did no less visibly outweigh, than the consent thereof to the contrary was visible^e. Notwithstanding, so long as the faith remained entire (as it doth not appear, that they disbelieved from their beginning any thing necessary for the salvation of all to be believed), and the offices of God's service were ministered by them according to the order of the Church, as not differing about any of them^f; I should be as loth to condemn all the partizans, as to excuse the causes of them, to or from eternal death. How much more in the schisms of the Luciferians^g, of that at Antiochia between Meletius and Paulinus^h, of that between Rome and Constantinople in the cause of Acaciusⁱ, and perhaps in others; in which there was only breach of communion upon some discontent in the governing of matters in the Church, without either difference of faith or in the offices of God's service. I confess, Pope Gelasius, *De Vinculo Anathematis*^j, in the cause of Acacius, takes it for

^d Above, c. ii. § 6; and see also Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 36, 37.

^e See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 22—25; and Review of it, c. i. § 31, 32; Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ix. § 12—18, c. xxiv. § 13; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 2, 3, c. xix. § 5; for the Novatians and Montanists:—and Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 40, 41; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 3, c. xix. § 5, 14; and above, c. ii. § 6; for the Donatists and Meletians:—and see also above, c. vi. § 9;

and Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxiii. § 6, 9, and Conclusion, § 52.

^f See above, c. vi. § 9. note x.

^g See *ibid.* note y: and Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. iv. § 4. note u.

^h See *ibid.* note z: and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 34, 35.

ⁱ E. g. "Quod sedes apostolica non consensit, nec imperator imposuit nec Anatolius usurpavit. Totumque (ut dictum est) in sedis apostolicæ positum

granted all along, that the want of communion with the Church of Rome rendered all liable to that curse, which Christians, by failing of the duty of Christians, either as Christians or as members of the Church, do incur upon the sentence of the Church. But he, who admitteth that constitution of the Church which I maintain, will not easily admit the sentence of a part (suppose all the west engaged in the act of the Church of Rome) able to damn all the Christians of the east, that adhered only to the successors of Acacius; not being able to redress his miscarriage, which his successors themselves owned not. Rather is the Church of Rome to answer God for the souls, that miscarried by maintaining the breach open beyond that which the good of Christendom required. Nay, I cannot condemn the opinion of those, who allow a possibility of salvation in the sects of the Nestorians^l in the east, and the Jacobites^k in the south; notwithstanding that they stand divided from the Church upon occasion of the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, which it embraceth. For it is possible, that they may understand the terms of their distance in such a sense, as may very well stand with the decrees of those councils: so that, the difference being occasioned by personal discontents, though it were mortal to those who brought it to pass, yet
 101 may it not be so to those that know not how to help it; if it occasion not the want of means necessary to salvation otherwise. But this is not to say, that these parties are not bound to concur to the visible unity of God's Church by communion in the offices of His service. Should they profess themselves free from an obligation concerning all Christians as members of the Church; I would not excuse those, that take upon them to continue such breaches, because they know not that which they should know. But those that are

est potestate. Ita quod firmavit in synodo sedes apostolica, hoc robur obtinuit: quod refutavit, habere non potuit firmitatem; et sola rescindit, quod præter ordinem congregatio synodica putaverat usurpandum, non promulgatrix iteratæ sententiæ, sed cum apostolica sede veteris executrix." *Gelasius, De Anath. Vinc.: ap. Labb., Conc., tom. iv. p. 1231. A, B.*

^l See above, c. vi. § 10. notes h, i;

and Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. v. — See also Bramhall, *Schism Guarded*, sect. x. Works, Pt. i. Disc. iv. vol. ii. pp. 629—631, and quotations there made; and Field, *Of the Ch.*, Bk. iii. cc. 1, sq., pp. 50, sq.

^k See above, c. vi. § 10. note k; and Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. v.; and Bramhall and Field as in last note.

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only sufferers in such breaches, I should not exclude from the hope of salvation upon that account; not wanting otherwise that which is necessary to the salvation of all Christians, which the divisions of the Church must needs render very difficult for the greatest part to obtain. This I would say much more of the schism between the Greek and Latin Church: being well assured, that there is no such defect in the faith of the Greek Church, as may warrant the Latin Church to sentence them for heretics; and as for schism, that the Latin Church, by undertaking more than one part of the Church can undertake without the consent of the other in matters of common concernment, hath the greater hand in it; whatsoever the truth be of the disputes that occasion it. And therefore it is much to be lamented, that the see of Rome should pursue no other terms of reuniting those distressed and persecuted Churches unto itself, but those of absolute submission to the dictates thereof without why or wherefore: not being afraid to raise them persecution by unbelievers, that they may be necessitated to that submission, which will increase their persecution from their sovereigns. Seeing then, that we have so many instances of schisms, which exclude not the hope of salvation; especially for those that are sufferers in them, that is, for private Christians: how far ought we to be from yielding to the unreasonable demands of the missionaries, charging the schism upon the Reformation, whereof the abuses which they maintain are the only true cause. For though it was always and still is a very difficult thing to see the true point of reformation, so as to bring those, that feel the abuses, to consent in it; yet, the abuses being both visible and palpable, the faults committed by the mistaking of it will be imputable to those that will condescend to no reason, as well as to those, who proceed to 192 a change without due information in the ground and measure of it. And, therefore, upon that account there can be no bar to the salvation of private Christians, that are no actors but sufferers in such breaches; though the misunderstanding of the due ground and measure of the difference must needs occasion the loss of infinite souls, by hindering them of the means that is truly necessary for the salvation of Christians.

§ 5. This is that which I said afore¹—that schism, as war, may be unjust on both sides;—the charge of which injustice; as it will lie upon those which are actors in it and causes of it, having power to abate it and not employing the same to so good a purpose, so it leaves a possibility of salvation for both sides. And that is no more than hath been said from the beginning of our Reformation, by all that allow the Church of Rome a true Church. But that difficulty of attaining salvation on both sides, which the schism inflameth, will be imputable to those, that maintain the extremes, taking offence at the due ground and terms of composing it. And this, I confess, creates a question upon that, which remains for our ecclesiastical laws to redress. For if they enforce not the due use of the power of the keys, so great a part of the conduct of Christian souls to salvation; and [such] that it is not to be enforced without restoring discipline in the clergy: how shall it be visible, that a simple papist sins in being a recusant? how shall he, that invites him to be no recusant, assure him of means of salvation visibly sufficient? how shall the state be enabled to inflict upon him the legal penalties of his recusancy upon other crimes? For it is manifest, that from those, whom the civil law of the land qualifies for the cure of souls without any ground of pretence that they do concur to the true intent of the Church in ministering the power of the keys, there is not the least appearance for any hope of that help which the office professeth^m. Indeed, alleging on the other side those abuses in private penance, that neglect of public penance, which the Church of Rome allowethⁿ, we allege a sufficient reason for a change without the authority of it; and a possibility of salvation, notwithstanding a defect in redressing the same. But this possibility will consist in the more than ordinary diligence of private Christians: considering the snares, which division multiplieth; and labouring to supply themselves in that, wherein the public order of the Church, provided by God to supply them of it, faileth of the effect which God intendeth. A consideration, which, though the late distrac-

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Difficulty of salvation on both sides, the reformation remaining imperfect.

¹ Above, c. ii. § 6.

^m See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 77. note x; Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxiii. § 9. note i; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch.,

c. ix. § 2, 15; and Conclusion, § 56. note a.

ⁿ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xi.

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An instance hereof in the cure of souls departing, according to the order in force.

§ 6. It will be worth the while to instance this in the cure of souls departing this life, according to the order in force. In the beginning of Christianity, some sins were questionable, in some parts of the Church, whether curable by the keys of the Church or not^o. The schism of Novatianus pretended for the ground of it the re-admitting of apostates^p; as that of Montanus, in part, the re-admitting of adulterers^q. But before all were come to agreement in it, the same severity had been practised in the Church^r without schism. They left such persons to God's mercy; they engaged not the Church in warranting them pardon. The Council of Nicæa seems to have put an end to all difformity in the case^s. There is no mention of denying the eucharist upon the bed of death after that: but supposing public sinners admitted to public penance, thereby to give proof of the sincerity of their repentance; and binding them over to the remainder of their penance, escaping death^t. Some canons go so low, as to release sin without revealing it, upon condition of undergoing the penance it shall require, being revealed, in case he survive^u. The Church of Rome chargeth all priests to absolve all at the point of death, which it alloweth not all to do otherwise^v. As for the reservation of penance; they, who require penance, not to qualify for pardon, but to satisfy the debt of temporal pain that remains after pardon, I suppose do upon that account turn it over to purgatory. But they, from whom, as I said afore, there is no appearance for any hope of that help, which the keys of the Church ministered according to the order of the Church do hold forth; what

^o See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 19—28; Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ix. § 12—18; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 2, sq.: and Bingham, XVIII. iv. 4—6.

^p See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 21; Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ix. § 18; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 5.

^q See *ibid*.

^r See *ibid*.

^s See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 22. note d.

^t See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxiii. § 9. notes o—a; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x.

§ 10—14.

^u This seems implied in the canon of the 4th Council of Carthage (A.D. 398), quoted above in Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 8. note z. And see Morinus, De Pœnit., lib. x. cc. 4, sq. pp. 724. 2. C, sq.

^v "In . . . Ecclesia Dei custoditum semper fuit, ut nulla sit reservatio in articulo mortis: atque ideo omnes sacerdotes quoslibet pœnitentes a quibusvis peccatis et censuris absolvere possint." Conc. Trid., Sess. xiv. Can. de Sacram. Pœnitentiæ, c. vii. De Casuum Reservatione; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xiv. p. 820. C.

can we expect of them towards the preparing of him, that lies on the bed of sickness, for his passage? For the comfort, which all pretend to give in that estate, may be imagined to consist in assuring salvation to all, that once were assured of it; to all, that think themselves sure of it by believing it, not
 194 by their Christianity; without which there is no assurance of it. If men be not so much fanatics, perhaps he assureth them of pardon trusting in the merits of Christ for it. Let him see his sin; let him renounce his own merits; let him trust in the merits of Christ, which he is sure are of more virtue and value than his sin: and the business is done. Not considering what the Gospel requireth to give a man interest in the merits of Christ; what it requireth of him, who shall have forfeited that interest by grievous sin; what he hath done for the mortifying of that concupiscence, for the appeasing of that wrath of God, for the preventing of that sin for the future, whereby he may formerly have committed that forfeiture. Certainly it is no good sign in this case, that our people are so willing to have the minister pray by them, but so unwilling to hear of the communion, because they know it requires them to take account of themselves. Nay, it is odds, that it is condescended to at the warning of the curate; who must needs let slip the authority of his office, in requiring account of him that expects comfort from him, by offering all that he is able to give, before the account is tendered. In the mean time, how shall he, who prays only by the sick, and leaves him so, as prepared for his passage,—who absolves him of all sin, without being satisfied, that he hath mortified, that he will mortify any, in case he survive,—rest satisfied, that he hath done his office, and not dismissed his patient insufficiently prepared for so terrible a voyage? Especially, being satisfied, that there are two keys in the Church as to Christians: that it is to loose no sin but that which is bound afore; loosing him that appears to be alive, because it bound him when he appeared to be dead afore: that the blessing of the Church, the communion of the eucharist, and the burial of Christians, ought to signify some reasonable presumption in the Church, that they depart in God's peace, to whom it alloweth the same. But where is that presumption, when he, that is convicted of a capital crime, shall be able to

CHAP. demand the communion of his curate without further satisfaction; and perhaps have his action of the case against him, if he refuse it? The curate indeed stands excused by the law as to his superiors and to the Church. But what will the law, what will the Church, what will the curate, say for themselves at the great judgment of God; if it appear, that a soul perishes by this defect in the law, according to the which he ministers his office? And a recusant in this case may say with truth, that those abuses, which I have taxed the Church of Rome for allowing, it commandeth not: that he may possibly meet with one, that is not tainted with those novelties of doctrine, but will deal faithfully with his soul in that exigent: and therefore may hope, that he sinneth not in continuing a recusant, out of hope for that help in this point, which he cannot expect by conforming: and therefore that, his sin not being visible to him in this point, the penalties of recusancy at least in this regard are inflicted without cause.

A supplication for a full debate of all matters in difference.

§ 7. Had I not proceeded thus far in setting forth, what the justifying of the reformation which we profess will require, I had not set forth the ground of that most humble supplication, which I advance upon it: together with a most earnest adjuration (if it be lawful for inferiors in any case possible to adjure their superiors) to and of all estates, whom the forming of the laws of religion in this kingdom may any way concern,—by the bowels of God's mercies in Christ, by the bitter passion of His cross, by the merit of His sufferings, by that hope of salvation which they furnish all Christians with, and if the good of this world be of any consideration after so high concerns, by the hope of his Majesty's long and prosperous reign over us, by the blessing of his return, by the peace which we enjoy through the same,—not to think the restoring of religion by the laws of this kingdom the work of one sitting of parliament or synod; not to think, that a work of that consequence and difficulty can be concluded and made up by any laws, that may presently be provided by any human wisdom; not to think the laws presently provided so fixed for eternity, that further endeavours for the perfecting of so great a work should be thought derogatory to the authority of law; in fine, according to that which I

said in the beginning, to think the laws, that may presently be provided, ambulatory and provisional^x, till all possible means shall have been tried to put so great a work beyond all imputation of any visible offence; not thinking any pains
 196 a burden, that may shew reasonable hope of a good issue to so high a purpose. For as there is just cause to think, that there remains very much means to be employed with such a hope; so the time now seems proper, now that there is appearance of the restoring of the ecclesiastical laws of this land, for employing the same. For the means to be employed will consist in a just and full debate of reason, upon principles agreed upon between the parties, tending to reduce them unto agreement in such things as remain in difference. This debate may well seem dangerous to peace, not supposing any authority to govern it within the due bounds and to direct it unto the due purpose. But supposing, as we must needs suppose, all parties liable to that authority which the law of the land authorizes, because that is acknowledged by all parties: neither can the secular power allow those, whom it owns for governors of the Church, less than to govern and direct all dispute, tending to satisfy all that question the ecclesiastical law of the kingdom; nor need they desire more for a reasonable ground of hope for good success. There can be no ground to expect, that they, who openly profess the laws of religion to be the sins of them that make them^y, can think their duties discharged to God by being instrumental in the executing of them to the intent of them that make them. They must needs think themselves bound in conscience to deprave and to pervert the effect of them to their own intent, in an infinity of particulars, which no diligence of government can prevent or meet with. But when upon full and just debate it shall appear, that a change is refused them, merely because they can shew

^x Above, c. iii. § 5.

^y So argued the Presbyterians at the time of the Savoy Conference: see e. g. the Petition for Peace, p. 5. 4to. 1661; alleging, that "they dare not consent to that which they judge to be an usurpation of the kingly power of Christ, and an accusation of His laws as insufficient," nor "bee guilty of addition to, or diminution of, His worship, or of worshipping Him after any

other law than that by which they must bee judged, or such as is merely subordinate to that:" and lower down they expressly restrict the province of human laws on the subject, to the enforcing of "things in themselves necessary or commanded by God."—To the same purpose indeed is Cartwright's paradox, that all acts are forbidden, which Scripture does not in terms command: see Hooker, E. P., 11.

C H A P. XXV. no sufficient reason for it upon those grounds, which the common Christianity obliges the parties to acknowledge, condescending to all that they can shew such reason for; how can it be imagined, that any prejudice or engagement, that may be so honourably quitted, will prevail above God and their country to a defiance of them, that "carry not the sword in vain?"

[Rom.
xiii. 4.]

The ground
of resolu-
tion, the
being of
the catho-
lic Church,
the first
and chief
point of
the debate.

§ 8. I confess I can hope for no good end of any such dispute, without supposing that sense of the article concerning "one catholic Church," which hath carried me through this discourse, for the principle, upon which all matter in debate is to be tried. Nor can I take it for a supposition, which they do admit of themselves. But I suppose first, that, the 197 misunderstanding of that which it demandeth being once cleared, the truth of it will be so evident, by that reason which must satisfy for the truth of the common Christianity, that all shall be convinced of it by that which they allege for themselves, as being the consequence of their own allegations. Then I suppose further, that it is the first point to be tried; as that, which in effect contains more than half the trial of all the rest: which, had it been agreed upon, might have prevented all breaches; and, without agreeing upon it, leaves all dispute in religion endless, and without hope of conviction or satisfaction on this side or on that. It is not indeed to be expected, that recusants will ever become a party to such an action; though no way concerned in conscience not to own those, whom their sovereign appointeth, for governors of such a debate. Not because there would be any appearance, that thereby they should own them for their superiors; but because we find them not disposed to own the obligation of their Christianity, requiring them to concur to it upon those terms, to be more ancient than any obligation of their spiritual superiors to the contrary. For if the unity of the Church take place before the authority of any superiors, provided for the maintenance of it, then is every Christian obliged to the due ground and terms of it before the authority of superiors; and therefore cannot refuse them, tendered by a part, though refused by a greater part; and therefore cannot refuse that trial, which is the due means to bring them to light, though his superiors refuse it. And, therefore, their refusal can be no bar to the effect of the

action, once grounded upon a supposition enforcing the trial by the Scriptures expounded by the consent of the Church ; that is, within those bounds, wherein the agreement thereof may appear. For the settling of those terms, upon which the Fanatics are either to be disowned by the Presbyterians, or owned by this Church ; as it must proceed upon that supposition, so it will render their recusancy, as concerning all the consequence of that issue, visibly punishable, in those that refuse to give or take satisfaction upon so just terms. And the consequence of the same supposition, in bounding that which is questionable in the laws of this Church, to the justifying of the reformation which it pretendeth, will leave it without excuse in other matters. For the bounds of that distance, which we are to hold with the Church of Rome, being the subject of distance among ourselves ; as it is not possible to determine them but upon that supposition, so they will oblige all Christians to that penalty, which the laws of a Christian kingdom are able to inflict upon those that disobey them, being made by virtue of the common Christianity. As for myself, it shall be a great pleasure to me to compromise all, that I have said either of the faith or laws of the Church, to the issue of such a trial. For there is no reason, why I should think it a disparagement to my age, not to have seen the due consequence of such a principle in so many matters of so doubtful dispute, better than such a number of divines on either side, as must be employed in such a debate, can make it to appear to those, whose authority must conduct and govern it. That one principle remaining firm (which this Church can never disown, if it 'weigh' always 'by the same weights' and 'mete by the same measures'), it shall be much pleasure to me to see any mistake of mine in the consequence of it brought to light ; having a good hope to God, that so innocent an inquiry, upon so just a principle, in a cause so difficult and so concerning, will serve to excuse any such mistake in His presence. The same will serve to difference the liberty, which I use in publishing this, from the licentiousness of those, who band themselves against the laws of their country (they are sure) ; without those terms for submission to them, upon which themselves cannot deny that they shall be the laws of God's Church in

C H A P. XXV. it: especially, seeing I compromise as many hours of study, as much solicitude of thought, as due a course of inquiry into the grounds of the matter in question, as the most of my quality can have employed to the like purpose since the beginning of our troubles; and seeing this liberty must be my plea at the great judgment of God for any thing, wherein I may have ministered mine office according to that measure, which those laws will enforce, in which the best of my own private judgment requires an amendment.

The consequence of the same in uniting the reformed Churches.

§ 9. And the acknowledgment of this principle puts an end to another motion, concerning the uniting of all reformed Churches, of all that are called Protestants, against the Church of Rome; whether this trial proposed come to an issue or not. For it is manifest, that before the issue of such a trial, with them as among ourselves, all union with them upon account of religion is but mutual toleration; providing that no breach succeed, or that none be made wider than presently it is, by the disclaiming of communion between the parties. And that is to be referred to the wisdom of superiors; the terms, which we ourselves ought to insist upon, being secured by the express profession of that principle, whereof they are all but the consequences. We are to stand to Luther's appeal, to a council that should judge by the Scriptures alone^a; limiting the interpretation of the Scriptures, as the rule to judge by, to the consent of the Church, as the evidence for the bounds of it. Had this limitation been expressed in their proceedings at home (as it cannot be said ever to have been disclaimed), [or] in their proceedings abroad with Calvinists^a: there had been sufficient ground for preventing, not only the particular breach between them, but the general breach with the Church of Rome; there had been no cause, why both parties of Reformed and Catholic might not have continued one Church, both reformed and catholic. Since so great distances are come to pass; as it is in vain to expect an union without agreeing first upon the principle of it, so it will not be safe to maintain communion

^a See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ii. § 1, c. xxix. § 17.

^a Whoever edited this tract in 1680, corrected the above sentence by enlarging the parenthesis to include the

words from "as it cannot," to "Calvinists." The sense of the passage, and Thorndike's usual style, shew, that the insertion of the word "or" expresses what he really intended.

upon toleration of differences on foot, without protestation for that principle, which must maintain our own Christianity; leaving them to themselves and to God in all matters of difference. If this union be demanded upon the account of common defence against the powers which own the Church of Rome (which seems to be the intent of those, that would try the cause of religion by the sword); the same protestation will bear out all Christian powers in point of conscience, the interest of their good and the good of their subjects being provided for by their wisdom. For, the matters in difference being acknowledged by securing the principle upon which they are to be decided, it will always be in their power to join for the maintenance of those laws, whereby the Reformation is settled in their respective sovereignties; without undertaking for the justice of any laws but those, which each sovereignty is to answer for, because it makes them. And
 200 the effect of this reservation will be of great consequence to the retaining of that Christianity which is left us. For this limitation will exclude all power of joining for the maintenance of subjects in attempting the reformation of religion, or the maintenance of the same by force against the will of their sovereigns: the oversight of which provision in actions of state, imputed to the supposition of religion, when they might as well have been entitled to causes of civil right, hath had a very visible hand in the troubles which we have seen; and is the more carefully to be avoided for the future, because the pretence is upon all occasions so studiously advanced by those, that have been active in the same.

§ 10. I have maintained the lawfulness of having images in churches. Now, considering the distance between "lawful" and "necessary," I find it not amiss to declare by this instance, upon what terms the rule which I have proposed,—
 of reducing all customs of this Church to that estate, in which we find them practised during the primitive times of the catholic Church,—may be serviceable to the purpose of unity amongst ourselves. For there is so little mention of images in churches during near four hundred years after Christ, for increase of devotion, for instruction of the unlearned, or for the ornament of churches^b; that it may well be demanded,

An instance in the having of images in churches.

^b See above, c. xix. § 4, 5; and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 40.

CHAP. XXV. as for the consequence of that rule, that the use of them (though lawful) may be surceased in churches. And accordingly I do acknowledge, that, comparing the benefit reasonably to be expected from the use of them, with the abuse, to which experience hath discovered them to be subject, I see no cause why the use of them might not be forborne; upon such a reason, as might be effectual to unite us in a rule bounding the reformation, which we profess, upon the ground of the common Christianity in all particulars. The reason is, because the having of them is not a necessary mean to that instruction or devotion, which is proposed for the end of them; and, on the other side, is acknowledged by all the Reformation to have been the occasion of abuse, the preventing whereof will require that care and diligence which the forbearing of them will spare. But seeing it hath appeared no breach upon Christianity to have them in churches; and that the abuse, which may reasonably be apprehended by having them to the purposes specified, is of no consequence in comparison with that benefit, which the unity of 201 the Church procureth: it will never be lawful to enjoin this forbearance, without declaring, that it signifieth not, that they are held unlawful, or that we hold ourselves bound to depart from unity with the Church rather than endure them. For seeing the Lutherans do use them in a great measure for the reasons specified^c; if the uniting of us with the rest of the Reformation, upon the due ground and terms hitherto required, should depend upon a reasonable compliance in that particular, it is manifest, that it would be a sufficient reason to oblige us to the same: and therefore much more, if a general reunion with the Church of Rome should come to depend upon such a compliance. The consequence of this instance may be the means to inform those that are capable, what the reason of unity may oblige us to abate of that, which we take to be for the best in matters of less consequence; that the unvaluable benefit of it may be obtained in this estate, when the protection of sovereign powers renders

^c "Lutherus," says Chemnitz (Exam. Conc. Trid., P. iii. De Imagin., p. 14. a), "juxta regulam Scripturæ, imagines, repræsentantes veras atque utiles historias, inter adiaphora posuit, quæ ornatus, inmemoriæ, sive historiæ

gratia, sine superstitione haberi possint; et tamen, si non habeantur, religioni et pietati nihil decedat: cultum vero imaginum verbo Dei prohibitum et damnatum esse ostendit."

the unity of the Church so necessary, so effectual, to the salvation of all. For, on the other side, the interruption of it is that, which renders that same salvation questionable: by the difficulty, which it createth, of observing the duty of a Christian as a Christian; by the impossibility rather than the difficulty, which it procureth, of observing the duty of a Christian as a member of the Church; which the breach of unity alloweth not due conduct to understand.

§ 11. To fortify the necessity of the proposition that I make, I will here propose an objection, in behalf of the Church of Rome, against the validity of our ordinations; which I have always taken to have weight and difficulty in it, though others do not seem to value it. For the answering of this objection will help to justify the offence to be taken, and not given, that may come by the liberty which here I use. The succession of our bishops deriveth itself by ordination of three bishops^d, which the canon of the apostles^e authorizeth; but the canon of Nicæa^f requireth farther the consent of the bishops of each province. Whereby it appeareth, that ordination by two or three bishops is allowed by the canon of the apostles upon presumption, that the suffragans of each province concur in allowing the act of their fellows. Which presumption ceaseth in our case: because it is manifest, that the greatest part of the suffragans did not consent to the consecration of our bishops, but declared against it^g; being therefore displaced by the power of the sword, deciding for the lesser part against the greater; which the rule of the Church enableth not to do. Whereupon it is argued, that the secular power was not able to authorize our Reformation, as patron of the Church and the canons of it. To fortify the objection, I allege the case of Novatianus, who was consecrated bishop of Rome by three bishops; and yet his consecration was schismatical, because against Cornelius, consecrated by sixteen^h. So the ordination of Majorinus,

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An objection for the Church of Rome answered.

^d See Bramhall, Consecration of Protestant Bishops Justified, Works, Pt. i. Disc. v. vol. iii. pp. 21, sq. :—Mason, Vindic. Eccl. Anglic., second and Latin edition, Lond. 1625 :—Coutayer, Dissertation sur les Ordres Angl., and Défense de la Dissertation : &c.

^e Quoted in Epilogue, Bk. III. Of

the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 54. note n.

^f Quoted *ibid.* note m.

^g See Bramhall as just quoted, and the notes to his Discourse, p. 232 : and Mason, as just quoted, lib. iii.

^h See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. viii. § 9.

CHAP. that was first consecrated bishop of Carthage against Cæcilianus for a head to the schism of the Donatists¹, was
XXV. justly counted schismatical, though it was made by a number more than sufficient of bishops duly ordained: which, I doubt not, may be found in other schisms. I answer, that the Novatians had nothing to charge the Church with, but the readmitting of those, that had fallen away in time of persecution, upon penance: the Donatists nothing, but that they who had ordained Cæcilianus were apostates; though they were proved to be otherwise by several trials, which they would never rest satisfied with¹. As for all the rest: though both sects followed the faith and the orders of the catholic Church, yet they both rebaptized all those whom they reduced to themselves from the communion of it; as counting all the Church apostates for communicating with those, whom they counted apostates. Is this our case? Do we find no fault with the doctrine or with the laws of the Church of Rome; wherein sovereigns might find themselves bound to right both themselves and their subjects, notwithstanding the dissent of the Church of Rome? For though the rule of succession by ordination of bishops bear them not out in it; though the unity of the Church regularly depend upon the force of that rule: yet seeing the unity of the Church fails of the end for which God ordaineth it, unless it preserve the Christianity, which it supposeth, entire, as well in the public service of God as in the profession and conversation of Christians; it ought not to be taken for a departure from that unity, that it is restored without that authority, which 203 regularly is provided to preserve it. For the consent of all other estates of the kingdom in that ground and upon those terms, which are to take place before the authority of those that dissent, will abundantly justify the validity of those ordinations, which declare an intent of ministering the office according to the due ground and terms which they suppose. And, therefore, it will not be so visible, when that ground and those terms are not so visible. And upon these terms are the Christian people of this kingdom bound to own and

¹ See above, c. ii. § 8: and Dupin's Hist. Donatist., pp. 3, 4: from Optatus, De Schism. Donatist., lib. i. cc. 16, 19. pp. 16, 19.

¹ See Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 5, 17: and above, c. ii. § 9.

to authorize them in their orders, notwithstanding that the greater part of the suffragans refused them their concurrence to the same. And if the change, that is made, be such in matters of greatest weight; the case will be the same, though it fail of the rule, in some matters of less consequence.

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§ 12. And upon these terms I admit the plea of the Reformation;—that succession of doctrine is of more consequence than succession of persons^k:—not allowing their mistake in thinking the order of bishops the supporters of antichrist. For it is evident to him, that will use his five senses, that the greatness of the pope, for which they will have him to be antichrist, stands as well by usurping upon the bishops as upon the crown^l. And therefore it was a spice of madness in our Puritans, to proceed upon their example to ordination without and against their bishops, either by presbyters, or by congregations. Whereas they, who could not obtain ordination from bishops because they professed the Reformation, might more justly think themselves tied to proceed: neglecting that, which they could not have; but trusting in the mercy of God, that, seeing the abuses of the Church were gross and visible and palpable, “the zeal of” God’s “house,”

That which excuseth the reformed Churches, extendeth not to our schismatics.

which carried men to reform them before they were agreed upon all that was to be restored instead of them, renders the Reformation, imperfect as it is, effectual to salvation, notwithstanding that they may have failed in matters of less consequence^m. Especially, considering, that particular Christians, who are not able to judge of the public concerns of the Church, may be able to see the abuses thereof, and to reform their own lives and conversations by that conduct, which an imperfect reformation may furnish. Not doubt-

[Psal. lxi. 9.]

204 ing in the mean time, that this imperfection is the loss of an innumerable number of souls, as well as the abuses of the Church of Rome are: and therefore thinking myself tied to say so, that all public persons, of what quality soever, in Church or commonwealth, in all the several quarters of

^k See e.g. Jewel, as quoted in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 33. note m.

^l See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 65.

^m See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xiv. § 3; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 56—62; Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 41—47.

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XXV. concerns their discharge at the day of judgment, that the Reformation be reduced to that rule and that measure in every point, which the ground and reason of reformation evidenceth. For then shall we not need to apprehend any nullity upon unavoidable neglect of canonical proceeding; when the restoring of Christianity (which all canons presuppose, and tend to maintain) justifieth the defect of it in one, for obtaining the end of it in all, acts of the Church. And this would be the best ground for hope, if yet there be any hope left, to propagate it through all Christendom, by the consent of the see of Rome, to the reuniting of the Church upon such terms as that ground and reason requireth.

THE
TRUE PRINCIPLE OF COMPREHENSION :
OR A
PETITION AGAINST THE PRESBYTERIAN REQUEST
FOR A COMPREHENSIVE ACT
IN 1667.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

[THE following account of ecclesiastical matters after the passing of the Act of Uniformity will serve to explain the drift and purpose of this and the following tract, both now first printed from MSS. preserved in the Chapter library at Westminster. [Ecclesiastical matters, 1662-7.]

Some short time elapsed after the division consequent upon that Act, before the Non-conformists so far recovered themselves as to make any formal attempt to better their position. The desire of the king, however, arising partly from good nature and love of ease and safety, partly from his own secret change of religion, to forward any scheme of toleration which would include Romanists,—the obvious necessity that any fair and practical scheme should include Romanists, as well as other dissenters from the established law,—and, on the other hand, the fixed resolution of the Non-conformists generally speaking to forego toleration altogether, rather than accept it with such a condition attached,—these and similar considerations at once suggested and rendered fruitless successive efforts at an arrangement. In the middle of the year 1663 (to use Baxter's words in his *Life of Himself*, edited by Sylvester, Pt. ii. p. 433), "the talk of liberty to the silenced ministers was revived again; . . . and it was talkt about, that they (the parliament) were resolved to grant" to them "either an Indulgence (by way of dispensation), or a Comprehension by some additional Act, taking in all that could conform in some particular points. The sectarians," by which term Baxter designates "all that were for liberty of sects and for separated Churches," "were for the way of Indulgence." Baxter himself urged the union of Comprehension with Indulgence. But the parliament put an end to the whole scheme by passing the Act against Conventicles "on the last day of June, 1663." [Design of comprehension in 1663.]

Nothing further was attempted until the year 1667, when the tottering power, and at the close of the year the fall and exile, of Lord Clarendon, together with the known wishes and feelings of the king himself, gave new hopes to the Non-conformists. Accordingly, in that year, two successive efforts were designed by the Presbyterian body, to procure the sanction of parliament to a carefully prepared scheme, of Comprehension for themselves, of Indulgence for the Independents and other more organized and less fanatical sectaries. The first attempt was planned in the autumn of 1667, preparatory to the session of parliament which was to commence Oct. 10 of that year. And upon the failure of this, a renewed [Similar designs in 1667-8.]

attempt of the same kind was projected for the next session of the parliament, which was to commence Feb. 6, 1667. The king was favourable. The duke of Buckingham, out of opposition to Clarendon, was active for them. But partly perhaps from the jealousy of the houses of parliament respecting the exercise of the king's dispensing power (as was the case two or three years afterwards), partly from the anger excited there by the rebellious and factious proceedings of some of the Non-conformists, the panic fear of Romanism not having yet overpowered the strong remembrance of the Rebellion, the scheme was nipped in the bud by a declaration of the house of commons; the proposition intended was never made, and the whole plan finally dropped.

[Comprehensive bill of October 1667.]

An account of the former of these intended attempts is prefixed in MS. by Bp. Barlow to a collection of tracts relating to the subject now in the Bodleian Library. The bill intended to have been brought into the parliament in October 1667, called "the Comprehensive Bill," was (he says) "drawne up and prepared by Sir Robert Atkins^a and others:" but "was never printed nor brought into the house (though intended) in all that session of parliament which began Oct. 10, 1667, and ended a little before Christmas; nor did Colonel Birch^b (who was to bring it in, and once or twice offered at it in the house) dare to bring it in that session." Its contents were as follows (according to Bp. Barlow's copy, taken from MS., as it was never printed)—"That all ministers already ordained, whether under episcopall ordination or *presbyterian*, in the late times, and any other hereafter episcopally ordained, being above *the age of 23 years*, of good life and consideration, and able to answer and render to the ordinary an account of their faith in Latin, who shall within three months next after publication hereof, in the presence of the bishop of the diocese or the guardian of the spiritualities, wherein such persons now reside, declare their *assent and subscribe* to all the Articles of Religion, *which only concerne the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments*, mentioned in one Act of Parliament made in the 13th yeare of Queene Eliz. concerning reformation of disorders in the ministers of the Church^c, shall be and hereby are made capable to preach in any church or chappell within the realme of England and dominions thereof, to administer the sacraments according to the forme prescribed by the booke of Common Prayer now established, and to take upon them the cure of souls, and to enjoy any parsonage, vicarage, or other spirituall promotion, as fully to all intents and purposes, as if such persons had done all other things which are by law directed; soe as *by himselfe or any person being a deacon at least* common prayer be read in any such church or chappell, or so much thereof as is by law directed, before every sermon [that] shall be there preached. Provided none be denied the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, *though he doe not use the gesture of kneeling in the act of receiv-*

^a Sir R. Atkins was made one of the justices of the Common Pleas in 1671, and Lord Chief Baron by King William III. See Wood's *Faeti Oxon.*, vol. II. in an. 1668.

^b Colonel John Birch is repeatedly mentioned in Pepys' Memoirs. He was member

for Leominster and Penryn successively; and was the person employed to convey to Baxter the offer of a bishopric in 1663.

^c I. e. the XXXIX Articles, excepting articles 20, 24, 26.

ing. Nor any minister compelled to weare the surplice, or use the crosse in baptisme."—The italics indicate the points upon which the proposal turned: and it need only be added (in Barlow's words), that the devisers of the scheme, besides the other obvious clauses relating to presbyterian ordination and to ceremonies, "would have the word *consent* left out of the form of subscription, and say only they *assent*; would subscribe the *doctrine* (not discipline) of the Christian faith; would not be tyed to read the Common Prayer themselves, soe they procure one to doe it;" and, lastly, that "the oath of abjuration is by them laid aside."

The way was smoothed for this scheme by several pamphlets. The first and most formal was entitled *A Proposition for the Safety and Happiness of the King and Kingdom both in Church and State, and Prevention of the Common Enemy*, tendered to the consideration of his Majesty and the Parliament against the tenth of October, by a Lover of Sincerity and Peace (anonymous, 8vo. 1667, published in the beginning of August). This was answered by a Mr. Tomkyns, chaplain to Abp. Sheldon, in a pamphlet published Oct. 10. 1667, entitled *The Inconveniences of Toleration &c. &c.*; and was republished with a Reply to the Answer Oct. 27 of the same year. The dates are marked upon Bp. Barlow's copies of the tracts in the Bodleian Library. The pamphlet, however, which made the greatest noise, was written by one John Corbet⁴, a Nonconformist minister, residing at the time at Totteridge in Hertfordshire with Richard Baxter (Wood, Athen. Oxon. vol. iii. col. 1265), who preached his funeral sermon and bestows therein a high eulogy upon him. His publication was entitled, *A Discourse of the Religion of England*, asserting that Reformed Christianity settled in its due latitude is the Stability and Advancement of this Kingdom; and was published anonymously 4to. London 1667, before the month of October; in which month it was answered by Dr. Perrinchief, Prebendary of Westminster, in a tract entitled *A Discourse of Toleration &c.* It was followed by a *Second Discourse of the Religion of England, &c.* 4to. Lond. 1668, by the same writer; to which both Perrinchief again (as is conjectured by Barlow) replied in a tract called *Indulgence not Justified &c.*, and also an anonymous writer in a tract headed *Dolus an Virtus &c. &c.* All these tracts came out apparently in November 1667 (according to Barlow's notes upon them), although the printed date on the three is 1668.

Corbet's first pamphlet is that, to which Thorndike replies in the tract, here published under the title of *The True Principle of Comprehension*. Probably the fact, that his brother Prebendary, Perrinchief, had taken up the controversy, together with the decisive annihilation of the pro-

[Pamphlets in support of it, of which one by a Mr. Corbet.]

[To whom Thorndike replies.]

⁴ "Mr. John Corbet, sometime preacher in Gloucester, and after at Chichester, and after at a place in Hampshire (£200 per annum, which he left to keep the peace of his conscience), liveth privately and quietly, a man of extraordinary judgment, staidness, moderation, peaceable principles, and blameless life, a solid preacher, well-known by his writings (the Interest of England, the History of Gloucester War, Rushworth's Collections, which

were much of his composure)." Baxter, *Life of Himself*, ed. by Sylvester, Pt. iii. p. 98: in a list of ministers silenced by the Act of Uniformity. The same Corbet, then rector of Bramshot, published a book in two Parts in 1661, entitled *The Interest of England in matters of Religion*, to the same purpose with his later tracts of 1667 (White Kennet, Register, pp. 387, 692).

jected scheme itself by the parliament in the following spring, induced him to lay aside his work in its present unfinished * state.

[Second
scheme of
February
1667.]

Of the second scheme of the Presbyterians in February 1667 we have a full account in Baxter's *Life of Himself*, before quoted, Pt. iii. pp. 23, sq. (who, singular to say, makes no mention at all of the former plan); besides the memoranda of Barlow already referred to. The proposal came from Sir Orlando Bridgman and was supported by Sir Matthew Hale, then respectively Lord Keeper and Lord Chief Baron. And the earl of Manchester, the Lord Chamberlain, was also a firm friend of the Presbyterians. The negotiations were carried on by Baxter and Dr. Manton and Dr. Bates on the Presbyterian side, by Dr. Wilkins (later in the year made Bp. of Chester) and "his chaplain Mr. Burton" on that of the Church. It is alleged also by Burnet (*Hist. of His Own Time*, Bk. ii. vol. i. p. 449), that Tillotson and Stillingfleet were concerned in the project[†]. Great hopes were entertained of success. And Colonel Birch told Pepys a few days before the session (Pepys' *Diary*, January 31, 1667, vol. iv. pp. 339, 340), "that the King is for toleration, though the bishops be against it; and that he do not doubt but it will be carried in Parliament." But he added—with reference to what really did constitute the great difficulty of the scheme, and had been the stumbling-block in 1661-2, viz., the impossibility of justly excluding Romanists from a fair and honest scheme of toleration, and yet the fixed resolution so to exclude them,—"that he fears some will stand for the tolerating of Papists with the rest, and that he knows not what to say, but rather thinks that the sober party will be without it rather than have it upon those terms." The basis of the plan was "the King's Declaration from Breda in 1660, which they desired might be put into an act" (Barlow). And the main provisions offered by Bp. Wilkins were as follows, embracing both Comprehension for Presbyterians and Indulgence for others.

[Terms of
compre-
hension
offered in
it for Pres-
byterians.]

"In order to Comprehension it is humbly offered,—1. that such persons as in the late times of disorder have been ordained by (only — Barlow) presbyters, shall be admitted to the exercise of the ministerial function by the imposition of the hands of the bishop, with this or the like form of words, Take thou (a legal — Barlow) authority to preach the word of God and to minister the sacraments in any congregation of the Church of England when thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereto, . . . 2. That all persons to be admitted to any ecclesiastical function or dignity, or the employment of a schoolmaster, (after the oaths of allegiance or supremacy) shall, instead of all former subscriptions, be required to subscribe this or the like form of words. I, A. B., do hereby profess and declare, that I do approve the doctrine, worship, and government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation; and that I will not endeavour, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any doctrine contrary to that which is so established:

* See the first note to the tract itself.

[†] Tillotson and Stillingfleet certainly were concerned in a subsequent scheme of comprehension in 1675 (so Baxter, *Life &c.*, Pt. iii. pp. 166, sq.). But Baxter does not mention

their names in reference to the plan of 1667-8, nor give the least hint of their having any connection with it. Probably Burnet confused the two schemes. Birch in his *Life of Tillotson*, p. 42, merely quotes Burnet.

and I do hereby promise, that I will continue in the communion of the Church of England, and will not do any thing to disturb the peace thereof. 3. That the gesture of kneeling at the sacrament, and the use of the cross in baptism, and bowing at the Name of Jesus, may be left indifferent (Barlow adds here — and the wearing of the surplice in parochial churches be either left indifferent), or may be taken away, as shall be thought most expedient. 4. That in case it be thought fit to review and alter the liturgy and canons, for the satisfaction of dissenters, that then every person to be admitted to preach, shall, upon his institution or admission to preach, upon some Lord's day (within a time to be limited) publicly and solemnly read the said liturgy, and openly declare his assent to the lawfulness of the use of it, and shall promise, that it shall be constantly used at the time and place accustomed."

"In order to Indulgence of such Protestants as cannot be comprehended [And of Indulgence for other non-conform-
ista.] under the publick establishment, it is humbly offered, 1. that such Protestants may have liberty for the exercise of their religion in public, and at their own charges to build or procure places for their public worship, either within or near towns, as shall be thought most expedient. 2. That the names of all such persons who are to have this liberty be registered, together with the congregations to which they belong, and the names of their teachers. 3. That every one admitted to this liberty, be disabled to bear any publick office (but shall fine for offices of burden: [and be obliged, according to their respective qualities, to pay a yearly sum for indulgence, not exceeding 40s. per annum for each master of a family, nor being under 10s. ; nor exceeding 8 for any other, nor being under 2s. : which summ at present may be disposed of to the building of a sufficient number of churches in London.—Barlow.] 4. And that upon shewing a certificate of their being listed among those who are indulged, they shall be freed from such legal penalties as are to be inflicted on those who do not frequent their parish churches. 5. And such persons so indulged shall not for their meeting in conventicles be punished by confiscation of estates [shall be so punished, according to Barlow]. 6. Provided that they be obliged to pay all publick duties to the parish where they inhabit, under penalty [and be prohibited to preach against the publique establishment, —Barlow.] 7. This indulgence to continue for three years."

To facilitate the former proposition for Comprehension, it was further [Proposed alterations in the Liturgy.] offered, "that the liturgy may be altered by omitting — &c., by using the reading Psalms in the new translation ; by appointing some other lessons out of the canonical Scripture instead of those taken out of Apocrypha ; by not enjoining godfathers and godmothers, when either of the parents are ready to answer for the child ; by omitting " every clause in the services connecting regeneration with baptism ; " by omitting that clause in the collect after imposition of hands in confirmation — After the example of Thy holy apostles, and to certify them by this sign of Thy favour and gracious goodness toward them ;"—and "in the office of matrimony—With my body I thee worship ; .. by allowing ministers some liberty in the visitation of the sick, to use such other prayers as

they shall judge expedient ;" by so altering the burial service, as to imply nothing respecting the acceptance of the deceased person ; by several changes in the services with a view to abbreviation, as by omitting all "resposal prayers," and all repetitions, and throwing separate petitions all together into one continuous prayer ; "by omitting the communion-service such times as are not communion-days, excepting the ten commandments ;" by altering the catechism at the question "how many sacraments hath Christ ordained," so that "the answer may be, two only, baptism and the Lord's Supper."

[Changes suggested by the Presbyterians.]

The presbyterian delegates were willing to accept the proposals thus made for comprehension, with a few changes : scil. 1, that all ministers ordained by presbyters should, when admitted by the bishop to minister in the Church, "have leave," if they "desired" it, to "give in their professions that they renounce not their ordination nor take it for a nullity, and that they take this as the magistrate's license and confirmation" &c. ; 2, that in the form of subscription they should assent "to the truth of all the Holy Scriptures, and to the articles of the Creed, and to the doctrine of the Church of England contained in the *thirty-six* articles, or to the doctrinal part of the XXXIX. Articles, or *excepting only the three articles of ceremonies and prelacy* ;" 3, that there be an appeal for a suspended minister from the bishop to the king's courts of justice ; and, lastly, that certain rules be made for the due enforcement of discipline respecting admission to holy communion, and respecting meetings for worship. They made likewise a few additional suggestions respecting the alteration of the liturgy : of which the most remarkable were, that "the Lord's prayer should be used entirely with the doxologies ;" that "sabbath" should replace "seventh day" in the fourth commandment ; that holidays should be "left indifferent, save only that all be restrained from open labour, and contempt of them ;" that "no minister" should "be forced" to "baptize the child of proved atheists, infidels," &c. ; the addition of *the surplice* to the other ceremonies to be left indifferent ; the addition of "sacramentally" to the word "regenerate" in the baptismal service ; an entire change of the catechism as regards the doctrine of the sacraments ; that the absolution in the Visitation of the Sick should be made conditional.

[Terms finally agreed upon.]

After considerable debate, and principally on the subject of re-ordination, the parties came to an agreement, and a bill was drawn up by Sir Matthew Hale accordingly. The points compromised were, 1, the insertion of the word *legal* before "authority" (as above from Barlow's copy), instead of the demanded liberty to declare the validity of the previous presbyterian ordination, and 2, the omission of the clause proposed by Baxter and his friends relating to appeals. And two forms of subscription, framed so as to exclude Romanists, were likewise agreed upon for established ministers and tolerated persons respectively.

[Failure of the scheme.]

An unexpected vigour however on the part of the Church members in the House of Commons, as was above said, disconcerted the whole scheme. Dr. Wilkins, it seems (Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. i. c. xii. p. 322), had mentioned the subject to Dr. Seth Ward, bishop of Salisbury, and a leading man

against the dissenters, "hoping to have prevailed for his concurrence in it:" and by his means the Church party were on the alert. "The House mett Feb. 6, but adjourned to Feb. 10" (Barlow has 11 by mistake), "on which day the king came to the house, and in his speech desired a supply of money, and *that they would find some way to unite his subjects in matter of religion.* But the commons that morning, before the king came to the house, upon relation of the insolent language and conventicles of non-conformists and sectaries in each county, voted, that the king should be desired (not to give indulgence but) to send out a proclamation to put the laws against the non-conformists in execution" (Barlow). This account is confirmed by the journals of the two houses: and by Pepys in his Journal Feb. 11, 1667 (vol. iv. pp. 349, 350. ed. 1848). The latter describes the temper of the house in terms quite sufficient to account for the panic above ascribed to Colonel Birch; when he adds, that "it was moved" on that day "in the house, that if any people had a mind to bring any new laws into the house about religion, they might come, as a proposer of new laws did in Athens, with ropes about their necks." And Burnet (Hist. of His Own Time, Bk. ii. vol. i. p. 451) says, that "the majority of the house of commons were so possessed against the scheme, that . . . a very extraordinary vote passed, that no bill to that purpose should be received." Upon the 4th of March, indeed, the house of commons renewed their demand. On that day, "according to a former order, the house took into consideration the reformation of the insolent carriage and abuse committed by persons in sacred places, in interrupting and disturbing of ministers in their churches, and holding meetings of their own, contrary to the law," and "resolved, that this house in a body address themselves to his Majesty, to desire him to issue forth his proclamation for the enforcing the laws against conventicles; and that there may be care taken for the preservation of the peace of the kingdom against unlawful assemblies of papists and nonconformists: and that the latter part of his Majesty's Speech be taken into consideration this day seven-night" (Journals): and upon March 13, accordingly, "leave was given to bring in a bill for continuance of the former bill against conventicles" (ibid.) "The house with their Speaker" presented their request upon Thursday March 5 (Barlow). And upon the 10th the proclamation was issued, although it reached Oxford only on the 14th (id.)

On the part of the Independents, the proposed terms of indulgence [Terms above given were communicated by Baxter to Dr. Owen. The latter indeed already, upon Nov. 14, 1667 (so on Barlow's copy), had published a pamphlet, called a Peace Offering in an Apology and Humble Plea for Indulgence and Liberty of Conscience, by Sundry Protestants differing in some things from the Present Establishment about the Worship of God (4to. Lond. anonymous, 1667): in which he described his party as agreeing with the Church in *doctrine*, but rejecting set forms of liturgy, and disliking her "whole frame of discipline and government." In February 1667, accordingly, coteremporaneously with the negotiation between Wilkins and Baxter, "the Independents and Sectarians mett and

agreed to desire Indulgence" on the following terms (which are borrowed in form and almost in words from Cromwell's Act of Establishment, prelacy of course being carefully omitted—they are taken from Barlow's MS.)—"The Indulgence desired for those who cannot come within the Comprehensive Bill, is as follows—that those who professe faith in God the Father; and Jesus Christ His Eternall Sonne, the true God; and in the Holy Ghost, God co-equal with the Father and the Sonne, God blessed for ever; and doe acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and N. Testaments to be the revealed word and will of God: though in other things they differ in doctrine, worship, and discipline, from the publique profession of the State, may not be compelled thereto by penalties, nor restrained from their profession, but protected from all injuries and molestation in their assembleinge for the exercise of religion in the profession and practice of their faith. Provided that this shall not extend to the liberty or exercises of those who shall disturb the publique peace in those assemblies; nor to Popery; or the countenancing such who publish horrible blasphemies, or hold forth or practise licentiousness or profaneness under the profession of Christ. Care to be taken that their meeting-places be publique and open, and authorized by the justices of the Quarter Sessions, who are to be authorized and required hereunto." The proposal of course shared the fate of the general scheme of which it was a part.

[Thorndike's second tract upon the subject.]

The second of the tracts of Thorndike here published, under the title of the Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences Discussed and Answered, appears to have been written in relation to this second proposal, embracing both Comprehension and Toleration, and extending to Independents as well as Presbyterians. Thorndike refers in that tract to the particular conditions of the proposed double scheme: scil. to the intended form of words with which Presbyterian ministers were to be admitted to minister in the Church—"Take thou a *legal authority*" &c.,—and to the proposed "rate-penalty" upon Independents. Nor does the earlier scheme, of October, 1667, appear to have advanced so far, or to have become so public, as that of February, 1667; which seems from Pepys' Diary (above quoted) to have been matter of common talk.]

THE
TRUE PRINCIPLE OF COMPREHENSION.

* * * * *

[I.]

But^a the petitioner^b will never pardon all the good language this request^c comes in, when it imposes upon us to believe, that the "reformed Christianity" of presbyterians teaches men to be "good subjects^d." Let them look to the

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[Presbyterians cannot be

^a The earlier part of this tract, of which the MS. is preserved in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, has apparently been written, and subsequently torn off and destroyed, the section here numbered [I.] being on a single loose page. The part wanting at the end of it appears never to have been written at all: as there are a large number of blank pages after its present termination. The title (for which see Section [VIII.]), and the marginal headings and numbering of the sections, are added by the editor. It is now printed for the first time. Internal evidence, and the date of the pamphlet (see next note but one) to which it is a reply, fix its date to the end of the year 1667: a date, with which the references to the second volume of the Works of Episcopius (Rotterdam, 1665) as then "lately set forth," and to the fears of Hobbism at the Universities, and the assumption throughout that the project of comprehension (crushed decisively by Parliament Feb. 1667) was still on foot, coincide.

^b i. e. Thorndike himself. In the MS. was originally written, both here and in one or two other places, "I;" but the pronoun is scored through, and the circuitous but less obnoxious phrase of "the petitioner" substituted.

^c See the long note prefixed to this tract for an account of Corbet's pamphlet, to which the tract itself is a reply.

^d Discourse of Religion of England, shewing that *Reformed Christianity* &c. &c., sect. iii. pp. 3—9; of which section the title is, "That Popery dis-

poseth subjects to Rebellion." And its first argument is, the "continual thundering of excommunications," which "hath sounded through the Christian world in all ages, since the beginning of the Papal reign, against kings, emperors, and other princes and states that presumed to dispute their dictates, or cross their designs, to the loosing of subjects from the bonds of allegiance, and the deposing of sovereigns:" the "unexampled abasements," which "the imperial majesty hath suffered in the persons of sundry emperors by prodigious instances of Papal pride," &c. And again—"The pope's temporal dominions began and grew up in rebellion and usurpation, for which cause they have nourished factions and filled the world with wars and tumults, and maintained most outrageous and tedious conflicts with many emperors, even till they had crippled and broke the back of the empire itself." Ibid., pp. 3, 4.—On the other hand, *ibid.*, sect. viii. 17—19, the writer busies himself to prove, "that the Reformed Religion makes good Christians and good subjects:" arguing, that "it teacheth obedience to the civil magistrates, without the controule of any superior or collateral power:" and that it is not "concerned, if dangerous positions fall from the pen of some writers" (Beza or Buchanan for example). Further, "If any aberration in practice hath been found in its professors, it is not to be charged therewith, because it condemns it; but the general practice in this point hath been conformable to the doctrine." And again, Scotland and France occurring as instances incon-

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charge he lays on them, that they shall never be able to distinguish themselves from papists^e in that point. And he admires, how the argument which the request useth^f should be overseen :—the wars between the emperors and the popes, or such as the popes have raised against the emperors, having assoiled them of their allegiance to them being excommunicate, do demonstrate, that rebellion against sovereigns is a part of the Romish faith. Suppose now the popes were then the emperor's subjects, which can never be proved : suppose their vassals, which joined with the pope, were their subjects ; which may very well be questioned. Good God ! Two armies joining battle, one upon the pope's cause, the other upon the emperor's : that so scholar-like a pen should make this an argument, that rebellion was the religion of both parties^g ! What will not prejudice of religion persuade him to say, that can say this ! The wars of the holy league in France had never been, I believe, had not religion been ingredient. But is there any eloquence to persuade, that those papists that fought for the king had the same religion at the heart ? I meddle not with the wars of reformed Christians against their sovereigns. I had rather there were no remembrance of any such in story, than take upon me, that religion was

assistent with this assertion, for the former, "The manner of the beginning (of Reformation) in Scotland is by some attributed to a national disposition ; the asperity and vehemency whercof is said to be greater in times of popery, and to be much mitigated by the Reformation : " and for the latter, "In the first troubles (the French) only stood upon their defence," and "the first quarrel did not begin for religion."—See on the subject of presbyterians and submission to government, the abstract of Spottiswoode's history of the reign of James VI. of Scotland in Bramhall's Fair Warning, Works, Pt. ii. Disc. i. vol. iii. : and the elaborate comparison of Jesuitical with Presbyterian principles upon the subject in the tract styled Lysimachus Nicanor (by another and very dissimilar John Corbet, 4to. 1640) ; and see also Maxwell's Burden of Issachar (referred to above in Just Weights and Measures, c. xxi. § 11. note n).—"I find two branches of this family. . . It is hard to say whether is the ancient house : for they both sprung up, the one in Spain, the other

at Geneva, about the same time, the year 1536. The captains of the one are Bellarmine, Simancha, Mariana, &c. ; the chieftains of the other are Beza (if it be his book *De Jure Magistratus*, as is believed), Buchanan, Stephanus Junius" (i. e. Hubert Languet), " &c. : the former in favour of the pope, the latter in hatred of the pope ; yet both former and latter may 'rise up in judgment' with our incendiaries 'and condemn them ;' for if they had had as gracious a prince as king Charles" (1.), "they had never broached such tenets to the world." Bramhall, *Serpent Salve* (written in 1643), Pref. to the Reader ; Works, Pt. ii. Disc. ii. vol. iii. pp. 300, 301.—And see also above in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 63, sq.

* See last note. A summary of the *Papal* side of the comparison is in Overall's Convocation Book, Bk. iii. cc. viii. to the end, pp. 240, sq. : and a mass of materials in Foulis's History of Romish Treasons and Usurpations, fol. Lond. 1671.

^f See above in note d.

^g See *ibid*.

no part of the cause^h. But I will challenge the Scottish to distinguish itself from the holy league of Franceⁱ. The difference I see in the catholic Christianity of the one, and the reformed Christianity of the other. But if it be Christianity in the one for subjects to rise against their sovereign to secure religion, no more than in the other to reform it, the religion of the one will be as far from truly reformed as the religion of the other from truly catholic. And for the weight of this point in religion, it is well enough known, that king James of good memory, and the best pens of his time, have stiled this "the heresy of Hildebrand^k:" because Pope Gregory VII., Hildebrand by name, was the first that raised subjects against their sovereigns, being excommunicate, by loosing them of their allegiance. Not without cause. So deeply is it rooted in Christianity, consisting in bearing Christ's cross, to continue in that state of this world wherein they are called to be Christians. For as they must needs renounce Christ's cross, which they lay upon their adversaries, so they do peremptorily obstruct the prevailing of Christianity, when they clear it not of the imputation of questioning the peace of the world. And therefore it is clearly to be affirmed, that only the catholics of the Church of England are free of this imputation: papists and puritans being both manifestly involved in it, and the rest of the Reformation, as not willingly to be charged, so not easily to be cleared. As for the English papists: that it was upon no accident, but out of sense of religion, that part of them stick to their allegiance, the original of the difference betwixt them during their imprisonment in the castle of Wisbeach is sufficient witness^l. * * *

^h See *ibid.*, in the last words of the last quotation from Corbet.

ⁱ Corbet (*Disc. of Rel. of Engl.*, sect. viii. pp. 18, 19) goes so far as to affirm, that "Protestants have never disowned their king for difference in religion, as the most of the Roman Catholics of France dealt with Henry the Fourth, by the Pope's instigation."

^k "Hæresis Hildebrandina." See *Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St.*, c. v. § 100.

^l See above in *Due Way of Composing Differences &c.*, § 18; and in *Just Weights and Measures*, cc. iii. § 6, xx. § 1, 4; and notes there: and below in *Discourse of Forbearance or Pen-*

nalties &c., c. xxviii. And for the history of Bishop Watson of Lincoln, and his fellow-captives of Wisbeach Castle, confined there first in 1580 (Watson died in 1582, but his fellow-captives continued to be confined there until late in James the First's reign), and the dispute between the parties of the secular priests and the Jesuits among the English Romanists (of whom that place was the head-quarters), *Dod's Ch. Hist.*, Pt. iv. Bk. i. art. 5; *Fuller, Ch. Hist.*, Bk. ix. sect. 8. § 14—19; *Strype, Whitgift*, Bk. iv. c. 22; *Collier, Ch. Hist.*, Pt. ii. Bk. vii. vol. ii. p. 643.

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[II.]

[An Act comprehending presbyterians as such in the Church, would fail of its purpose, and not give satisfaction or peace in matters of religion.]

Nor must it be granted (which the request takes for granted), that an Act comprehending presbyterians as presbyterians^m in the privileges of this Church, would give satisfaction and peace in matters of religion to this kingdom. For, first, what satisfaction could it give the papists to see the presbyterians admitted to the privilege they demand? Can they satisfy them, that they ought not to be papists, when the reformation of the Church of England cannot do it? Why then are they not seen in those daily disputes, whereby unstable spirits usually palliate the frequent revolts that we hear of to the Church of Rome? Why do they not take upon them to persuade such spirits, that the pope is antichrist and the papists idolatersⁿ? which if they could persuade them, then must they needs persuade them, that to turn papists is to renounce their salvation and Christianity. Or if they dare not undertake this, how dare they condemn the visible Church, supposing the faith and authorizing the laws of it: by virtue whereof many revolts are prevented; and those, which are not prevented, fall out most an end for want of that confidence, which Christian people should have in their pastors that do maintain that faith. Certainly, in point of religion, it will be small satisfaction to the world, that our cause against the see of Rome is more straitened by that Act^o. As for the favour which the papists

^m Corbet, Disc. of Rel. of Engl., sect. x. p. 21, sets himself to prove, that "it is for the behoof of religion and true piety, and for the interest of this state, that Reformed Christianity be settled in its full extent." In sect. xiv. p. 28, he argues accordingly for "a more comprehensive state of religion;" which he defines to consist in "settling the nation" under the threefold form of "an establishment, a limited toleration, and a discreet connivence." And in sect. xv. pp. 29, sq. he explains the intended extent of his "establishment," by urging the removal of all subscription save to the "substance of religion;" which however he does not attempt practically to define. And, lastly, in sect. xvi. pp. 32,

sq., he urges, that "dissenters," or (as he afterwards limits his assertion) "presbyterians," are "capable of being brought into such a comprehension." Such "latitude," he conceives (sect. x. p. 21), as it "promotes the great designs of Christ's Gospel, so it settles this nation, and is for matter of religion its right and sure basis." And in sect. xxi. pp. 43, sq., he enlarges upon the advantages which his plan will bring "to the interest of the Church and clergy."

ⁿ See Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 4: Just Weights and Measures, c. i. § 2—7, c. ii. § 1; c. xxi. § 15, 16.

^o See Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xix.

pretend from the crown, by standing by the late king in his wars^p; I grant it may well be imputed to the cruel dealing they were to expect from the parliament. But may not the verdict which the presbyterians pretend by his now Majesty's happy return^q, be, by the same reason, imputed to the confusion they had involved themselves in by that victory, the fruit whereof the independents had wiped them of? And where is then the reason, why the dissatisfaction of the one and not of the other should prejudice the state, when justice makes no difference? But among those that own the Reformation, is it not manifest, that books have been written to prove the pre-existence of souls^r, to question the resurrection

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^p "This party" (scil. the Roman Catholics) "bath high pretensions of merit towards the king, and all that are called Royalists; and they seek apparently more then indulgence and safety, even high power and trust, as if they were the true and sure confidants of this state." Disc. of R. of E., sect. ii. p. 3.—"The great plea and boasting of the Romanists, is their pretension of merit in the king's cause. The truth is, the papists knew that the parliament was fully bent, and deeply engaged against them, and therefore despaired of any good to themselves by a direct and open compliance with them, whatever undiscerned influence they might have on their counsels: so that necessity made them to serve the king in that warr." Ibid., sect. vi. p. 14, the title of which section is, "The Papists' pretension of loyalty and merit in the King's cause examined."—See on this subject White Kennet's Register and Chronicle &c., pp. 476—478, June 21, 1661.—On the other hand, the Nonconformists, says the writer of the Discourse (sect. xx. p. 40), "profess much affection to monarchy, and the royal family; and they think they have made it appear by their hazardous declaring against the designed death of our late sovereign, and their vigorous actings for the restitution of his Majesty that now is."

^q See last note.

^r Lux Orientalis, or an Enquiry into the Opinion of the Eastern Sages concerning the Præexistence of Souls, being a Key to unlock the Grand Mysteries of Providence in relation to Man's Sin and Misery: 8vo. Lond. 1662, anonymous, and again edited by Dr.

More in 1682. The writer was Joseph Glanvil: who, in defending the doctrine, protests (Preface) against intending any "innovation in religion, or disturbance of our established and received doctrines," but declares, that the tenet in question "was never determined against by ours nor any other Church that" he "knew of," and therefore is "left as a matter of school speculation."—Previously to Glanvil's book, Dr. George Rust, afterwards Jeremy Taylor's successor in the see of Dromore, had published, also anonymously, a tract to the same purpose, entitled A Letter of Resolution concerning Origen, and the chief of his opinions, written to the learned and most ingenious C. L. Esquire, and by him published, 4to. Lond. 1661.—Dr. Henry More himself also, who published his work On the Mystery of Godliness (fol. Lond.) in 1660, was accused of maintaining in that book and others, both this and the heresy next mentioned in the text. In his Apology, published in 1664 (c. ii. sect. 1. pp. 489, 490, at the end of his Mystery of Iniquity, fol. Lond. 1664), he says expressly, that he has heard himself charged with maintaining "the præ-existence of the soul:" to which, he says, "I answer, that I did herein but according to the reasonableness of my third rule" (referring to the previous chapter, § 10, p. 486, where he lays it down that he "is to make choice" in his writings "of such principles or conclusions of philosophy, as, *having no real repugnancy to Scripture*, are also of themselves the most unexceptionably tenable and demonstrable," &c.), "and in such a time of liberty and atheistical boasting of philosophy" (scil. of Hobbes

SECT. of the same flesh^a, to maintain the salvation of Gentiles as
 II. Gentiles⁴? Points determined by general councils to be heresies^b; or destroying the very foundation of Christianity, if

and his followers), "that I could not with a good conscience conceal such an hypothesis, which I thought of so singular good use against the deniers of the existence of God and His providence, and of a life to come, and that upon rational and philosophical pretences. This for the reasonableness and usefulness of the opinion. But for my professed assent to it as true, I have already in my preface general declared the suspension of my judgment on that point, and do again declare that I wholly compromise with the judgment of our Church therein, and think it the duty of every man in such cases as this so to do."—S. Parker, Fellow of Trin. Coll. Oxford, and afterwards Bishop of Oxford, assailed Rust and Glanvil's doctrine, and also More's though not by name, in a tract entitled *An Account of the Nature and Extent of the Divine Dominion and Goodness*, especially as they refer to the Origenian hypothesis concerning the Præ-existence of Souls, together with a special Account of the Vanity and Groundlessness of the Hypothesis itself, 4to. Oxf. 1666.—Burnet also (*Hist. of His Own Time*, Bk. ii. vol. i. p. 279) alleges of Sir Henry Vane, on the authority of Sir Henry's "friends," that "he leaned to Origen's notion of an universal salvation of all, both of devils and of the damned, and to the doctrine of the præ-existence of souls."—Leibnitz, a year or two after Thorndike wrote, put forth a certain theory of pre-existence: see Bayle, *Dictionn.*, art. *Rorarius*, note H; and Brucker, *Hist. Philos.*, Period III. Pt. ii. lib. i. c. 8. tom. v. p. 419.—See also below, in sect. xi.

^a Dr. H. More (A.D. 1660-4) "treated of this subject in four chapters of" his "Mystery of Godliness" (Bk. vi. cc. 3—6. *Theol. Works*, pp. 152—159. Lond. 1708), and bestows a chapter (c. iv. pp. 504, sq.) of his Apology, quoted in the last note, in explanation. In the original passage, he "challenges" his opponent "to produce any place of Scripture, out of which he can make it appear, that the mystery of the resurrection implies the resurrection of the same numerical body:" which position in his Apology he affirms himself not to have denied, but merely to have confined himself to

maintaining, "that we shall at the last day be revived into visible and corporeal personality, wherein we shall feel ourselves to be the self-same men, and as really to have the self-same bodies, and seem as much to others to have so, as ever we felt ourselves to have the self-same body, or appeared to others to have so, in this life." A Mr. Bolde also, in 1705, published a discourse concerning the resurrection of the same body, denying that the doctrine was founded on Scripture. He was answered by Samuel Parker, in 1707.

^b *De Religione Gentilium Errorumque apud eos Causis*: authore Edvardo Barone Herbert de Cherbury et Castri Insulæ de Kerry in Hibernia, &c. 4to. Amst. 1663 (and again 8vo. 1700): quoting and adopting the sentiments of one Collins, *De Animabus Paganorum*, 4to. Mediolan. 1622, and 1633.—The same doctrine occurs in an earlier book of Lord Herbert's, scil. in the second appendix at the end of his tract *De Causis Errorum*, 8vo. 1656.—For our own Latitudinarians, Fowler's statement of their views in his *Defence* (quoted below in note x), Pt. ii. p. 251, may serve at least to rescue them from the charge of symbolizing with Deists like Herbert:—"For my part I will not say that they (the heathen) are any of them saved; but I would not for a world, neither, pronounce them all damned. I know that 'there is no other name given under heaven whereby men can be saved but only the Name of Jesus Christ;' but I am nowhere told, that those which never heard of Him, cannot be saved by Him without faith in Him."

^c Scil. the pre-existence of souls, as one of the errors of Origen, by the fifth general Council, of Constantinople, A.D. 553, as generally said; but probably by a council of Constantinople, A.D. 541. See the canons against Origen, ap. Harduin., Conc. tom. iii. p. 279. C: and see Cave, *Hist. Litt.*, tom. i. p. 558, and Huet, *Origeniana*, lib. ii. c. iv. sect. iii. § 14, 15, and Bull's *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*, *De Filii 'Ομοούσιος*, c. ix. § 3.—That the same bodies shall not rise again, also as one of the errors of Origen, mentioned in the letter of Epiphanius to John of Jerusalem (ap. S. Hieron., Op., Epist. cviii., tom. iv.

salvation be to be had without it. More: are not Episcopus his works published with such acceptation in our Universities, that the preface professeth, that it was in deliberation to have dedicated the volume lately set forth to the Church of England? And yet, in these works, the faith of the Holy

P. ii. p. 826), and apparently condemned in the same council of Constantinople, ap. Harduin., *ibid.* D: and see Huet, *ibid.*, c. ii. qu. ix.—That the Gentiles could be saved as Gentiles (i. e. that, irrespective of the grace of Christ's Spirit, men could so live by their natural strength and free-will as to satisfy the law of God, and therefore could be saved by His justice irrespective of the Atonement of Christ), as one of the errors of Pelagius, in the several particular councils of Carthage (Conc. Carth. XII., XIII., XIV., A.D. 412, 416, 418), Milevis in Numidia (A.D. 416), Jerusalem and Diospolis (A.D. 416), Orange (A.D. 529 probably), &c. &c.: for the equivalency of which to a decision of a general council, see above in the Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xix. § 17, and notes. The special dogmas of Pelagius concerned in the point, are, "that a man may be without sin, and keep the commandments of God easily, if he will;" and his denial of the *internal* grace of the Spirit of God. And see Epilogue, *ibid.* § 20.

* "Cum hæc mihi præfationem secundæ parti Operum D. Simonis Episcopii P. M. præmittendi facultas esset a spectatissimis hæredibus oblata, quorum studio et impensis hoc monumentum in lucem promoveretur, non mediocriter me hoc nomine lætatum fateor, propterea quod ita constitutum fuerat, ut dedicatio institueretur ad universum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ clerum, et particulatim ad utramque inibi Academiam. Succurrebat enim primum, quod ea sit prima ac veluti princeps inter Reformatas Ecclesia. Præterea quod in dogmate prædestinationis . . . plerique omnes Ecclesiarum præsules eandem nobiscum nunc sententiam tuerentur. Accedebat etiam, quod certa fide nunc renunciatum esset non paucos esse præstantissimos ac præclarissimos viros, qui schismata hæc, quibus inconsutilis Christi toga cum Corpore in mille partes discerpitur, ex animo detestantur, qui etiam his deplorandis Christianismi vulneribus per viam moderationis ac pacis pro pietate sua medelam afferre sedulo conantur: ut nunc

non dicam Simonem Episcopium ibi in subseillis academiæ publice laudari; neque hunc tantum, sed etiam illusterrimum Hugonem Grotium. . . . Nec aliunde nunc, dum sub prælo sudabat diutiuscule hoc opus, sæpius id aut flagrantius quam ab Anglis efflagitatum est, cum identidem scriptis ad diversarum Hollandiæ civitatum bibliopoliæ literis sibi ejus copiam sine mora fieri postularent." Preface to the Reader (init.) by Arnoldus Poelenburgh, prefixed to the second volume of Episcopus' Works, fol. Rotterdam 1665: going on to lament, that the breaking out of war between England and the Dutch had broken off the design of the proposed dedication.—A short account of the "Latitudinarians" (now for the first time so called, by an appellation devised at Cambridge, under which were ranked such men as Hales, Chillingworth, Dr. Henry More, Worthington, Whichcot, Bp. Wilkins, Smith, Cudworth, Tillotson, Fowler, Thomas Burnet, and at the beginning of his career Stillingfleet) is in Burnet's Hist. of his own Time, Bk. ii. vol. i. pp. 321—324; who says of them, that they "read Episcopius much" (*ibid.*, p. 324).—See also A Brief Account of the new sect of Latitude-men, &c., by S. P. of Cambridge, dated in 1662 (in the Phoenix, vol. ii.); the Letters of Tuckney and Whichcot, in Sept. and Oct. 1651, publ. in 1753 by Dr. Salter at the end of Dr. Whichcot's Aphorisms (Tuckney the rigid presbyterian assailing the then new tenets of Whichcot): Sir P. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 89 (publ. in 1701): and The Principles and Practices of certain moderate divines of the Ch. of Engl. truly represented and defended (published anonymously, Lond. 1670. 8vo.), attributed in the first instance by Bp. Barlow (MS. note in copy in Bodleian Library) to Dr. H. More, but soon known to be written by Dr. Fowler, being (not of Cambridge but), says Barlow, "*quod nolle*, an Oxford man."—"A second sort of Conformists were those called Latitudinarians, who were mostly Cambridge men, Platonists or Cartesians, and many of them Arminians, with some additions,

SECT. II. Trinity is made an indifferent thing¹: original sin, both name and thing, turned out of doors²; which the positions

having more charitable thoughts than others of the salvation of heathens and infidels, and some of them holding the opinions of Origen, about the præ-existence of souls, &c. These were ingenious men and scholars, and of universal principles, and free; abhorring at first the *imposition* of these little things, but thinking them not great enough to stickle at when imposed. Of these, some (with Dr. Moore their leader) lived privately in Colleges, and sought not any preferment in the world: and others set themselves to rise." Baxter, *Life of Himself* edited by Sylvester, Pt. ii. p. 386 (the passage was written in 1665).—The school of Episcopius gradually came to lay down as principles of communion far laxer terms than the English school of divines here connected with it. Le Clerc's summary of them is quoted by Mosheim (*Eccles. Hist.*, Bk. iv. cent. xvii. sect. ii. Pt. ii. c. iv. § 11. note), as follows—Addressing the Remonstrants, he says, "Proferi soletis . . eos duntaxat a vobis excludi, qui 1. idololatria sunt contaminati, 2. qui minime habent Scripturam pro fidei norma, 3. qui impuris moribus sancta Christi præcepta conculcant aut 4. qui denique alios religionis causa vexant." But many divines "used Episcopius much" in England, who were of a far more orthodox school than that here spoken of; e. g. Bp. Bull.

¹ Poelenburgh in his Preface to the 2nd vol. of Episcopius' Works, and Limborch in his *Life of Episcopius*, both anxiously defend him against a charge of disparaging the doctrine of the Holy Trinity: but the former takes the line of argument, that the doctrine of One Nature participated by Three Persons is founded in ecclesiastical tradition, not in Scripture. Episcopius himself (*Responsio ad Specimen Calumniarum*, § 2. Op. tom. ii. P. ii. p. 305), with reference to the propositions—"In Una Divina Essentia sunt Tres Personæ, Filius Dei est genitus ex Patris Substantia, In Christo est unio hypostatica duarum naturarum, Spiritus Sanctus est Persona Divina a Patre et Filio distincta,"—distinctly grounds his own defence on the assertion, that "Remonstrantes non negant diserte quæstionem istarum decisiones simpliciter et præcise cognitu ad salutem necessarias esse" (which was the

accusation laid against them); "quia contra aperte dicunt, *se ea de re, an videlicet per evidentem consequentiam ex Scripturis constet* (quod enim *pñtās* in Scripturis decisæ non sint utrimque in confesso est) *eas cognitu necessarias esse, sententiam suam nunquam interposuisse.*" In his *Theol. Institut.*, however, lib. IV. sect. ii. c. 34 (Op. tom. i. P. i. pp. 338—340) he does expressly maintain in his own person, respecting the Eternal Sonship of Christ, while defending the doctrine itself, a negative to the question, "An iste modus Filiationis Jesu Christi ad salutem scitu ac creditu necessarius sit, isque, qui illum negant, anathema dicendum sit:" a doctrine, of which it is hardly necessary to add, that it occasioned Bp. Bull's *Judicium Eccles. Cathol. Trium Primorum Sæculorum de Necessitate Credendi quod Dominus Noster Jesus Christus sit Verus Deus*, assertum contra M. Simonem Episcopium aliosque, publ. in 1694. And in c. 35. of the same book and section of the *Instit. Theol.*, Episcopius seems to hazard assertions militating against the doctrine itself of the Holy Trinity.—See also Waterland's *Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity Asserted*, Works, vol. v.: where Episcopius's sentiments are discussed and answered at length.—Compare also the dispute between Curcellæus (the joint editor with Poelenburgh of Episcopius' Works) and Maresius respecting the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

² "Atqui Scripturam quod attinet, detur unus ex Scriptura locus, qui sine controversia id quod doctores volunt asserit" (the doctrine in question being, "In omnes posteros Adami ex ejus peccato transisse veri hominis peccatum quod Originale omnes tam veteres quam recentiores appellarunt"), "et non dubitabunt Remonstrantes audaciæ suæ, si qua est, culpam agnoscere et deprecari. Fidenter dicunt id impossibile esse. Tentent doctores, et videbunt sibi aquam hæere. Certe Pontificii, ut ut acerrime pro peccato originis pugnent, fatentur tamen ingenue istud ex solis Scripturis evinci irrefragabiliter non posse." Episcopius, *Resp. ad Spec. Cal.*, § 7. Op. tom. ii. P. ii. p. 310.—He proceeds to quote Whitaker, saying that "Recte mones hoc verbum in Scripturis non haberi, neque in patribus vetustissimis;" and then goes

aforesaid destroy but by consequence. What help will they expect^a from the presbyterians toward the quelling of those monsters, which some unstable wits of the Universities^b seem to have therefore relished, because they found nothing to satisfy them in the whole doctrine of the presbyterians, and could not stay the leisure of examining the faith of the catholic Church and the sense of the Scriptures which it yieldeth, before they gave sentence? Further: have we not Independency rooted in the government, usurped at least, in New England^c: so that, not a presbyterian (which think not so much of it), but he that thinks, as he ought, that salvation is not to be had without baptism, must have his children live and die unbaptized^d? So far are they from having any exercise of religion there, that will not consent to the open schism and secret heresy professed there. Can the presbyterians demand the privilege of ministering in the Church, and deny these [heretics^e] or schismatics communion with the same? Or can the Church stand, that allows heretics or schismatics communion, who do not allow them so much as baptism in the greatest necessity; allowing openly to seduce all, that they are allowed openly to communicate with? Or what hope shall the Church have from the presbyterians to reduce independents, or fanatics, who have not had enough in their profession to preserve them from being independents

on—"Et sane ita est. Ante Augustinum, id est, primis tribus sæculis, peccatum istud agnitum, aut originale peccatum vocatum fuisse, nusquam deprehenditur. Nec desunt argumenta et testimonia ex isto ævo petita, quæ contrarium luce clarius ostendunt." Id. ibid.: arguing in the close of the section, that "peccatum originale tam varie definitur ut intelligi solide non possit quid sit."

^a "have expect" in MS.

^b That Hobbism in its worst form took root at Cambridge, is obvious from the history of Scargill in 1669: for which see below, Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties, c. xxii. But Thorndike's allusion is rather to the Latitudinarian school of divines, which proceeded principally from Cambridge, as may be seen in note x above, although Oxford furnished to it the names of Chillingworth, Bp. Wilkins, Fowler. See also below in sect. vii. note l.

^c See Cotton Mather's Eccl. Hist. of

New England: and compare what is said above, Epilogue, Conclus., § 13. Baxter (with the aid of R. Boyle), and a puritan London merchant named Ashhurst, procured the king's grant of a new corporation for New England in the end of 1660, thereby rescuing the colony from one Beddingfield a Roman Catholic, who had some claim over its land (Baxter's Life of Himself, Pt. ii. p. 290): and by their means the managers of the company in London were chosen mainly from men of Baxter's own way of thinking.

^d "Pueri peregrinorum ad baptismum ne afferantur, nec aliorum, nisi qui sunt membra Ecclesiæ." Canons &c. of Ch. of New England, received 1634; in Collier, Ch. Hist., vol. ii. Records num. cxi. p. 112.—See also Epilogue, Conclusion, § 13. note a; and Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties, c. xxix. init.

^e "schismatics" in MS., by an apparent mistake.

SECT. II. and fanatics: [no^t,] not when they had the ball at their feet? Last of all, do not all pulpits complain, that there is a new religion coming up called no religion at all, threatening to become the most numerous and powerful of all if some better expedient be not found out^b? For when presby-

^f "not" in MS., apparently by a mistake.

^g See above in the Letter concerning the Present State of Religion among us, § 1—11. and notes; Epilogue, Conclusion, § 9—11, 54; Just Weights and Measures, c. iii. § 7; c. ix. § 1—3; Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xix. It is obvious by the hideous list of heresies in the Acts of Parliament by which Cromwell established religion in 1654 and 1656, and by the other evidence in the notes to Just Weights and Measures as just quoted, to say nothing of the prolific crop of fanatical sects such as Pagitt reckons in his Heresiography, and of the overpowering of the more sober Presbyterian party by the Independents, that the Presbyterians in the height of their power failed utterly in uprooting heresy, and especially fanatical and antinomian heresy, in the land. At the same time it must be said in fairness, that, however they failed of setting up adequate bulwarks against it, yet both Presbyterians and Independents themselves rejected the distinctive tenet of the Fanatics;—scil. absolute predestination to glory irrespective of all conditions except the recognition of such predestination, which is of course simple antinomianism:—although its perpetual intrusion among them shews the tendencies of their views. a. Ruth-erforth, for the Presbyterians, wrote against it: see Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. i. § 8, 9, vii. § 7. note h, xxxi. 2. notes u, x: and so Baxter and numberless others in England. And Thorndike himself especially exempts the Presbyterians from formal misprision of the heresy: see Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxx. § 11, &c.; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. vi. § 8, 9; Letter conc. Present State of Religion, § 7; and Just Weights and Measures, c. ix. § 2. β. For the Independents, see Mather's Eccles. Hist. of New Engl., of which the whole of chapter iii. Bk. vii. is devoted to an account of the rise and expulsion of fanatical antinomianism among them. Nevertheless, Baxter in his Life of Himself, Pt. i. p. 75,

quoting a "little book of Mr. Thomas Weld's of the Rise and Fall of Antinomianism and Familism in New England," when "the Vanists" sprung up there under Sir Henry Vane when he was governor of the colony, and mentioning certain horrors which were regarded as judgments in consequence of the Vanists, adds, that "Mr. Cotton was too favourable to these fanatics, till this helpt to recover him:"—see Cotton's own doctrine, in Mather, as above, Bk. iii. p. 35:—and again (ibid. p. 104) he accuses the Independent Confession of Faith, drawn up at the Savoy in October 1658, of "expressly asserting that 'we have no other righteousness but that of Christ'" (see, however, Neal's commentary on this, Hist. of Puritans, vol. iv. pp. 177, 178). Thorndike also accuses the Confessions of Faith, both Presbyterian and Independent (the latter party indeed adopted the confession of the former—see Epilogue, Conclus., § 11. note t), of insufficiently excluding the fanatical tenet (Epilogue, ibid.; and Just Weights and Measures, c. ix. § 1, 2; and Letter concerning the Present State of Religion, § 7). γ. Lastly, that the Acts of Parliament in Cromwell's time did not exclude Fanatics, see the same Letter, § 1—4, and notes: although so framed as to exclude Unitarians or Socinians, like Biddle and others, or Quakers like Naylor.

^b See Just Weights and Measures, c. iv. § 1: Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., cc. i., xxii. Hobbes, and Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Charles Blount, Toland, Lords Rochester and Shaftesbury, and others, for whom see Leland's View of the Deistical Writers, prove sadly the truth of Thorndike's fears.—Sidney, Henry Neville, Martin, Harington, belong to a different branch of a similar school (see Biograph. Britann., and Wood's Athenæ).—Compare also the establishment of the Boyle lectures in 1691 by Robert Boyle, whose active life began as early as the Restoration, for the express purpose of opposing the progress of atheism (see Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 293).

SECT.
II.

terians shall employ the pulpits they have got in despite of the clergy, to preach them down, that must not be wanting in their returns (which is the undoubted consequence of the union pretended); shall not independents, Pelagians, atheists, make hay in the sunshine? As for what the presbyterians are like to contribute towards the quelling of this last party of atheists, it will not be possible for them to say; till they suppose¹ the reason and motives to believe the Scriptures and to be Christians, to the dictate of the Spirit which assures them to be God's word. Which if they once suppose, being evidenced by the common reason and consent of all Christians: how will they avoid acknowledging the catholic faith and Church both, being recommended to all upon the same grounds? How will they avoid supposing² the sense of the condition of the covenant of grace in the conscience of a Christian, to the sense of God's grace, and the assurance of it, that it is sealed by God's Spirit and not by any other spirit? Which if it be once admitted, there can no cause remain, why the catholic faith should not reunite both parties into one Church.

[III.]

The petitioner demanded no more in the beginning than to be heard. And now, that he finds himself obliged to say what will serve our turn, because he cannot otherwise be credited that the Act which is demanded will not, he remembers himself; and requests no more but the patience of being heard. For he hath nothing to say but that which is already said;—that there is no cure for so many and diverse distempers but authorizing the whole faith and laws of the primitive catholic Church, enacting the same with competent penalties¹. Then shall the papist see, that he is justly punished for refusing to join with his country in the service of God, reformed from abuses visibly crept in by time and want

[The only cure for disputes in religion is to enforce the whole faith and laws of the primitive catholic Church within the first six general councils.]

¹ i. e. place that reason and those motives in combination with, and subordination to, such dictates of the Spirit.—See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Ch. Tr., cc. iii., iv.; and Just Weights and Measures, c. xxi. § 1—5.

² See last note.

³ See Just Weights and Measures, c. ii. § 2, and cc. iii., vii., &c.: and below, Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., cc. iii.—v., sq.

SECT. III. of fidelity in the see of Rome to their trust^m. Certain it is, that, if this kingdom accept them for idolaters and limbs of antichrist, penalties of a high nature will be requisite, upon the bare account of religion; setting aside the account of the public peace, till it be time to speak to it. But that he leaves to them, that have the conscience to take that for granted, which he cannot do, and yet do not declare what penalties are competent to idolatry and antichristianism in a Christian kingdomⁿ. But having observed, that the [first] six general councils are to be received by the same reason, for which this Church receives the four first^o; he claims it to be duly consequent, that all heresies declared by the Church within that time be accepted for such by this Church. And there is this particular reason for the sixth, that the consent of this Church to it is still upon record^p:—which cannot be said of

^m See *ibid.*

ⁿ See *Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c.*, c. xxvii.

^o See *ibid.*, c. v.—The *State of England* has enacted, that “the canonical Scriptures and the first four general councils or any of them, or any other general council wherein” any thing “was declared heresy by the express and plain words of Holy Scripture,” shall be the test of heresy: 1 Eliz. c. 1. § 36. The Church of England in the 21st of the XXXIX. Articles implies the same thing, by laying down that “things ordained by” general councils “as necessary to salvation have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of Holy Scripture.”—The Church of England, further, at the council of Hatfield near Rochester (A.D. 680, ap. Spelman, *Conc.*, tom. i. p. 169), embraced the five general councils that had occurred up to that time (scil. Nice, first of Constantinople, first of Ephesus, first of Chalcedon, and second of Constantinople): see Bramhall, *Schism Guarded*, sect. i. c. 6, and sect. iv.; Works, Pt. i. *Disc.* iv. vol. ii. pp. 427, 533.—Field, *Of the Church*, Bk. v. c. 51. pp. 666, 667, allows six, “as touching matters of faith;” admitting the seventh (viz., the second of Nice, about images), as touching “manners” only. And see Palmer, *Of the Church*, Pt. iv. c. ix. vol. ii. pp. 171, 172; and the following sections of cc. ix., x. *ibid.* Hammond, Saywell, Crakanthorp, receive

six (Palmer, *ibid.*) The popes at their election swear to keep the faith of the council of Chalcedon, i. e. of the first four councils (*Decret.*, P. i. *Distinct.* xvi. c. 8, and *Lib. Diurn. Rom. Pontif.* c. ii. tit. 9): and also to keep the decrees of the first eight councils (*Decret.* P. i. *Distinct.* xvi. c. 8. *Sancta octo*). The Eastern Church receives but seven, the eighth of the westerns being in fact that which divided Constantinople and Rome (see Palmer as just quoted). Compare also the well-known saying of Gregory the Great about the first four councils: in his *Epistles*, lib. i. Ep. 25, and lib. iii. Ep. 10 (*Op. tom.* ii. pp. 515, B, 632. E).—“The fifth” council “condemned some remains of Nestorianism; more fully explaining things stumbled at in the council of Chalcedon, and accusing the heresy of Origen and his followers touching the temporall punishment of devils and wicked cast-aways: and the sixth defined and cleared the distinction of operations, actions, powers, and wills, in Christ, according to the diversity of His Natures” (Field, as above): and both therefore may be taken as “appendances of the fourth” (Thorndike, *Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties*, c. v.); being simply bulwarks and necessary explanations of the doctrine there laid down respecting the Incarnation.

^p Scil. the 3rd (general) council of Constantinople, called the sixth general, A.D. 680, which condemned the Monothelites and Pope Honorius. The council of Hatfield (referred to in note o

the next, called the seventh, but indeed contradicted by the Churches of Charles the Great's dominion on this side the Alps, together with this^q; and therefore must be thought to have come in force by the pope's irregular power^r. Especially since Gregory VII. took upon him to void the allegiance of subjects to princes excommunicate^s. Not that the corruption of the Church can be said to have begun then. The beginning of corruption must appear by the evidence of it in each point. But that whatsoever hath been judged and received for heresy within that time, be so accepted here, and made liable to the penalties the law alloteth heresy. This only can make papists inexcusable, and preserve the Church from the itch of novelty; when there is a due cause in force to preserve the faith, and to secure the people in it. As for those, that scorn all religion; what penalty is their due, this is not the place to resolve. The owning of the catholic Church will infer, that, unless they be shut from communion with Christians, no religion, no Church, can stand. And this the lamentable experience of this time evidences. For the owning of one apostate for a Christian, hath not only occasioned others to do open scorn to Christianity, but also opened men's mouths in common companies, to dispute the truth of the Scriptures and of Christianity^t. But since it must be acknowledge[d], that the faith cannot be maintained but by such a conversation of the clergy, as may distinguish them from the people, as more free from the engagements of the world than they can be^u; the laws of the catholic Church

above) was called especially in order to ascertain the orthodoxy of the British Churches in the point of Monotheism, and with reference to the general council held in the same year 680 (see Collier, Ch. Hist. Bk. ii. vol. i. p. 107; and Wilkins, Concil., vol. i. pp. 51, 52; and authorities cited by them): and accepted, with the five general councils already held, also the synod of Rome under Pope Martin held to condemn the Monotheletes.

^q See Epilogue, Bk. III. c. xxxi. § 54—56.

^r See *ibid.* § 56.

^s See *ibid.*, c. xxxiii. § 11, 38.

^t The allusion appears to be to Hobbes: see below, Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences Discussed and

Answered, last section; and Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., cc. xxv. init., and xxx. in fin. The Leviathan had been referred by name to a committee of the house of commons engaged in preparing a bill against atheism (which passed the commons, but had not reached a third reading in the Lords before the close of the session) in the end of 1666: but no formal censure was actually passed upon Hobbes himself before that of the University of Oxford, July 21, 1683: see the notes on the places just quoted.

^u See Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 24; Just Weights and Measures, c. xxiv. § 2—4; and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxii. § 23, 32, &c.

S E C T. must also be acknowledged, and own[ed] for a rule of such
III. conversation to the clergy, as may enable it to exact that which is answerable to the same of the people: and satisfy the see of Rome, that both clergy and people are indeed reformed, in comparison of that which the laws thereof bring forth. Nor is it for any private person to prescribe herein to the fathers of the Church, whose trust and office it is to judge, with what allowance the canons of the primitive Church are to take place now. It is enough to justify, that it is not the fancy of an idea or commonwealth of Plato; when it is said, that the same visible Church cannot be the same visible Church but by the same visible [laws], [and] that the canons are visible, which the whole Church was ruled by till about the same time of the sixth council^{*}: from which time, as it was said afore, the protestation, which the Reformation makes against the irregular power of the pope, and the abuses introduced thereby into the western Church, may evidently take date[†]. If it be said, that this will distinguish the Church of England as well from the rest of the Reformation as from the see of Rome: alas! the mischief is done already[‡], in the schisms between the Calvinists and Lutherans, and between the Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants (an ugly scar, whereof the United Provinces hear in the conventicles of the Arminians); and is not cured here, so long as this request passes. Had the cure been received at the Reformation (that is, had they limited it within these bounds which the pretence required), these breaches might have been prevented; and not otherwise. Seeing they are not prevented, it is in vain for the Church of England to expect help from them, that are sick of schism themselves. To make the crown of England head of the Calvinists, by an Act comprehending the Presbyterians, is to make the Lutherans as much enemies to it as to the Calvinists; that is, as to the Papists. And, in conscience, were it desirable, that it were head of both? I grant this would be the case, that hath been so long dreamed of;—that the kings shall agree

^{*} See Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c., cc. v., xxiii.

[†] See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 37, 42; and

Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., cc. iv., v.

[‡] See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. vii.

to "strip the whore naked^a." But I think the crown of England had better take it for a dream, than undertake the consequences of it by taking it for God's will revealed by Scripture. As for the account of religion: ask but Geneva^b, whether the late usurper would not have served their turn for a head of the protestant party, as well as the crown of England; and say, how desirable that headship is in point of religion, which such a miscreant could wear. And, therefore, the only religious choice in this case hath nothing in the account of secular interest to discourage it. That is to say, there is a cheerful hope of God's blessing upon a resolution of owning the whole consequence of that profession, which the reformation of this Church materially owneth^c,—of unity with the catholic Church;—which whole consequence consisteth in owning the faith and the laws of it. Then is there a certainty of friendship with all Christian powers in all causes and against all persons which shall make religion a pretence of altering allegiance^d; this being the common cause of all Christian powers, to hold all, that make such pretence, common enemies both to their common Christianity and to their several sovereignties.

S E C T.
III.
[Rev. xvii.
15, 16.]

[IV.]

As for the consequence, which this principle might have had in preventing the schisms, that have fallen out in the Reformation, to weaken and in fine to destroy it: first, in that which concerneth the holy eucharist between the Lutherans and the Calvinists^e, there is this advantage in it; which it will tie the parties to retire to, in case neither of both can

[Consequence of this principle as regards the schisms among those of the Re-

^a See Just Weights and Measures, cc. ii. § 5; and Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. vii.

^b Dr. Vaughan of University College, London, published in 1839, in two volumes, under the title of The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell and the State of Europe during the early part of the Reign of Louis XIV. &c., a series of letters between Dr. John Pell, resident Ambassador with the Swiss Cantons, Sir Samuel Morland, Sir William Lockhart, Secretary Thurloe, and others, in 1654—1658, which (in conjunction with the evidence adduced

above in Just Weights and Measures, c. ii. § 5. note o) shews clearly the light in which foreign Protestants, and especially the Genevese, regarded Cromwell. See especially vol. i. pp. 19—25, 45, 86, 96, 135—140, 191 sq., and elsewhere.

^c See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., cc. v., vi.

^d See above in sect. [I.]

^e See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. i. § 3. notes g, h; c. iii. § 5—16; and Hospinian, Bucer in his Scripta Anglicana, and others there quoted.

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IV.

formation
about the
holy eu-
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make their opinions to belong to the faith: which is manifest to all that move for mutual toleration between them. The advantage is this:—that it evidenceth the [inclination] of the parties to this forbearance, demonstrating the office of charity in preferring the unity of the Church before the opinions, which they cannot be forced by dispute to renounce. It is true, the consequence hereof will be, that transubstantiation must of necessity be counted one opinion that ought to make no breach. But let him, that is troubled at that, take notice thereby, that he is out of charity inasmuch as he dislikes it. Then, there is one thing, as well received by this Church as by the catholic Church^f, which, though it be not enough to determine the question, yet makes such a step towards it, that the rest may appear not to endanger the faith. For he, that acknowledgeth the Body and Blood of Christ present in the sacrament, not by virtue of the faith which it is received with, but by virtue of the consecration of it which the Church giveth (which the English liturgy^g as plainly professeth as the liturgies of the ancient Church); he shall need to fear no defect in his faith: knowing, that there can be no faith, which was not so from the beginning^h; and that there is no act of the Church within the time limited to decree the manner of the changeⁱ. Whereas, make the faith of him that receives the cause of the presence, and there will remain no cause either of sacrament or consecration or Church, to do that, which faith does without elements^k. For who doubts, that faith eats and drinks the Flesh and Blood of Christ without the sacrament, if the consecration and the office of the Church and the sacrament itself be not neglected? Besides, how can he, that receives, “eat and drink his own damnation” for “not discerning” and considering “the Lord’s Body,” if It be not present, but made only present by his faith? The petitioner no way doubts, that the manner of the presence is to be cleared,

[1 Cor. xi.
27, 29.]

^f See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. ii. § 8, sq., c. iii. § 5, 6: Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. 45—58: and Just Weights and Measures, c. xiv. § 5, sq.

^g See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. v. § 36—38.

^h See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxi. § 1, c. xxii. § 6, 7, c. xxviii. § 56, 57; Bk. II. Of the Cov.

of Gr., c. xvii. § 12; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. iv. § 70; and Conclusion, § 25, 26: and Just Weights and Measures, c. vi. § 3.

ⁱ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. iv. § 37, sq.

^k See *ibid.*, c. iii. § 5, 6.

neither by transubstantiation, nor by consubstantiation, nor by those that derive it not from the consecration; but by some of those Church-writers, that dealt in the point at the time when it seems to have been first questioned, under the successors of Charles the Great, and the sayings of some of the ancient fathers that concur in the same¹. But because he cannot deny, that several opinions were then lawfully professed; and, therefore, that none can ever be necessary to salvation for all to believe: he thinks it advantage enough for the catholic Church in this point, that those, who have the truth, are assured by the authority thereof, that they are to tolerate those, who have not attained the same.

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IV.

[V.]

But the schism of the Arminians, as to the cause of it, comprehendeth the Lutherans also; standing divided from the Calvinists as well upon the point of grace and free-will^m, as of the sacramental presence. And of that it may be said, that, had they contented themselves with that which the ancient Church hath determined, truth and peace might both have been preserved. After so many and so eager debates, as well within the communion of the Church of Rome as within the Reformation, it cannot be said, that the Church hath attained one grain of truth more, than is contained in those decrees of the Church which the occasion of Pelagius his heresy brought forth: I mean those Gallican councils, which were held upon occasion of the dispute that arose in those parts concerning absolute predestination as well to glory and shame as to effectual or only sufficient graceⁿ. This dispute was lastly determined by the second council of Orange^o, and the articles thereof yet extant^p, containing the whole truth concerning effectual grace, that the Church is trusted with: which if they be duly accounted the bulwark of faith, they, that see they cannot be the less in

[Consequence of the same principle as regards the schisms among those of the Reformation respecting grace and free-will.]

¹ See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. iv. § 37, sq.

^m See *ibid.*, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxi. § 6, c. xxv. § 18, c. xxvi. § 34: and Just Weights and Measures, c. xiii. § 4.

ⁿ See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xix. § 23, c. xxvi. § 22—28.

^o See *ibid.*

^p See *ibid.*

SECT. V. love with them because the authority of the see of Rome had

a hand in them, may see, what service that authority hath done the Church in this cause, and believe it may do the like in others, should it but retire to the same bounds. For whereas there had passed before two councils in the case of one Lucidus a priest, that maintained absolute predestination both to glory and to shame^a; the one at Lyons, the result whereof we have in a letter of Faustus one of the council, subscribed by the greatest part of it, containing the articles which he was to renounce if he would not be condemned; the other at Arles, the result whereof we have in a letter of Lucidus to the council, containing the articles which he doth renounce: the second council of Orange, coming after both these, and therefore carrying the force if anything of difference may appear, cannot be said to have derogated from these in any particular. It is true, Faustus, writing two books, *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, in defence of the councils and of these articles, hath incurred the censure of a council at Rome under Gelasius I. pope, which makes the work apocrypha^r; as it doth also the writings of Joannes Cassianus in the same cause^s. But this censure signifieth no more but that the Church warranteth not their books and doctrine. For neither were the persons condemned; and when the see of Rome under Pope Hormisdas was earnestly solicited to condemn the books and writers, it is plainly refused^t. And, therefore, both letters, and both councils so far as concerns those letters, remain authorized by that rule of the law, which obliges all them, that own the articles of Orange to be an exception to the doctrine contained in the articles of the two foregoing councils, to acknowledge that nothing is derogated from that, to which the articles of Orange make no exception. Whereunto if we add the constant sense of the Greek fathers^u, as well since the condemning of Pelagius (wherein it is manifest, that the eastern Church did concur with the western), as afore; it will appear, that the truth of Christ, as well as the peace of His Church, requireth, that the efficacy of grace be main-

^a See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxvi. § 22, 25.

^r See *ibid.*, c. xix. § 23. note g.

^s *Ibid.*

^t *Ibid.*; and c. xxvi. § 26. note y:

but see Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.*, tom. xvi. Vie de Fauste, art. 7.

^u See Voas., as quoted in Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xix. § 18. note y.

tained upon such grounds and within such terms, as to maintain a possibility of being saved to all that fail of salvation within the pale of the Church. And therefore the petitioner hopes, that he hath done no bad service to the Church in so distinguishing, that predestination to grace effectual or only sufficient be held to be absolute, but to glory or shame, to proceed upon supposition of such helps as may save any man within the Church, doing what he may do by those helps, and with respect to what he shall have done or not done by the same^x. Though, hoping he cannot be singular, walking within those bounds to which the Church consenteth, he hopeth also, that in this opinion he shall not be found above [them]: but assureth himself, that all the contentions of these times have not advanced one grain of truth more than these alternate articles contain. And of this he hath a sure argument;—that, this controversy reviving under the successors of Charles the Great upon occasion of the monk Godscalcus, that party, that was the most jealous of the efficacy of grace upon God's predestination, hath admitted some of these articles, which since are pretended to have been repealed or at least antiquated by the articles of Orange, being the later in time^y.

[VI.]

But when he alloweth, that this dispute ought to have staid within the bounds limited by the ancient Church, he must for the interest of the common faith and salvation expressly caution, that the same consent ought to exclude and shut out of the Church, all that hath been disputed or decreed, that whosoever is once in the state of God's grace can never fall totally and finally from it, as consequent to the faith of God's predestination to effectual grace. They, that shall have found the consent of the Church in the efficacy of grace upon God's predestination, shall never be able to produce any writing allowed by the ancient Church, that ever questioned the interruption of God's grace upon the forfeiture of

[The opinion, that whosoever is once in the state of God's grace, can never fall totally and finally from it, to be wholly excluded and shut out of the Church.]

^x See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxvi.; and Just Weights and Measures, c. xiii.

^y See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxvi. § 25, 27.

SECT. VI. the condition reserved at baptism, upon which it is held^a.

For as for Augustin^a, one word will serve the turn:—that his books *De Prædestinatione Sanctorum*, and *De Dono Perseverantiæ*, both of them proceed upon this supposition; that many, who had been saved had they been cut off in that estate in which God might have taken^b them, have survived to fall from that estate and to fail of it; others, who had failed of it had they been cut off in that estate in which God might have taken them, do survive to hearken to the call of His grace and are saved.—And though there be some appearance of this opinion in the writings of Gregory the Great^c; yet neither will any man, that considers how much he is St. Augustin's scholar, ever believe, that he goes aside from his master in this point, or that it is any more than an appearance. But besides the consent of the ancient Church, there is the consent of the Lutherans^d, acknowledging this point for part of the cause of their schism from the Calvinists; there is the article of the Church of England^e, so express in the point, that, the condition of our baptism being owned, nothing but a gloss that corrupts the text can come to darken the truth. So that, of all points in difference, this is that, wherein the whole Church is on the one side and Calvin on the other side. The petitioner confesseth, that he hath had so much reverence for the piety and learning of divers doctors of this Church, that their credit hindered him a long time of that freedom, wherewith a point so near

^a See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxxi. § 45—50.

^b See *ibid.*, § 10, 46, 48—50; and Just Weights and Measures, c. xiii. § 4.

^c Miswritten in MS., "even taken:" possibly for "overtaken."

^d See Epilogue, as in note z, § 47.

^e The various attempts to unite the Lutherans and the Reformed or Calvinists are enumerated by Mosheim (*Ecl. Hist.*, Bk. iv. cent. xvii. sect. ii. Pt. ii. c. 1. § 3, sq.). At the formal conferences of Thorn (A.D. 1645) and Cassel (A.D. 1661), for which see J. W. Jäger (*Hist. Sæc. xvii. tom. i. decenn. v. p. 689*, and p. 703, and tom. ii. P. i. decenn. vii. p. 160, and p. 162), the point of indefectibility is especially noticed as one of the obstacles to union between the Lutheran and Calvinist

parties. The Augsburg Confession says, that "damnant Anabaptistas, qui negant semel justificatos iterum posse amittere Spiritum Sanctum" (*Conf. Aug. 1540*, § xi.: in *Syll. Confess. p. 173. Oxon. 1827*).

^f "After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again, and amend our lives." XXXIX. Articles, art. xvi. And see the account of the Puritan gloss of "neither totally nor finally," suggested in the Hampton Court Conference, and actually expressed in the Lambeth Articles by Whitaker; respectively, in Barlow's Account of the Hampton Court Conference, as quoted in Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr. c. xxxi. § 51. note z; and in Collier, *Ch. Hist.*, vol. ii. P. ii. Bk. vii. p. 644.

of kin to the very substance of faith is to be acknowledged^f. And his reverence of them allows them an excuse for them, which makes them so much the better Christians as they were the worse divines;—that they contradict themselves in it. For what should preserve the faith with an error, the consequence whereof destroys the faith, but the denying of that which a man's own opinion infers? Or who can allow him to be in the state of damnation, whom he denies to be out of the state [of grace], but he that would contradict himself in it? Or who can deny him to be in the state of damnation, that hath forfeited the contract of his baptism, but the fanatic, that allows no condition for the covenant of grace? Whatsoever inclination to goodness may remain in him that hath forfeited, though it be from God's grace, yet it makes not the state of grace, the covenant of grace being void. Whatsoever inclination to sin may remain in him that hath obtained, though God foresee, though He so order it, that a forfeiture succeed, makes him no less the child of God while in the state of grace.

[VII.]

Let no man therefore so abuse himself as to imagine, that [The principle of comprehension here proposed, a practicable one.] the way to peace in this Church is to authorize both parties: but to oblige both parties to stand to that, which it may appear that the ancient Church is agreed upon, before the corruption of it can appear, whether earlier or later, always later than the truth and the right. And that serves for an answer to the difficultest objection that can be made to this proposition;—that to bring the world to agreement, what is catholic in faith, what is according to the laws of the primitive Church in the state of these times, is the idea of a Church to be planted in Utopia, when Plato's commonwealth shall be settled there^g. He that forecasteth this, let him remember, that it must be either no Church or the same with that which was from the beginning; that nothing can be said of

^f For Thorndike's earlier leanings during the first part of his residence in Cambridge in the earlier years of the

reign of Charles I., see Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxx. § 12, 13.

^g See above in sect. [III.] note x.

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a Church, not supposing the men to be Christians; nor the men supposed to be Christians, not supposing them members of one catholic Church. Let him not say, that there is any controversy raised by this proposition; but a catholic remedy advanced, as well for those that visibly are on foot, as for all that possibly may arise. Let him consider, that episcopacy cannot be admitted without admitting every bishop in his diocese, every synod through the province, judge of all doctrines that can become questionable: [and] that if there be no law to judge by but what every one can plead to be meant by every scripture, there can be no end; but, confining the faith to that which the Church hath agreed in from the beginning, there will remain nothing undecided, which the condemning of Arius and Pelagius will not condemn withal. For as for the Anabaptists, it is evident, that the necessity of baptism to the salvation even of infants, received by the whole, is that which shut Pelagius out of doors^b; and must shut all out of doors, that own not the profession which we make at our baptism to be the title by which we hold the grace of God here, and the hope of salvation in the world to come: that is, all fanatics, and all misprisions that make men fanatics¹. So that there is no cause why it should not be said, that all, that is necessary to salvation to be believed, is owned by him, that renounceth the heresies of Arius and Pelagius with the Church. For neither can the heresy of the Socinians, which is the heresy both of Paulus Samosatenus and of Pelagius^k, subsist, condemning the heresy of Arius; and the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches, which employed the rest of the six general councils, are but the branches of it, concerning the Godhead incarnate. As for the rest of the councils, pretended but not owned to be general: nor can the decrees of them be owned for the

^b See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Gov. of Gr., c. xix. § 17, 18: and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. viii.

¹ See above, sect. [II.] note g: Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Gov. of Gr., c. i. § 8, 9, c. vii. § 7, c. xxi. § 2, &c.: and Just Weights and Measures, c. ix. § 1—3, with the references in the notes to the latter passage. The Act of Parliament "for the confirming and restoring of ministers (12 Car. II.

c. 17, A.D. 1660) specially excepts two classes of persons from all benefit by its provisions; 1, those who by preaching or in any other way defend the murder of Charles I.; 2, those who declare "by constant refusal to baptize," or in any other way, "an opinion against infant baptism."

^k See Just Weights and Measures, c. x. § 4. note m.

authority, which was usurped by the see of Rome before they came in force; nor can the matter of them be disowned, when the dependence of them upon the decrees of the time specified is demonstrable. Nor can it be difficult, how the faith, thus limited within so narrow a compass, should be maintained; so long as the discipline of the universities is so easily manageable as it is. For if any man marvel, that after almost twenty years of confusion, wherein there was neither faith nor Church in the nation, the universities being left to themselves should not return to the same studies of divinity, which former times derived from the writings of the fathers that maintained the faith of the Church¹; [he] must marvel, that the end, which ought to be the maintaining of the faith, is not to be had without the means of maintaining the sense of the Scriptures to stand within the bounds of it. But seeing universities, if they be not the means to maintain the sense of the Scriptures to stand within the bounds of that faith, are adversaries not instruments to the office of the Church: if an effectual course be [not] taken, that nothing be taught, nothing be studied, but that which the Church, enforced by the law of the land, shall authorize to be taught, and to be studied; if superiors be not repossessed of authority, to see the inferiors spend their time in those studies of the Scriptures which the Church allows, and account taken of it; it will not be possible to maintain, that the founding of colleges and universities is a work of charity, unless there may be charity without the compass of God's Church. But as it is a short work to declare and require by a law of the land, that all differences about the sense of the

¹ Burnet (Hist. of His Own Time, Bk. ii. vol. i. p. 332), writing of the year 1662 and the time immediately after the Restoration, rather differs from this account. He says, that "learning was then high at Oxford: chiefly the study of the oriental tongues, which was much raised by the Polyglot Bible, then lately set forth:" that "they read the fathers much there:" and that "mathematics and the new philosophy were in great esteem, and the meetings that Wilkins had begun at Oxford were" afterwards "held in London," scil. the first meetings of the Royal Society, of which Bp. Seth Ward, of Trinity Col-

lege, Oxford, was the second president. It is plain, too, by the names of Cudworth, More, and many others, that a *learned* school existed at the time at Cambridge; however infected by Platonism and by Latitudinarianism. And the names of Barrow and Newton shew, that the latter part also of Burnet's account of Oxford was true of Cambridge as well. Nevertheless the history of Scargill in 1669 (for which see below in the Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties, c. xxii.), reveals the existence in Cambridge of the horrible combination of license and infidelity which upon the Restoration was spread over the land.

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hath enacted, be determinable within those bounds, which the consent of the catholic Church, expressed as is aforesaid, limiteth; so will it not be difficult to confine the liberty of disputing and determining within the same bounds, in the universities. Especially, provision being made, that no other catechizing shall be used in inferior schools than that which the Church hath prescribed, and the law of the land enacted. Indeed, the discipline of the universities, being to season the youth of the nation for the clergy principally (which cannot be seasoned to that contempt of pleasure and profit, to that alienation from the love of the world, wherein the profession of the clergy^m engageth them over and above the rate of common Christianity), the discipline thereof, being so released, beyond all the injury of time that had passed afore, by so many years' vacancy of allegiance and canonical obedience, cannot in reason seem restorable by ordinary means. Custom alone easily prevails above statute; much more when usurpation, not statute, authorizes government. But if laws given by private founders cannot exclude the interest of the crown or of the Church in framing the manners of youth educated by their charge to the ends of both, for the reasons afore touched; the wisdom and learning and age and gravity of superiors, and the flexibility of inferiors in the university by reason of their age, will make them of all other bodies most capable of those impressions, which the maintaining of the faith thus limited shall require either of the kingdom or of the Church. It is true, this severity and retiredness of education may seem improper for colleges designed for the education of the youth of other qualities and professions, as of those which aim at the service of the Church. Nor would it be any inconvenience, if there be any colleges designed for the education of those that do not make profession of aspiring to holy orders, that the difference, which ought to appear between the conversation of the clergy and other Christians, should [be] formed from their youth by the difference of the discipline maintained by their several colleges. But those,

^m See above in the Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 21—24; Just Weights and Measures, c. xxiv. § 3; and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxii. § 23, 32.

that choose to have their children educated in colleges of divines, should be taught by the laws to conform to that discipline, which the design of their colleges requires: that the main design of such colleges suffer no dissolution by the service, which they do the kingdom upon the bye in the education of youth.

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There is therefore an Act Comprehensive to the purpose, that may and ought to be made, if the premisses be true, even by the civil power; by the same reason, and in the same right, as the Church is to have recourse to the civil power for the reformation of it. For, the reformation of the Church being only the restoring of that which may appear to have been from the beginning, there can be no more in limiting the reformation to those bounds than in reforming. But he, that tempts the legislative power of the kingdom to comprehend presbyterians in the same Act^a with the synods, which shall void all Acts that tender consciences can pretend to check at, tempts it to invade the right of the Church, and to make the will of those consciences a new law to it; being estated by God in an unquestionable right of giving law to the Church as the Church (though, as the Church of this kingdom, only the legislative power of this kingdom can give law to it), the matter of the law not obliging them to enact it. On the other side, let presbyterians (or whosoever they be) allow the reformation of the Church to be so limited; and there will remain no cause, why that, which their consciences stick at, might not be compromised to that debate, which there shall be a visible rule to determine. As, for the purpose: why the ceremonies, which are pretended to be matter of doubt, should not be tried by the rule, whether depending upon the primitive practice of the Church, or introduced by that abuse of the see of Rome or the corruption of time which we profess to reform; and, being freed from the imputation of idolatry and superstition inherent in them, fall under debate of the synods, to warrant the legisla-

[The Church justifiable in having recourse to the civil power to enforce such a principle, on the same grounds that justify the interference of the secular power in the Reformation itself.]

^a See the note prefixed to this tract.

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tive power, which is most for edification of piety in the unity of the Church. Neither is it otherwise intended of any opinion expressed in this petition, or whatsoever may become requisite to be determined for the same ends, but to leave it only triable by that sense of the Scripture, which may appear to be within the faith and the laws of the whole Church from the beginning. And though neither the pope can be antichrist, nor papists idolaters, but that the whole of [the] communion of that see must have forfeited the being of a visible Church: yet the difference being so great,—when all must be either partizans of antichrist and of idolatry, or schismatics at least, if not heretics, who hold the several opinions otherwise than upon invincible ignorance,—that it is not to be believed, that a Church can long continue in unity, that is compounded of such extremities; it will appear necessary to compromise the sense of those prophecies, wherein the decision of it lies, to the like debate. For to engage the legislative power of the kingdom in the sense of them before such an issue, would be to bring the credit of the Reformation to nothing in the opinion of them, who if they yield not to it, it cannot take place. And even in this dispute the force of the principle will appear, by which no man can pretend that it can be decided. For unless Christ be antichrist, and the whole Church liable to the crime of idolatry, and so no Church; it is manifest, that neither the pope can be antichrist, nor the papists idolaters, for anything that may appear^o to have been practised or held in the communion of the catholic Church.

[IX.]

[The power
of the bi-
shop and

Now, whereas the request pretends to allow episcopacy, did it allow the presbytery their due interest in the office^o;

^o Miswritten "appeared" in MS.

"Episcopacy is not condemned, nor any other form of government here insinuated; only a relaxation of the prescribed uniformity, and some indulgence to Dissenters of sound faith and good life, is submissively offered to the consideration of our superiors."

Discourse of Relig. of England, Preface.—"The ministers of the Presbyterian persuasion, in the proposals presented to his Majesty" (scil. in 1661), "declare, that they do not, nor ever did, renounce the true ancient primitive episcopacy or presidency, as it was ballanced or managed by a due com-

if this be meant as a cure for those imperfections of ecclesiastical government which occasion the present complaints, how far it is behind this proposition, let any good conscience judge. For he, that claims the restoring of the primitive canons, acknowledging the corruptions of time and of the see of Rome, which not all profess, claims a plaister as big as the wound^a: which signifies the cure, without reproach to superiors to weaken their authority. But the conjunction of presbytery with episcopacy signifies not the due interest of the bishop in his negative vote; which, being as ingenuously owned, as it is clearly proved, might without any dangerous change reconcile the primitive rules to the present state of things^b. For who would not be glad to see the power of the keys managed by the priesthood, by whom only it can be managed without sacrilege? Who would not be glad to see deans and chapters act in their own sphere to the removing of scandals and the curing of sin^c? Who would not be glad to see all, that come to discretion, profess their faith and be confirmed by the bishop, upon due examination in that catechism which the law allows, and none else^d? But can this be done, if the original right of the bishop in licensing and unlicensing all preachers within his diocese be liable to any judicatory but the synod, whereof all are members^e? All other bounds of their power will be found usurpation by sacrilege, if our faith be the faith of God's Church. But this will require, that no presbyter be member of more than one diocese^f; that he may be answerable to his own bishop, when there shall be no relation but to one. This will render archdeacons serviceable to their bishops^g; as not

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presbyters
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mixture of presbyters therewith." Ibid. sect. xvi. p. 34.—The repeated plea of Baxter throughout is against the "*English frame of diocesan episcopacy*," as he styles it, admitting what he terms Ussher's model of primitive bishops.

^a See Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences Discussed and Answ., sect. iv. § 2: and Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., ca. vi., sq.

^b See Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 29—33; and Disc. of Forb. or Pen. &c., c. xxiii. in fin.

^c See Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 30: Disc. of Forb. or Pen. &c., c. xxiii. in fin.

^d See Just Weights and Measures, c. xviii. § 2, c. xxi. § 9.

^e See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxiv. Among the propositions of the nonconformists in 1661 for comprehension, one was for an appeal from the bishops on behalf of suspended ministers to the king's courts, which however was rejected by Wilkins: see note prefixed to this tract.

^f Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxiv.

^g See *ibid.*; and Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences Discussed and Answ., sect. v. § 5.

S E C T. only present to execute his commissions, but as claiming no
I X. right in competition with him, but by delegation from him. This will put all the clergy in a posture to execute such part of the office common to bishop and presbyters, as the bishop shall find either too small, or too remote, or too various, for his own greater employments to deal with; his authority always going along in his commission, and his wisdom reserving to himself all that which difficulty or weight will not endure to be trusted otherwise. But this point of reformation requires an act of secular power; because it is not to be expected from the canons of the Church and the office of it: or, rather, because the abuse of ecclesiastical power hath made the secular jealous of lending it that help, without which it is and must needs become ineffectual to the salvation of souls.

[What state-enactments necessary respecting causes ecclesiastical.]

But allow the consequence of the principle supposed from the beginning: and it will appear necessary, that all, who are to be convicted of capital or infamous crimes, whether their life be spared or not, be not admitted to communion and society with Christians, till they have satisfied the Church of their penitence; and if they die without communion, be not buried with the burial of Christians*. A thing so requisite, that it cannot truly be called a Christian kingdom or commonwealth, that provideth not for it. And the necessity of this provision appeareth at present in the increase of that detestable custom of the duels*; the provision recommended importing a kind of infamy among Christians, and therefore at least preserving Christianity from being thought consistent with such a stain. This one particular puts us in mind, that the Reformation cannot be complete, till the Church and kingdom provide themselves of such laws for the proceeding of ecclesiastical causes, as come not from the see of Rome (the corruptions whereof we profess to reform), but from the primitive canons limited to the present state of times and

* See Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 50, with references in the notes there; and below, Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., cc. xxi., xxv.

* In October 1666 a bill was actually introduced into the house of commons to prevent duelling, but it

appears to have dropped after a first reading (Journals). The horrible duel in which the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Shrewsbury were principals, occurred in January 1667 (Pepys' Diary, Jan. 17. 1667, vol. iv. pp. 325—327. Lond, 1848; Baxter's Life of Himself, Pt. iii. p. 22).

things^b. It cannot be much regretted, that the form drawn up under Edward the Sixth^c never attained the force of law : because it proceeded not upon the principle here claimed. But if we will justify our reformation to God and to His Church, it appears time to do it, when no end of differences can appear without doing it.

S E C T.
IX.

[X.]

Now whereas so many of the gentry, and almost all corporations, are so inclined to the Presbyterians^d, that it is said to be the interest of the nation to change their religion for a few preachers' sake; it is as easy to say, whence that comes. For it is well enough known, how many church[es], especially in corporations, were appropriated to monasteries : and, at the dissolution, how many of the gentry shared with the crown in the endowments of those churches^e. The

[The true cure for the prevalence of presbyterianism in the towns and among the gentry : a consequence, that has arisen from

^b See Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences Discussed and Answ., sect. v. § 2 : and Disc. of Forb. or Penalties &c., cc. xviii., xxiii.

^c See *ibid*.

^d "The Non-conformists are everywhere spread through city and country; they make no small part of all ranks and sorts of men. . . They are not excluded from among the nobility, among the gentry they are not a few; but none are of more importance than they in the trading part of the people, and those that live by industry, upon whose hands the business of the nation lies much. It hath been noted, that some who bear them no good will, have said, 'that the very air of corporations is infected with their contagion!' " Disc. of Rel. of Engl., sect. xi. p. 23.—Owen on the other hand, in his Peace Offering or Apology and Plea for Indulgence &c., p. 7, depreciates the numbers of the Independent portion of the Dissenters:—"What are we that publick disturbance should be feared from us; nec pondera rerum nec momenta sumus."—A return made to William III. (quoted by H. Mann, in the census abstract respecting Religious Worship in Great Britain, p. 43) sets the Conformists at that time at 2,477,254, the Non-conformists at 108,676, and the Roman-Catholics at 13,856. 1800 seems to be the number generally admitted, of ministers ejected in 1662 (so

e. g. Baxter, *Life of Himself*, Pt. iii. p. 90). Calamy in his *Life of Baxter* (vol. i. c. x. p. 195) raises the number to 2000; and so does White Kennet (*Register*, p. 748): but the latter intimates that this number is founded on a very liberal and rather exaggerated estimate (*ibid*. pp. 919, 920).

^e See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xx.—Spelman on *Sacrilege* (last enlarged edition, 8vo. Lond. 1853) supplies ample proof of the latter part of the statement in the text. And compare Bacon's well-known declaration (*Of the Purification &c. of the Church of England*, § touching the provision for sufficient maintenance in the Church, Works, vol. ii. p. 531. Lond. 1826), that "all the parliaments since 27 and 31 Henry VIII., who gave away impropriations from the Church, seem to me to stand in a sort obnoxious and obliged to God in conscience to do somewhat for the Church, to reduce the patrimony thereof to a competency."—Respecting corporations and borough towns, see the quotation from Eclard in the notes to *Just Weights and Measures*, c. xxv. § 1, for the fact itself, and for the first feeble attempt after the Restoration to remedy it. Burnet (*Hist. of His Own Time*, Bk. ii. vol. i. p. 320) laments, and as Swift annotates, with justice, that the fines due upon renewing leases of Church property at the Restoration had not been applied to increasing the

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X.

the confiscation of Church-property, and the consequent substitution of lecturers for curateæ.]

churches then of corporations being left without legal endowment, and so destitute of sufficient preachers, it is no marvel, that they were allowed to find themselves a mongrel clergy; who, having for form's sake got ordination of the bishops, made it their business to destroy them, who gave them their orders, and climb into their seats by the people to whom they preached: not to be removed, when once admitted, without seeming to hinder the instruction of the people and the advancement of godliness. There can not be a juster exception against all that is proposed in favour of these, than that is demonstrable;—that the late war came from no other source than this sharing of the endowment of

small vicarages. And in 1665, an Act of Parliament was passed (17 Car. II. c. 3) to the following effect (but it seems to have proved an inefficacious remedy)—“Forasmuch as the settled provision for ministers in most cities and towns corporate within this realm is not sufficient for the maintenance of able ministers fit for such places, whereby mean and stipendiary preachers are entertained to serve the cures there; who, wholly depending for their maintenance upon the goodwill and liking of their auditors, have been and are thereby under temptation of too much complying and suiting their doctrine and teaching to the humour rather than good of their auditors, which hath been a great occasion of faction and schism, and of the contempt of the ministry: the lords and commons in parliament assembled, being deeply sensible of the ill consequence thereof, and piously desiring able ministers in such places, and a competent settled maintenance for them by the union of churches,” &c. &c., proceed to enact how churches and chapels in cities and towns may be united, and to authorize owners of impropriations to annex them to the churches of the places whence they arise, without license of mortmain.—The Five-mile Act also, prohibiting non-conformists from sojourning within five miles of any corporation (17 Car. II. c. 2. A.D. 1665), was aimed at disabling them from preaching in those places, where, as Baxter says (Life of Himself, Pt. iii. p. 3), “there was the greatest need of” them, “partly because of the numerousness of the people” (see below in The Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences Discussed &c. &c., sect. v.

§ 10), “partly also because most corporations having smaller maintenances than the rural parishes, are worse provided for by the conformists.” It is well known also, how strongly London was at that time disposed to the dissenting interest: and Baxter accordingly reckons among his “advantages” at Kidderminster (*ibid.*, Pt. i. p. 89), what has now a strange sound enough, that “their constant converse and traffic with London doth much promote civility and piety among tradesmen.” See also above, sect. ii. note c.—The state of things in this respect before the rebellion is notorious. See e.g. Laud's annual accounts of his province to the King, where seditious and schismatic lecturers, and impropriations, and poor vicarages in market-towns, are the continual complaint (Laud's Works, vol. v. pp. 319—321, 325—328, 333—336, &c. &c.); and Charles' instructions (*ibid.*, pp. 307, 308, 312) dated in 1629 and 1634, direct “great care to be taken concerning lecturers, and particularly those in market-towns and corporations.” The Puritan scheme of buying the impropriations of the towis, which Laud quashed (Diary Feb. 13, 1633, and list of the Abp.'s projects at the end of the Diary, Works, vol. iii. pp. 216, 253), points the same way. And when the printing press was but just beginning to make its power felt, the occupation of the pulpits in great towns by men, who made their sermons occasions of venting both political and ecclesiastical opinions, must have been of proportionately greater weight.

† See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xx.

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the churches^c.—For this opens the right and the true cure. Let all churches be provided by law with that, which is sufficient to entertain able curates; and the occasion will be taken away, that first made them look after lecturers. Not that the humour of the people can ever be diverted, if they feel themselves fomented by their governors. But that it may appear, that they are fomented by them, that propose false remedies. The sacrilege, indeed, that was committed upon the monasteries, deserves an act of oblivion; not of the state, for there is no necessity, but of the Church^d. For as it admits all them, that enjoy the benefit thereof, to communion without restitution, so it were to be wished, that this were openly professed, as well as really done. Not as if the Church did take upon itself to secure the consciences of those, that are interested; but as professing to pass by all, that was so done, leaving the interested to their own consciences^e. Because the case is not the same with those, that did first contract for such goods, as with their posterity; upon whom the charge of their families is left, to be sustained out of those goods. And the precedent of the see of Rome in this point was upon due authority of the ancient Church in cases of so great exigence^f; who, at the reconciling of England under Queen Mary, quite passed over this whole point in silence^g. And, the Church quitting all claim for that which is past, it need not seem so difficult to restore the breach, from which all this trouble comes, observing the ancient order of the Church, as they who would have the Church destroyed would have it seem.

* * * * *

[XI.]

It is the observation of Tacitus^m, that, when the Romans [The principle proposed suf-
were weary of their civil dissensions, they submitted readily

^c See *ibid.*; and Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences Discussed and Answered, sect. v. § 7, 8: and above in note e.

^d See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Church, c. x. § 31, 32: Just Weights and Measures, c. xxv. § 1: and below, Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xx.

^e Compare the Introductory Essay to the last edition of Spelman, On Sacrilege &c., pp. 102—106. Lond. 1853.

^f See references in notes g, h.

^g See *ibid.*

^m "Cuncta, discordiis civilibus fessa, nomine Principis sub imperium (Augustus) accepit." Tac., Ann. i. 1.

SECT. XI. to the dominion of Augustus; that had so abhorred monarchy before. It is no submission, that a Conference can

sufficient ground for a Conference, the terms settled at which shall be enforced by competent penalties.]

pretend, but to the will of God in founding the Church, as well as in delivering the Scriptures; and that, to preserve the common Christianity, as well as the Reformation, both remediless without the help of it. For what hope to reduce recusants on both sides, as well upon pretence of new light, as upon account of the see of Rome, without uniting those, that thirst for reformation by law of the kingdom? Or what hope to create confidence, that the reformation will be inviolable, which now is questioned upon such slight occasions, without bounding the sense of the Scripture upon terms which we own from God's law? Or why should the reformation prevail, without reason why it should be inviolable? Let the legislative power of the kingdom once profess to reform by such laws, as shall make good the faith and the laws of the primitive Church; and not only the new lights of Independent Congregations, but even the popish recusants, shall be obliged either to concur to those laws, by tendering their demands, or remain liable to the penalties that shall appear competent to reduce them to obedience^a. It is manifest indeed by reason and common experience, that the laws of the primitive Church are neither fit nor sufficient for these times: by reason of that great difference, which hath succeeded in the state of the Church, between the endeavour of introducing Christianity and the settling of it by Christian states. But that will not hinder the original laws of the Church to remain unviolated, though not fit nor sufficient for the present turn; the present laws being bounded within the compass of them. Now I demand of all, that agree upon the account we are to give for all that we do, with what conscience we would oblige both sorts of recusants, if we have not reason enough to convince those parties that agree for reformation by the law of the kingdom? There is now no more time to play the wantons in finding fault before we know what we would have. They, that think they can shew reason for what they would have, shall have no cause to

^a Compare Just Weights and Measures, Pref. to all Christian Readers, § 4; and c. xxv.; below, Plea of Weak-

ness &c. Discussed, sect. iv. § 2; Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c., cc. viii., ix., xxvi., &c.

think they have reason, if it may appear inconsistent with that which the primitive Church hath either enjoined or allowed. When there is no other exception liable, who would not hope for an agreement between those, that see themselves thus straitened to it? I confess this supposeth, that the sectaries are none of the "protestant subjects*." But as I confess also, that I cannot be one of the "protestant subjects" of this kingdom if they be;—for though I protest against the abuses of the see of Rome, yet God forbid I should protest against the articles of my creed, as I have shewed that they do:—so cannot the kingdom take them for other than recusants, who protest against all laws of the kingdom by which religion may be established in it^p. And therefore they can no more come into agreement, till they compromise the cause of this separation to debate; than popish recusants, till they allow the pope's power to be limited by the catholic Church, and the laws of their country that shall walk within the same bounds. Upon what terms they may be allowed to be good Englishmen, that refuse the religion of the catholic Church established by the laws of their country; there will be time to debate, when we consider the penalties, which it may be enacted with. For the present, supposing law of the kingdom, we must suppose penalty; without which the law of the kingdom signifies nothing^q. And indeed common reason cannot suppose, that the sovereign power believeth that which it enacteth; unless it exercise competent penalties. For how can any man be thought to believe that which he professeth, unless he do that which he may do for the settling of it? I know, that which even sovereign power may do for the establishment of religion within the dominion of it, is not without bounds. For if the commonwealth be the

* For the persons intended by this phrase, see Discourse of Religion of England, &c., sect. xi. p. 23, urging the number and importance of the "protestant" subjects.—The speech, with which Charles II. opened the Parliament Feb. 10, 1667 (see note prefixed to this tract), concluded with the words,—“And for the settling of a firm peace as well at home as abroad, one thing more I hold myself obliged to recommend to you at this present; which is, that you

would seriously think of some course to beget a better union and composure in the minds of my *protestant subjects* in matters of religion; whereby they may be induced, not only to submit quietly to the government, but also cheerfully give their assistance to the support of it.”

^p See Just Weights and Measures, c. xxv. § 7. note y.

^q See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., cc. xxvii., xxix.

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harbour of the Church, the inn which it is to lodge in for the time of this pilgrimage; then can it no more be for the good of the Church, that the peace of the world should be called in question for the reforming of religion, than it can be for the good of travellers that their inn should be set on fire by fitting their lodgings. But there can be no pretence, that it should be for the peace of the world to profess that in religion, which it shall not be for the peace of the world to perform. For the reputation of sincerity in religion is of as much advantage to the world, as sincerity in religion is to God. Which if it be true, then have we gained this, to make that forbearance, which may authorize an amicable conference of matters in debate between them that agree to reform by law of the kingdom;—that mutual forbearance so exercised cannot be to effect, unless competent penalties be declared for recusants:—which makes the necessity of limiting reformation by the catholic Church both evident and invincible, because there can be no other title of declaring competent penalties for subjects that will not concur to it. But I have not yet said all, that constrains the parties interested to forbearance in order to satisfaction by conference. They, that know the present complexion of the two universities, must needs know, how much the credit of the Presbyterian doctrine is sunk in the reputation of those that study divinity^r. Not that the credit of the Fathers and their sense of the Scripture hath taken place instead of it: but that, being no way become contemptible, it seemeth too long and difficult for them, that desire to speed their studies into the pulpit. This is certainly one reason, why unstable spirits itching for novelty do venture at divers positions destructive to the foundation of faith; being loath to allow time for the consequence, before they engage in a sentence. Hence comes those books and sermons, which we have seen and heard of; for the pre-existence of souls^s, the salvation of Gentiles as Gentiles^t, the immortality of beasts' souls as well as men's^u;

^r See above, sect. vii. note 1: and Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxii.

^s See above, sect. ii. note r.

^t See *ibid.*, note t.

^u e. g. Ruat, in his book cited above in sect. ii. note r, maintains (pp. 84,

85), that "the souls of beasts are spirits, ... and therefore remain after all fates whatever undiminishable and indissoluble in their intire substances." —One Jeremy White, once a chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, seems to have held the same point of Origenianism, if one

derogating from the faith of original sin, the last judgment, and the necessity of the grace of Christ to the world to come. I say nothing of the heresies of Socinus; because it cannot be said, that it hath been so openly professed^v. But as long as Episcopius his books have such vogue^x (which make the faith of the holy Trinity indifferent^y, which bring original sin to nothing, both name and thing^z), who can love the faith and not be jealous for it? It cannot be denied, that the humour of questioning the crown and the Church hath had influence upon the studies, which have been cherished under it: and that the endeavours of giving new light to the knowledge of nature in this age, deceives young heads to think [it^a] commendable to innovate in the doctrine of faith as well^a as in the understanding of the Scripture. But as this is a mistake in religion, to hold light to the Scripture, not reserving the original faith; so is not this reservation to be preserved without the breeding which shall maintain a competent reverence for the Church. For the present, this being our case, are not the parties very forcibly

is to judge by the title of a book of his (published however, not till 1712, after his, and after Thorndike's death); viz., *The Restoration of All Things, or a Vindication of the Goodness and Grace of God to be manifested at last in the Recovery of His whole Creation out of the Fall*. And one Puccius held the same doctrine in his arguments against Socinus (*Op. Socini*, tom. ii. p. 269, and Socinus's answer, *ibid.*, p. 320; and see also Crellius, *Ethic. Christian.*, lib. ii. c. 1. *Op. tom. iv.* p. 251, who seems to hold that beasts are to undergo judgment as well as men). Cudworth also in his *Intellectual System* (publ. in 1678), c. i. § 35. tom. i. p. 66. ed. Mosheim, seems to argue for the immortality of beasts' souls, but on considerations analogous to those of Rust, viz., from the rationality of their nature. And for the great dispute respecting the souls of beasts, whether really spiritual and rational, or wholly automata and without sense, which was current in Thorndike's time, and on which hangs the further question of their immortality—where Pereira, in 1557 and 1587, had led the way for Des Cartes in maintaining the latter view, and one Rorarius in 1654 had preceded Leibnitz in supporting the former, and in

which Sir K. Digby before, and Dr. Willis of Oxford after, Thorndike's present tract, took a part,—see Bayle, *Dict. artt. Pereira, Rorarius*.

^v That Episcopius and the Remonstrants of his school were accused of Socinianism, and undoubtedly held communion with Socinians, see above in sect. ii. notes x, y; and below in the *Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c.*, c. xix. In England, the works of the Socinians were indeed published at London in 1656 in several folio volumes: but the treatment of Biddle shews how little real footing they found even then. And after the Church regained her position, they never so far held their ground as to prevent the imputation being a mark of disgrace. That the Latitudinarian school developed rapidly in that direction is undeniable: see e.g. Leslie's tracts against Tillotson on the subject, and the latter's connection with Firmin.

^x See above, sect. ii. note x.

^y *Ibid.*, note y.

^z *Ibid.*, note z.

^a "as" in MS. The words, "as well," a little further on, are interlined in the MS.; and the previous word "as," inadvertently allowed to stand.

SECT. XI. constrained to submit their advantages to God and to His Church? For, I suppose, they are agreed of themselves, that the word of God is to be obeyed. And I am very well assured, that the true meaning of God's word will appear to fall within that compass, which the faith and the laws of His Church will allow; whensoever men shall be disposed to give and receive satisfaction in it. If men cannot be content to continue in communion without usurping upon the Church, that is, upon the laws by which it is settled in hope of agreement; the case is deplorable. But they must be more barbarous than the savages of America, that had rather destroy the common Christianity, and render the Reformation hopeless, than not tear the Church in pieces to make themselves heads of a small rag of it. Let us look upon the example of the Jews^b; who had never been Jews, had they rested content with that forbearance which St. Paul allowed them at Rome. For had they not transgressed his authority, they must of necessity have found, by continuing in the Church, that they were free of the Law by the faith which he teacheth in that Epistle. The forbearance which a settled Church can extend to those that are not satisfied with the establishment of it, is to take such a course for their satisfaction that the penalties of them that shall refuse it may appear unavoidable. Otherwise what shall hinder men so disposed to play the wantons with religion, by tearing the Church in pieces?

^b Scil. at Rome in St. Paul's time. The Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences Discussed &c.
See the next tract in the present volume,

THE
PLEA OF WEAKNESS
AND
TENDER CONSCIENCES
DISCUSSED AND ANSWERED:
IN A DISCOURSE UPON ROMANS xv. 1.

PLEA OF WEAKNESS* &c.

WE THAT ARE STRONG OUGHT TO BEAR THE INFIRMITIES OF THE
WEAK.—ROMANS XV. 1.

[SECTION I.]

THE business of this epistle^b is to shew, that we are saved S E C T.
I.
by faith only, and not by the law of Moses also; no way as [Purpose
of the Epi-
stle to the
Romans.]
Jews, but only as Christians. This being done, at the twelfth chapter St. Paul begins to exhort them to live as Christians. And because the life of Christians is seen no less as they are members of the Church, than as they are particular Christians; in the fourteenth chapter he instructs them at large, how to live together in the Church. It consisted as well of Jews as Gentiles, converted to the faith. Those understood not, how salvation comes by the Gospel; which was to be had afore the Gospel under the Law. These, being called to salvation not knowing the Law, well understood, that they could not expect salvation by the Law, because they could not be tied to it.

* The MS. from which this tract is printed, is in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. It is now published for the first time. It was written with reference to the projected design of Comprehension and Indulgence, of which an account has been given in the note prefixed to the preceding tract; and appears to have been laid aside, when that design was crushed. A portion of its contents was employed by Thorndike in his subsequently published Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c. (see especially cc. i., x.—xiv., xx.—xxv., of that tract). Internal evidence seems to fix the date, at which it was written, to the end of 1667 or the beginning of 1668: inasmuch as allusion is made in it (see sect. iii. § 8, 9, 11,

12, and sect. iv. § 3, but especially sect. iv. § 6, and sect. vi. § 1) to the special conditions of both the Comprehension and the Indulgence just referred to, which it was intended to propose to Parliament in February 1667, and which were in that month so summarily crushed; and also to that precise period in the measures taken after the fire of London in Sept. 1666, when "a course had been taken to raise the city" itself, but not yet effectually to rebuild the churches, which, as may be seen in the notes to the passage referred to (sect. v. § 11), exactly coincides with the date just given.

^b See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. ix. § 19; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 11; Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. viii. § 6.

SECT.
I.

[The text
alleged by
the non-
conformists
on their
own be-
half.]

§ 2. The weakness of those is now alleged, to induce a change in some laws, by which religion is settled in this kingdom^c. And it seems there is nothing else left to allege. For it is not now said, as heretofore, that any thing prescribed by those laws is against God's law; nay, some of the "weak," that is, some of them that plead this text, acknowledge all to be lawful, that they require. But because all "the godly" cannot see it, therefore they would have the law abated to their capacity^d.

^c See Just Weights and Measures, c. iii. § 13, 14, c. xix. § 6, 7, and references there.—The topic was at least as old as the Hampton Court Conference in 1603; when "Master Knewstubs took exceptions to the cross in baptism," of which the first was "the offence of weak brethren, grounded upon the words of Saint Paul, Rom. xiv. and 1 Cor. viii.:" where King James's pithy questions in reply are noticeable—first, "how long they would be weak? whether 45 years were not sufficient for them to grow strong?" and, secondly, "who they were (who) pretended this weakness? for we," said the king, "require not now subscription of laics and idiots, but preachers and ministers, who are not still . . . to be fed with milk, but are enabled to feed others" (Barlow, Hist. of Hampt. Ct. Conf., Second Day, in Cardwell's Conferences, c. iv. p. 196, or in the Phoenix, vol. ii.) And Cartwright indeed had long before urged the same argument (see Hooker, E. P. IV. xii. 6, 7). See also above in Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. ix. § 16—23; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 9—12; and below in the Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., cc. i., x.—xvi.—In the non-conformist tracts, papers, and speeches, the topic is repeated in every conceivable form, and dilated upon *usque ad nauseam*. The strongest statement of the topic appears to be that in the Petition for Peace, published by the presbyterian ministers after the termination of the Savoy Conference:—"Lastly, we repeat what formerly we have said, that the Holy Ghost hath already so plainly decided the point in controversie, in the instance of meats and daies, Rom. xiv. 15, that it seemeth strange to us that yet it should remain a controversie: a weak brother that maketh an unnecessary difference of meats and daies, is not to bee cast out, but so to bee received, and not to bee troubled with doubtful disputations;" &c. (p. 18. 4to. Lond. 1661).

^d In the First Address and Proposals of the (Presbyterian) Ministers upon the Restoration (in Baxter's Life of Himself, edit. by Sylvester, Pt. ii. p. 235, or in Cardwell's Conferences, c. vii. p. 284), the ministers, affirming that the ceremonies in dispute "are at best but things indifferent," &c. &c., gave ground to Charles II., in his Declaration of Sept. 1660, to represent their sentiments thus—"We cannot but observe, that those pious and learned men, with whom we have conferred upon this argument" (of ceremonies), "and who are most solicitous for indulgence of this kind, are earnest for the same out of compassion to the weakness and tenderness of the conscience of their brethren; not that themselves, who are very zealous for order and decency, do in their judgments believe the practice of those particular ceremonies, which they except against, to be in itself unlawful" (in Baxter, *ibid.*, p. 263). To which the ministers rejoined (in Baxter, *ibid.*, p. 272), with a request, that his "Majesty would leave out those words concerning us—that we do not in our judgments believe the practice of those particular ceremonies which we except against to be in itself unlawful;—for we have not so declared our judgments. Indeed we have said, that, treating in order to a happy uniting of our brethren through the land, our work is not to say what is *our own* opinion, or what will *satisfie us*; but what will *satisfie* so many as may procure the said union. And we have said, that *some think some of them unlawful in themselves, and others but inconvenient*. And while the imposers think them but indifferent, we conceived they might be reasonably entreated to let them go."—Nevertheless the same ministers in their Exceptions &c. (Cardwell, *ibid.*, p. 313), do speak of "the things desired to be removed" as "*not being of the foundation of religion*"

§ 3. Here therefore I must, in the first place, challenge, S E C T.
 that whosoever has recourse to this plea, *ipso facto* quits I.
 all other claim of right by God's law^e. For this "weak- [They who
 ness" necessarily consists, in not understanding that free- *ipso facto* allege it,
quit all
other claim
of right.]
 dom, which God's law allows him, to do that which his
 weakness allows him not to do. It cannot then be pleaded
 for them, who maintain, that God's law allows it not.

§ 4. Being therefore well assured, that the meaning and [Two
 consequence of those words induces no such change, I have considera-
tions to be
proposed
out of it.]
 made choice of them, to propose two considerations out of
 them to those, of whom the change is demanded: the first,
 who are the "strong," and who are the "weak," first in the
 case of this epistle, then in our case according to the case of
 this epistle; the second, what forbearance is due to the
 "weak" from the "strong," first in the case of this epistle,
 then in our case by virtue of the case of this epistle.

nor the essentials of public worship."—
 Yet Baxter, in the beginning of 1673,
 expressed great indignation at Samuel
 Parker for making a similar assertion
 to that in the text, forgetting his own
 words seemingly (Baxter, *ibid.*, Pt. iii.
 pp. 103, 104).

* The non-conformists, on being
 driven to it, maintained at last in the
 Savoy Conference, that *eight* points of
 conformity were flatly sinful and con-
 trary to the word of God: scil. the pro-
 hibiting any minister from baptizing
 "without the transient image of the
 cross," or from ministering without the
 surplice, or from admitting communi-
 cants to receive who did not kneel;
 the obliging ministers "to pronounce
 all baptized children regenerate by the
 Holy Ghost, whether they are the chil-
 dren of Christians or not," and to minis-
 ter the Lord's Supper to the unfit, and
 to "absolve the unfit (and that in ge-
 neral expressions)," and to "give thanks
 for all whom they bury as brethren
 whom God has delivered and taken to
 Himself," and lastly to subscribe that
 there is "nothing contrary to the word
 of God in the Common Prayer, the
 Book of Ordination and the Nine and
 Thirty Articles." See Baxter's *Life*
of Himself, Pt. ii. pp. 341, 342, or by
 Calamy &c.—Compare with the text
 the following argument of Jer. Taylor.
 "It is not necessary for ever to abstain
 from things indifferent, to prevent the
 offending of a brother; but only till

I have taken away that rock against
 which some did stumble, or have done
 my endeavour to remove it. . . . Men
 cannot be always 'babes in Christ,'
 without their own fault; they are no
 longer 'Christ's little ones,' than they
 are inculpably ignorant. For it is but
 a mantle cast over pride and froward-
 ness to think ourselves able to teach
 others, and yet pretend offence and
 scandal; to scorn to be instructed,
 and yet complain that we are offended
 and led into sin for want of knowledge
 of our duty. He that understands his
 duty, is not a person capable of scandal
 by things indifferent. And it is certain
 that no man can say concerning him-
 self that he is scandalized at another,
 that is, that he is led into sin by mistake
 and weakness; for if himself knows it,
 the mistake is gone. . . . The boy was
 prettily peevish, who, when his father
 bade him pronounce Thalassius, told
 him he could not pronounce Thalassius,
 at the same time speaking the word:
 just so impotent, weak, and undiscern-
 ing a person is that, who would forbid
 me to do an indifferent action, upon
 pretence that it makes him ignorantly
 sin: for his saying so confutes his
 ignorance, and argues him of a worse
 folly: it is like asking my neighbour
 whether such an action be done against
 my own will." Jer. Taylor, *Life of*
Christ, Pt. iii. sect. xiv. disc. xvii.
 num. 10 (*Works*, vol. ii. pp. 579,
 580).

SECT.
II.

[SECTION II.]

[I. Who are the "strong," who the "weak;" α. in the case of the epistle itself.]

It is manifest, who are the "strong" in the text, because St. Paul is of the number;—"We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak," saith the apostle¹. They that understood, how righteousness and salvation comes only by faith, notwithstanding that it was to be had under the Law as well as afore the Law, those are the "strong;" who not only submitted to St. Paul as an apostle, but understood his doctrine as a divine. Let no man think strange, that Jews, being so well instructed in the faith as to be baptized Christians, understood it not so well as they should have done. Were it now so well understood as it were to be wished, it would be easy to turn all pretended "weakness" into "strength." "One" man "believes he may eat anything," though forbidden by the Law; but he that is "weak," and sees nothing on the table but that which the Law forbids, "eats herbs:" "one man makes difference of a day above a day, another esteems every day alike:" [Rom.] xiv. 2, 5. Those two instances are put for all indifferent things, prescribed or forbidden by the Law; and not only by the letter of the Law, but by authority settled in the Law for determining all things questionable upon the Law, and not determined in it. He, that understood the purpose of God in giving the Law, which He intended to make void in due

¹ "Ἀσθενούντα vel ἀσθενή τῇ πίστει .. hic vocat, qui Christianismum quidem amplexus est, sed non omnia a Christo aut Spiritu Ejus revelata per noscit, præcipue vero mysterium illud quod septimo capite aperire cœpit Paulus. Tales fuisse in Palæstina Nazææos notat Epiphanius. . . Sic Horatius, 'Sum paulo infirmior,' id est, scrupulosior." Grot. ad Rom. xiv. 1.—"Δυνατοὺς hic vocat proveciores in rerum cognitione, quibus oppositi supra ἀσθενεῖς." Id. ad Rom. xv. 1.—"Judæi multi ad Christum conversi omni modo servare volebant et aliis servanda imponere præcepta Mosis, Actor. xv. Hi vocatos ex gentibus ista præcepta non servantes aversabantur. Contra vocati e gentibus, conscii datæ per Christum libertatis, Judæos Judaice viventes a sua communione volebant excludere, xi. 19,

21. Unde secutum erat schisma, et mire in ipsis initiis obstitutum Evangelii processibus. Huic malo ut occurat Paulus, mediam institit viam, et Judæos qui in Christo crediderant, monet ita suam sequantur opinionem, ut a damandis crimine impietatis qui aliter sentiebant, abstineant. Ex gentibus vero vocatos, ne illorum quamvis Judaice viventium communionem defugiant, et ut imperitos spernant." Id. in Rom. xiv. init.—Grotius also interprets "the eating herbs" (Rom. xiv. 2), not of the abstaining from meat merely when there happened to be nothing else on table but what was unclean by the Law, but of Pythagorean doctrines of abstinence from animal food, or of such as were afterwards held by Tatian and the Encratites.

time, so that salvation came not by it while it stood; he is the "strong," with St. Paul. He, that understood it not, the "weak," in the text. SECT.
II.

§ 2. In our case, the "strong" is he, that understands all, that the law requires, to be lawful of itself, and necessary to be done, or not done, the law requiring. No man can challenge benefit by this text, that first acknowledges not this. So the law hath St. Paul on its side for the matter of it; or else the dispute cannot proceed, how far he makes forbearance due^c. [A. In our own case.]

§ 3. But I need not the advantage of a surprise. Observe but one thing,—that the faith which alone saves us, presupposes and includes baptism; and you shall see, whom St. Paul comprises with himself, when he says, "We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak." See how he answers the slander, that made his doctrine to be, "Let us continue in sin that grace may abound;" Rom. vi. 1, 3;—"Know ye not, that all that are baptized in Christ, are baptized into His death." It is therefore impossible, that any man can have saving faith, without, or before, he be baptized. Again, vi. 17, "Thanks be to God, that you, having been slaves to sin, have obeyed the form of doctrine delivered you;" to wit, when you were baptized. And this, all mention of baptism in the Scriptures, after it was instituted by our Lord Matt. xxviii. 19, all the Church of God from the beginning, witnesseth^h. Now, if saving faith suppose and include baptism, it must be baptism into the true faith; that is, into the faith of the catholic Church. For neither can any faith save but the right faith; nor is it the right faith, that teacheth not unity with the catholic Church. It is true, heresy denies the true faith, schism only breaks the unity of the Church. But the faith obliges all to hold unity with the Church; and therefore it is not the right faith, that requires it not. And in this the whole Church agrees from the beginning: that, though the baptism of heretics and schismatics is not void, yet it is not effectual to salvation, till they turn to the Churchⁱ.

^c See in note e.

^h See Just Weights and Measures, c. ix. § 4—6; Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. ii. sq.

ⁱ See Just Weights and Measures, c. xiv. § 2. note n; c. xviii. § 2. note y; c. xxv. § 2.

SECT.
II.

[The
"weak"
in the text
were under
a light,
enabling
and there-
fore oblig-
ing them
to lay aside
their
"weak-
ness."]

§ 4. If this be so, we must not grant, that they who pretend this "weakness" are not under a light, enabling them to see those things to be lawful, that they scruple at. For those in the text were under a light, that shews the Law to be void; and therefore that they were free of it. That they did not see the light which they were under, it was a "weakness" which they might and ought to have laid aside; otherwise St. Paul has not done his office, to shew them their freedom by this epistle. But they had such an opinion of themselves and their ancestors and of salvation entailed upon their issue by the Law, that they would none of the salvation that the Gentiles might have as well as themselves, without the Law.

[Those,
who now
pretend
"weak-
ness," mis-
understand
the nature
of saving
faith.]

§ 5. In like manner those, that pretend "weakness" in our case, and therefore are indeed "weak," as the Jewish party of the Roman Church then were, have such an opinion of the faith that saveth us, that they will not allow salvation to depend upon baptism, nor upon the communion of the catholic Church, into which baptism admitteth us, as members of it. So there is no more any controversy amongst us, whether or no the creed shall be said or sung in the Church^k: but there are two articles of the creed—"One catholic and apostolic Church, one baptism for remission of sins,"—which, if they were well understood and freely acknowledged, would make them "strong" and extinguish the plea of their "weakness." For the faith into which we are baptized being the condition of salvation, and the unity of the catholic Church being a point of that faith, it would appear, that whatsoever lawful authority in the Church decreeth (of which there is no question in our case) not contrary to the faith that saveth, is to be observed, for preserving of unity in the Church.

[The
"weak"]

§ 6. For those, who contradict the faith, are not to be

^k The words "or sung" do not occur in the rubric respecting either the Apostles' or the Nicene Creed in the 2nd Book of Edward VI. They were added in the Scotch Prayer-book: and at the review of 1661. In the first Book of Edw. VI. the minister is commanded at the morning-prayer merely to "say the Creed .. in English, with a loud voice;" but at the communion-service, the priest beginning with the

first clause of the Nicene Creed, "the clerks shall sing the rest." There was a general Puritan objection to all chanting; that of the Creed among the rest. The rubric enjoining the *lessons* to "be sung in a plain tune, after the manner of distinct reading," in "places where they do sing," was omitted in 1661. See Keeling, and White Kennet, p. 585.

taken for those "weak" consciences, whom St. Paul orders the "strong" to "bear" with; because the obligation which all Christians have to the faith, takes place in the order of charity before the obligation they have to their fellow Christians. Those, that understand not the faith, and therefore doubt of the true consequence of it, may be. Those, that owned St. Paul for an apostle, could not see, that salvation comes [by] faith alone and not by the Law; notwithstanding that St. Paul had proved it by the unanswerable dispute of this epistle. The reason is sufficient. All his arguments proceed upon the mystical sense of the Old Testament¹; which they, that acknowledged the truth of the Gospel to be unquestionable, could not own nevertheless, until they understood the reason why God gave the Law, with an intent to bring in the Gospel by it. It is therefore no marvel, that they, who deny not the creed, nevertheless do not understand, that particular Churches are and ought to be members of the whole Church: which is called the catholic Church, to distinguish it from heresies and schisms; which could never prevail all over, as the catholic Church did, because it had authority from the apostles, which they transgressed:—that they do not understand, that particular Churches are able to oblige their members in anything, that neither contradicteth the faith nor anything determined by the catholic Church^m.—I say, it is no marvel, that they should not understand those things: the Reformation having discovered a claim on the one side, that the pope and see of Rome may and ought to oblige all Christians to anything that they determine; and a claim on the other side, that private spirits may, by interpretation of Scripture not limited within the sense of the Church, oblige all Christians without or against the Church. For he, that cannot see between those two claims, that no interpretation of Scripture can be true, that is not within those bounds which the consent of the catholic Church alloweth, may easily think some to be obliged by the sense of the Scripture, which private spirits may introduce, to scruple that which the Church determineth, as contradicting the Scripture.

SECT.
II.

are not those who contradict the faith, but those who understand it not, and therefore doubt the true consequence of it.]

¹ See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xiii. § 25, sq.; Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. viii. § 13—15.

^m See Just Weights and Measures, c. iii. § 2—4, c. v. § 3—6, cc. vii., viii. &c.

SECT.

II.

[No "forbearance" due, according to St. Paul, to those who deny any article of the creed.]

§ 7. But if any man should deny the positions, which I take for granted here, because "weakness" cannot be pleaded if they be denied;—that there is no remission of sins without baptism, and that no baptism saveth, but that which admitteth into the catholic Church as well as into the covenant of grace:—he, that should deny all or any of these, I say, must not be for "weak;" because he cannot be "forborne," without superseding the articles of our creed, to which we are formerly obliged.

[SECTION III.]

[II. What is the "forbearance" enjoined by St. Paul:—a. It cannot extend to those that depart from the Church.]

Now to the second point, the "forbearance" which St. Paul orders. I am, in the first place, to advise, that his order tends to preserve unity between two parties, of which the Church of Rome then consisted; and therefore cannot extend to those that depart from this Church. They cannot be capable of this "forbearance," that extend it not to those, of whom they desire it, by continuing in unity with this Church. In conscience, after that the Jews had refused the faith, would any good Christian have them "forborne," as members of the Church, which they defied? Therefore cannot the "forbearance" here ordered belong to the congregations that depart from this Church.

[How far it extends

§ 2. As for those that disclaim not communion with it";

"After the Act of Uniformity had passed, and the ejection of the ministers on St. Bartholomew's-day had issued in a formal separation between the Church and the bulk of the non-conformists, there ensued a division among the latter, some of them (of whom Baxter was the principal) still coming to church and partaking of the communion there: whence they received the name of Occasional Conformists. Baxter, *Life of Himself*, Pt. ii. p. 436, says of himself and Dr. Bates, that they "went to the public assemblies, and also to the Common-Prayer, even to the beginning of it:" and *ibid.*, p. 433, he formally defends the practice—"My judgment was for the holding of communion with assemblies of both parties; and ordinarily

I went to some parish-church, where I heard a learned minister, that had not obtruded himself upon the people, but was chosen by them, and preached well (as Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Tillotson, Mr. Nest, &c.), and I joined also in the Common-Prayers of the Church: and as oft also as I had fit opportunity, I privately preached and prayed myself either with Independents or Presbyterians that desired me." He adds, however, that he "would occasionally joyn with any true Church in publick or private," &c., "even as" he "would hold occasional communion with a Church of Lutherans, or Greeks, or Abassenes, if" he "passed through their countreys."—*Ibid.*, pp. 394, sq., he sums up the arguments pro and con between the more and less moderate

in their case there seems to lie a question, what the "forbearance" ordered by St. Paul in the then Church of Rome signifies. For by perusing the acts of the primitive Church, and considering the divisions which sometime it hath escaped and sometimes it hath been vexed with, I do believe, that some divisions have prevailed, which might have been avoided by patience and forbearance in due time. And therefore I am of opinion, so long as "forbearance" signifies no more than forbearance, that there may be a time of forbearance, wherein the parties may be obliged to confer together, with so much patience, as to clear one another in the utmost intent and meaning of their respective pretences and the reasons of them, otherwise subject to mistake; submitting and compromising as well the present uniformity on one side, as the demands of abatement in the terms of it on the other side, to that which may appear to be for the best towards the service of God and the peace of this Church.

§ 3. But I am not of this opinion unless my superiors in the Church, the synod of this province, authorize it. For I am fully satisfied, that all the good which can be expected by uniting those that now conform not to this Church, can never countervail the mischief that will be done, in treading under foot the authority of the Church vested in the synods of the provinces, by doing that by force, which by right cannot be done but by their consent.

§ 4. And this, all that [follows from] this order of St. Paul compared with the orders of the apostles for eating or not

SECT.
III.

to those,
that dis-
claim
not com-
munion
with the
Church.]

[This opi-
nion sub-
mitted to
the judg-
ment of
superiors.]

[The orders
of the apo-
stles for

non-conformists. But a little later, viz., in 1665 (*ibid.*, pp. 444, 445), after he had "debated the case with some learned and moderate ejected ministers of London, about communicating sometimes in the parish-churches in the sacraments (for they that came to Common-prayer and sermon, came not yet to sacraments)," he and they agreed "in the main, that it is lawful and a duty where greater accidents preponderate not;" but "that if" they "did communicate in parish-churches, the sufferings of the Independents and those Presbyterians that could not communicate there, would certainly be very much increased," &c. &c.: and so they "resolved to forbear a while."

About 1670 he speaks again of his practice of communicating in parish-churches (*ibid.*, Pt. iii. p. 48). And later still, apparently in 1676, he says (*Append.*, No. iv. p. 106), that he had "not administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper these fifteen years, but ordinarily received it in the parish-church at Totteridge and elsewhere." In White Kennet's Register, p. 932, several of these "lay-conformists" are mentioned.—A very severe character of the non-conformists in opinion, who outwardly conformed outright, is quoted by White Kennet (*ibid.*, pp. 843, 844) from a book called the *Mystery and Iniquity of Non-Conformity*, publ. in 1664.

S E C T.
III.

eating or
not eating
meats sac-
rificed to
idols.]

[Acts xv.
20, 29.]

[1 Cor. x.
27.]

eating meats sacrificed to idols, will enforce°. St. Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians distinguishes scholastically, that they may be eaten either as God's creatures materially, or formally as meats sacrificed to idols, which idolaters feasted upon after their sacrifices in honour of their idols; as we see by his words, 1 Cor. x. 7, "Nor be ye idolaters, as some of them were; as it is written, the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play." And Dan. v. 4; "They drunk wine, and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone." St. Paul then resolveth, that Christians may eat them, because they know them to be God's creatures, and that they cannot be polluted by being offered to idols, which "are nothing:" but that when there is occasion for Christians to think, that a Christian eats them as idolaters did, as in an idol temple or being invited home by an idolater; in such cases it was necessary to forbear, lest such a weak Christian should, by his example, be edified to eat them as idolaters did, and so fall into misprision of idolatry: 1 Cor. viii. 10, 11; x. 27, 28. But at Jerusalem, the Christians that had been idolaters, as Gentiles, are forbidden to eat them materially, even as God's creatures; because there was an order long afore introduced by the authority which the Law had established, forbidding them, as for a hedge to the Law^p, that God's people might be the further off from eating them in honour of idols. But Daniel (whereas St. Paul forbids the Corinthians to make enquiry "for conscience' sake" whether meat set afore them were sacrificed or not), when he forbore the king's meat, did make enquiry for conscience' sake; there being presumption, that it was sacrificed or dedicated to

° See Just Weights and Measures, c. xix. § 6.

^p See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 36. note d. — "Τὸ ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων—Non censet" (sc. St. James at the Council of Jerusalem) "monendos pios ex gentibus de iis quæ satis didicerant; Deum colendum, Unum et Verum, non falsos; Ei omnem exhibendam reverentiam; abstinendum a cædibus, rapinis, injuriis, adulteriis, et incestis jure gentium cognitis; Jus cuique reddendum: sed de

iis monet quæ disputationem recipere videbantur, et quæ Judæos poterant offendere, et impedire quo minus pii gentibus cum piis Hebræis in unam Ecclesiam coalescerent. In his primum locum obtinent τὰ ἀλισγηματα τῶν εἰδώλων, i. e. ea quæ infra vocantur εἰδωλόθυστα. Malach. i. 7, in Græco LXX Senum est, ἄρτους ἡλισγημένους, ubi Aquila et Symmachus μεμολυσμένους. Sirach ii. 33, ἀλισγήσει τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐδέσμασιν ἀλλοτρίοις." Vide ad Dan. i. 8" (see note q below). Grot. ad Act. xv. 20.

idols, by offering the first-fruits, as the custom was⁹: Dan. S E C T. III.
i. 5, 8. This shews that it was the same that Tobit did,
i. 10—12. And the Jews have reason when they tell us,
that Nehemiah was dispensed with in this constitution, be-
cause he was cup-bearer to the king^r. Though, when they
say further, that this is the reason why he is called Hattir-
shatha, in that I leave them to themselves^s.

§ 5. So, this being one point of legal observation, which was [The hope
to be manifested so long as there was hope to win the Jews, to win the
the Christians which had been Gentiles are tied to it by the Jews, was
the apostles; not only at Jerusalem and at Antiochia, but also the reason
for those
in all those Churches which Paul and Barnabas had founded differing
orders.]
upon commission given at Antiochia: Acts xiii. 2, 3, 14; xiv.
26; xv. 23; xvi. 4. For so were the Gentiles to do, who being
converted to the true God were allowed by the Law to live
in the land of promise, or to worship God with the Jews in
their dispersion^t. The reason of this difference is evident
by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xii. 2;—"Ye know ye were Gentiles, car-
ried after those dumb idols, as ye were led." Whereas by
the places quoted out of the Acts it appears, that the address
of Paul and Barnabas was first made to the Jews, and that
the Churches were founded out of them for the greatest part.
So that, the hope of winning the Jews remaining, the dispen-
sation was to take place.

§ 6. The Church of Rome, when St. Paul writ, seems to [Apostolic
have consisted of both; and St. Paul's order is therefore in- authority
different to both, commanding mutual forbearance. Which, requisite
as it affords an argument for the like authority to do the for such
like in the like case, so will not allow it without the like an order
St. Paul.]
authority. Now the authority of synods is the authority of

⁹ "Causa . . . cur Daniel pane vino-
que regio abstinuerit, non alia est quam
quod moris erat illis gentibus partem
de pane et de vino injicere in aram,
aut si ara non adesset, in focum, vice
aræ, atque eo modo diis suis consecrare
totum illud quod erant comesturi. Id
vero, sicut stulta illorum opinione erat
sanctitas, ita Hebræis, melius institutis,
et certis talia dedicata esse falsis
numinibus, erat pollutio. Sic Jac-
chiades et Theodoretus." Grot. ad
Dan. i. 8.

^r "Hebræi aiunt ita dictum fuisse"
(scil. הַתִּירְשָׁתָא), "quod licuerit ei bi-
bere de vino Gentilium, quod esset
pincerna regis Artaxerxis." Vatablus,
ad Nehem. vii. 65; ap. Crit. Sac.—
Munster (ad Esdr. ii. 63. ap. Crit. Sac.)
interprets the word to mean simply
"qui dispensavit potum;" or "potest
esse, ut dixit Aben-Ezra, quod sit in
lingua Chaldaica nomen dignitatis."

^s See last note.

^t See above in § 4, note p.

SECT. III. the apostles, as to their respective synods; though as to the whole Church, and the authority of the apostles over the same, it could never so fall short of it^u.

[A. Such "forbearance" cannot possibly entitle the "weak" to the ministry of the Church.] § 7. But having granted this, thus limited, in the second place I utterly deny, that the "forbearance" here ordered by St. Paul can possibly extend to entitle the "weak" to the ministry of the Church^v. They, that profess themselves "weak" in any point of Christianity, and plead "forbearance" upon that title, do thereby exclude themselves from that trust which the ministry of the Church signifieth (for whosoever is admitted to teach, and minister the sacraments, is accepted for "strong"); as incapable to build up others to that "strength," which he professeth not himself to have. The state of the clergy is grounded upon a profession, not only of better understanding in the faith, but chiefly of better resolution in maintaining and propagating of it, than the common rate of Christian people signifieth. And therefore it is an imposture upon the legislative power of the kingdom, to make that "weakness" a title to the ministry of the Church, which till it be removed, no man is capable of ministering to the Church.

[γ. Still less those among them, who have but a mere nullity of ordination by presbyters.] § 8. But, in the third place, when this ministry is demanded for them, that are no otherwise qualified than by a mere nullity of ordination by presbyters against the consent of their bishops^w; I must needs marvel, how such an attempt can be digested. I do acknowledge to believe, that there are instances in the acts of the primitive Church of void or-

^u So in MS.

^v The point of re-ordination, according to Baxter, was that which presented the greatest obstacle to the attempted Comprehension, the presbyterians stiffly refusing to own their previous orders invalid (see the note prefixed to the preceding tract, *The True Princ. of Comprehension*).—"The men that claimed exception from the laws upon pretence of having weak consciences, if in hearty expression you had told them so to their heads, they would have spit in your face; and were so far from confessing themselves weak, that they thought themselves able to give laws to Christendom, to instruct the greatest clerks, and to catechize the Church herself." Jer. Taylor, *Liberty of Pro-*

phesying, publ. first in 1647, sect. 17. § 6 (*Works*, vol. v. p. 538).—See also above in sect. i. § 2. note c, the pithy saying of King James I. on the subject.

^w See note prefixed to the preceding tract, *The True Princ. of Comprehension*. Baxter himself had received episcopal ordination: and so probably had a few others among the older dissenting ministers. The Congregationalists or Independents were not included in the proposed Act of Comprehension, but only in the supplemental Toleration proposed to be appended to it. Consequently their orders (so to call them) did not come into consideration on the occasion.

dinations, that have been made valid by the consent of the Church *ex post facto*, to redeem peace^x. But I maintain withal, that as good ordinations as could be made by schismatic or heretic bishops, have been refused and not allowed by the Church^y. And I maintain besides, that never any schismatical ordination was accepted by the Church, and made good, without renouncing the schism, which it was made to propagate^z. For I maintain, that never any schismatic was reconciled to communion in the Church (which is much less than to be of the clergy) without disclaiming his schism. As for ordination by presbyters, there is no express example of any, but those of Coluthus: which were made void^a. If we read of any sect begun by a presbyter, I suppose he that had broke from the Church, would not stick to ordain such as might propagate his schism. But of any example of any so ordained, whose ordination was afterwards allowed by the Church for unity's sake, I would be glad to hear; but I have yet found nothing.

§ 9. See then, what a desperate demand is made;—that those, who have redeemed the laws by suffering with the crown, should not be allowed the benefit of holy communion:—which no power on earth can warrant them from the hands of those, that have not received power to consecrate it by the order of priesthood^b. For usurpation may make them accessory to the sacrilege; it can never warrant them the sacrament with the grace which it bringeth. Besides, the cure of their souls for the rest must be at those men's discretion, whom I suppose they are not satisfied by those propositions that they ought to trust with such a concernment.

§ 10. But what pretence shall we have to do the duty the law requires of us in reducing recusants^c; who, when this is

[Loyal churchmen have a claim for true priests.]

[It would supply a new argu-

^x See e. g. Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. 32, c. xx. § 51. notes a—a, and references there.

^y See *ibid.*; Letter conc. Present State of Religion, § 5; and Just Weights and Measures, c. xxv. § 2.

^z See *ibid.*

^a See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xx. § 51.

^b See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 21; and Letter conc. Present State of Religion, § 15.

^c The Canons of 1603, canon 66, require "every minister, being a preacher, and having any popish recusant or recusants in his parish, and thought fit by the bishop of his diocese," to "labour diligently with them from time to time, thereby to reclaim them from their errors."—See also Just Weights and Measures, c. iii. § 6. note w.—See also the Ecclesiastical Constitutions of 1597, in Wilkins' Conc., tom. iv. p.

SECT. done, shall presently be choked with an objection, that, if
III. they would come to church, we cannot assure them the com-
 munion in their parishes? For the law, that ties them to
 their parishes, ties the parishes to the cure of them, whom
 all the world cannot warrant that they can consecrate the
 eucharist. Besides, they may wisely go further: and say,
 that these ordinations did render those, that received them,
 schismatics; and that therefore, being owned in their orders
 so received without renouncing their schism, they render all
 schismatics that communicate with them in those orders.
 For this is the rule of the catholic Church, which this
 Church cannot derogate from, continuing a Church. And
 is not this a peremptory bar to our ordinations by presby-
 ters, when the schism cannot be disclaimed without dis-
 claiming the ordinations?

[The bi- shops who should ad- mit them, would be accessory to schism.] § 11. And hereupon I demand, how those bishops^d, that shall betray their office, and own their usurped ordinations for good, and give them authority to exercise the orders which they never received, in the churches where the law shall place them: how they will clear themselves to be no schismatics, making themselves accessory to the usurpation of schismatics; and profaning the imposition of hands, which they received their order with, to authorize the same.

[The de- mand for a change of law, incon- sistent with the plea of "weak- ness.""] § 12. After all this, when it is further demanded, that the ecclesiastical laws of the kingdom be abated^e, to bring those men into the ministry; first, what human sense can un- derstand the "forbearance," which St. Paul orders for the

355, or Sparrow's Collection, p. 253. See also Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c., Pref. to Reader.

^d Wilkins, bishop of Chester, would of course have admitted ministers of presbyterian ordination who should have complied with his own terms of comprehension. And others probably would have done the like, even at the time of Thorndike's writing. Several of the bishops of the early part of Charles II.'s reign are mentioned (White Kennet's Register, pp. 804, 805), as treating non-conformists with great lenity: as e. g., besides Bishop Reynolds (himself originally of that party), Bishops Saunderson, Monk, Gauden, Laney, Earle, &c.: but to enforce penalties with mildness, and to

tamper with Church-laws, are widely different things.

^e Part of the proposal intended to be made by the non-conformists in October, 1667, was that the age, scil. 24, required both by the law of the Church (Rubric before Ordination-Service) and of the State (3 and 5 Edw. VI., and 13 and 14 Car. II.—see Gibson, Codex, p. 146) in those who are candidates for priests' orders, should be changed. With this proposal, however, Thorndike was probably unacquainted: and refers to the proposed changes of February 1667, in the rubrics and services, established at the Review of 1661 by Convocation, and confirmed by the Act of Uniformity.

"weak," to extend thus far? Is not this that which the emperor said to his niece,—"*Putas tibi injuriam fieri, nisi imperas?*" Is it reason for them, that have failed to overthrow both Church and kingdom, to think they have hard measure, if they give not law to the kingdom? Is it for the honour of the religion we profess, that "weakness" (which at the least signifies negative ignorance, in truth perhaps wilful ignorance) should give law to it? As if a child should govern the house, because he will not be pleased otherwise. The water of a conduit cannot rise higher than the spring-head. The conclusion cannot contain that which the premisses cannot have. That "weakness" which demands "forbearance," if it demand to give law, demands that which cannot stand with the plea premised for it.

SECT.
III.

[SECTION IV.]

BUT besides all this, it will remain a question (which to me I confess is no question), whether sovereign power can do that which they would have or not⁵. Sovereign powers may reform the Church of their dominions; but it must be by the authority of the Church. When religion is gone to decay, sovereign power may reform; that is, restore that which is decayed. There, the authority of the Church determines what is to be restored; and so enables sovereign power to do it. But against, or without, the authority of the Church, the authority of sovereign power is not pleadable at the day of judgment; for it, it is. Thus we reform without the see of Rome, and the consent of it; the authority of the primitive Church enabling to restore that, which it shews to be decayed. For how can the see of Rome have authority to hinder the reforming of the Church?

[The state not competent to grant what they require.]

§ 2. Let us confine our reformation to a formal profession of restoring the religion of the whole Church from the begin-

[Reformation by the state must

¹ "Nurum Agrippinam, post mortem mariti, liberius quiddam questam, manu apprehendit: Græcoque versu, 'Si non dominaris,' inquit, 'filiola, injuriam te accipere existimas?' Nec ullo mox sermone dignatus est." Sueton., in Vita Tiberii, c. liii.

⁵ See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 5, 6; and Review of it, c. iv. § 1—3: Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xix. § 13, sq.; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 13, sq.: Just Weights and Measures, c. viii. § 3, 4.

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be limited
to restoring
the religion
of the
primitive
Church.]

ning;—which, materially, we maintain to be done^b:—and we shall declare so clear a title for the reformation which we profess, that all, who believe their creed, shall stand convict of an obligation to conform and contribute to it; and recusants themselves shall have nothing to say, why they should not remain liable to the penalties which Christianity alloweth it to be enacted with. This would have prevented the division between the Lutherans and the Calvinists, and that other between them and the Arminians; this would have prevented the heresies of the Socinians and Anabaptists; this would have reformed all Christendom, had our lives been answerable. This will put the wilfulness of our sectaries to silence, and compose all our differences; which, whether without this they can be composed or not, time must try. I will not fore-judge. For let no man say, that it is not practicable. Let the legislative power of the kingdom once engage the public faith by declaring an effectual intention for it. Immediately all the laws, by which religion is settled, must be interpreted, limited, extended to the sense of the catholic Church. Immediately all parties will be bound to concur and contribute to the evidencing of what is catholic. Otherwise, why should not all parties remain liable to those penalties, which the preferring of the see of Rome or of their private sense of Scripture, before the catholic Church and the allegiance due to their sovereign both, shall deserve.

[But may
not pass
this bound:
as e. g. to
meddle
with bap-

§ 3. But set aside this ground and those measures which this ground determines, by what right shall sovereign power enact their demands? By what right shall the “opinion” of baptismal regeneration be put out of the officeⁱ? I grant

^b See below in the Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., cc. v., vi.

ⁱ “Whereas throughout the several offices the phrase is such as presumes all persons (within the communion of the Church) to be regenerated, converted, and in an actual state of grace (which, had ecclesiastical discipline been truly and vigorously executed, in the exclusion of scandalous and obstinate sinners, might be better supposed; but, there having been and still being a confessed want of that, .. it cannot rationally be admitted in the utmost latitude of charity); we desire this may be reformed.” Except ag.

Book of Common Prayer, in Baxter's Life of Himself, Pt. ii. p. 318: or in Cardwell's Conferences, c. vii. p. 308.—“We cannot in faith say, that every child that is baptized is ‘regenerated by God's Holy Spirit;’ at least it is a disputable point, and therefore we desire it may be otherwise expressed.” Ibid., in Baxter, p. 327; or Cardwell, p. 325.—In Baxter's original draught of this paper, “laid by, lest it should offend” the bishops, it was urged (Baxter, *ibid.*, p. 313), that the expressions in the baptismal service were “faulty, first, in concluding that all children baptized are regene-

it is clearly St. Paul's "opinion," St. Peter's "opinion," our Lord Christ's "opinion;" the "opinion" of God's whole Church. Be it the "opinion" of those, whose "opinion" is our faith. But he, that would have it no more than "opinion," must teach us a new faith^k. No remission of sins but by baptism, entering us into the covenant of grace, which the vow of baptism enacteth, entering us into the Church, into which the sacrament of baptism introduceth; abate this in the service, and abate the faith which we profess. And shall we not suppose primitive discipline, when the right of reforming lies in the authority of the catholic Church?

§ 4. I will allege nothing else against the rest of their demands. I do excuse some things that appear not so reasonable in the service: as the second service, when there is no communion^l; because it maintains a claim, that there ought to be a communion upon Sundays and holy-days. And if there were hope of unity, I could wish all the rest compromised to a dispute, what is for the best: not doubting, that the order of the primitive Church, as it would appear to come from the apostles, so it would appear for the best, so far as the reason for which it was introduced appears to continue the same. Who can undertake, that the plea, which hath been made almost these hundred years^m for the ecclesiastical laws of the kingdom, stands not in force against all that can be objected by them, which would reform them without and against

rate," although those are admitted to baptism, and so included, "whose interest in the covenant which baptism sealeth, cannot be proved; that is, such whose parents can lay no just claim to the grace of the covenant: at least, here is a private opinion thrust into our liturgy: secondly, in concluding all infants regenerate by the Holy Ghost, when so many learned divines think that it is but a relative regeneration that is ascertained then; and the controversy is yet undecided!"—In the proposals for comprehension in 1667 to which the text refers, the same point was urged; see Baxter, *ibid.*, Pt. iii. pp. 34, 39, 40; and the note prefixed to the tract above printed, entitled *The True Principle of Comprehension*. But a kind of compromise was suggested by Baxter and his friends; in allowing

the children of atheists, heretics, &c. &c., to be baptized by another minister, provided the minister who "dare not in conscience," be "not forced" to do it; and in acquiescing in the word "regenerate," provided "sacramentally" were prefixed to it.

^k See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xvii.: where part of the text is repeated.

^l See Just Weights and Measures, c. xxii. § 4, 6.

^m The *Reformatio Legum* (see below, sect. v. § 2, note z) was published first in 1571, although drawn up in 1552. See the Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., cc. xviii., xxiii. The present tract was written in the end of 1667 or beginning of 1668: see § 1, note a, and the note prefixed to the preceding tract, *The True Principle of Comprehension*.

SECT.
IV.
tismal re-
generation,
or primi-
tive disci-
pline.]
[Rom. vi.
3, 1 Cor.
vi. 11,
Coloss. ii.
12, Tit. iii.
5; 1 Peter
iii. 21;
John iii. 5.]

[The other
demands of
the non-
conformists
might be
compromi-
sed to a
dispute.]

S E C T. the authority of the primitive Church? And is it now the
IV. time of the day to judge against evidence, and to reform pretended faults by true faults?

[This is the true plea, on which to justify, and to perfect, the Reformation.]

§ 5. I have offered some considerations, derived from that principle, which here I maintain to be only sufficient to appease all differences by perfecting the reformation which we profess, in a book entitled *Just Weights and Measures*^a: as being then of opinion, that it would require more than was then undertaken to keep us from revolving into the old differences. And this I allege here to shorten my present work: inferring, that civil power cannot make that change in the ecclesiastical laws, which this Comprehension requires, without the authority and against the consent of the Church here, unless the synods should refuse to be reformed according to the primitive catholic Church. For that is the only plea, that can justify the reformation which we profess, without and against the see of Rome and the bishops that held with it. And that plea if we pursue, we shall arrive at a perfect reformation, to the confusion of sects, and to the reunion of the whole Church.

[The proposed Comprehension grounded on Erastianism, and the doctrine of Hobbes.]

§ 6. But neither is it [to] be imagined, that the synods of the provinces will refuse their authority to a change, which the authority of the whole Church shall concur with: and the Comprehension pretended is the manifest produce of that accursed doctrine, which makes the Church and the whole right of the Church to stand only by the law of the land, and not at all by God's law^o. For what is it else, to make the bishop minister to the law of the land in giving "legal authority of ministering" in the churches, wherein the law shall place those, whom he must suppose to have the order of priesthood without and against him^p? This is that doctrine,

^a Published in 1662.

^o It was certainly intended to pass the project of Comprehension, in Feb. 1663, by an Act of Parliament, nor is Convocation alluded to in the whole scheme. See the account of it in the note prefixed to *The True Principle of Comprehension*; and see also note p, below.

^p The exact form of words finally agreed upon between Wilkins and Baxter, to be used by the bishop in

admitting a minister who had been ordained by presbyters, was as follows:—"Take thou legal authority to preach the Word of God and administer the Holy Sacraments in any congregation of England, where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto" (Baxter, *Life of Himself*, Pt. iii. p. 34; and see the note referred to above in note o). Baxter (*ibid.*) adds, that this form was adopted, "that so the word *legal* might shew that it was only a general licence

which only the Leviathan⁹ maintains outright (though others have insinuated it with more art and malice⁹); and brings us home to the true consequence of it. For having objected against himself in his Latin book *De Cive*⁹, that, if the subject be bound to all that the sovereign commands in religion, he may be bound to suffer persecution from his sovereign, commanding that which is contrary to Christianity: he answers, that this is no inconvenience, because by suffering he purchases the world to come. I know [not], whether somebody told him, or of himself he perceived, that this is the answer of Julian the apostate to the Christians complaining of his persecutions¹;—that they were beholding to him, who were to come to heaven by suffering at his hands. But certainly he was to shew, how Christian sovereigns may come to heaven by commanding, as well as their subjects by obeying. In the Leviathan, therefore, coming to the same point, he says², that a Christian subject is bound to renounce Christ with his mouth, if his sovereign command, and shall nevertheless be saved, believing in Him with his heart. And this apostasy from his baptism, when he undertook to profess Christ till death, is the due consequence of denying the catholic Church, which the creed professes, to stand by God's law; treading also the Reformation under foot, if the subjects of those, that command only the Roman Catholics, be bound in conscience to profess only that.

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IV.

[SECTION V.]

IT is not for any man to own an imperfection in the re-formation which we profess, that cannot say how it is to be

[Satisfaction to be hoped from

from the King" that was "received; by what minister soever he pleased to deliver it: and if it were by a bishop," they "declared that" they "would take it from him but as from the King's minister." The word "legal" also was inserted instead of a proposed "liberty to declare the validity of" their previous presbyterian "orders." The presbyterian delegates further had asked for an appeal to the King's courts from the bishop, to be allowed to any minister suspended; but this was not granted

(Baxter, *ibid.*, pp. 27 [unprinted 35] and 34).

⁹ See Just Weights and Measures, c. iv. § 2, note g; and references there.

⁹ Referring no doubt to Selden and Louis Du Moulin: see Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. ii. § 11, xi. § 25, &c.

⁹ See Just Weights and Measures, c. iv. § 2, note h.

¹ See *ibid.*, note i.

² See *ibid.*, note h.

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V.

the rule of
reforma-
tion here
proposed.]

[As e.g. in
the reform-
ing of the
jurisdic-
tion of the
crown and
of the
Church re-
spectively
in eccle-
siastical
causes.]

redressed. If [the] reason be true, which I pretend should be the rule of reforming the Church, the pursuing of it will be the redressing of all the dissatisfaction, which fomenteth all our divisions.

§ 2. If this course were held throughout the ecclesiastical laws, the jealousies which have been betwixt the ministers of them and the common lawyers would be extinguished^x; the mischief whereof undeservedly lights upon the Church, whose interest they concern not: and the complaints would be cleared, from whence our sects take their rise. It is a sad reproach to a kingdom professing the Reformation, to use the pope's laws, which they repeal not, without stamping them with the king's mark^y. The commissions awarded under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. for the reforming of them, and the form then drawn up with intent to stamp it with authority of Parliament^z, justify no less. But all will not serve, unless the pri-

^x See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., cc. xx., xxiii.: where the substance of this and the following paragraphs is repeated and enlarged.

^y See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., *ibid*.

^z For the Reformatio Legum &c., see above, Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xi. § 24, note l.—The first commission upon the subject of Church-discipline dates A.D. 1533: in which year it was enacted by Parliament (25 Hen. VIII. c. 19. § 2), that "forasmuch as such canons, constitutions, and ordinances, as heretofore have been made by the clergy of this realm, cannot now at the session of this present parliament, by reason of shortness of time, be viewed, examined, and determined by the King's highness and thirty and two persons to be chosen and appointed according to the petition of the said clergy," &c., "the King's highness shall have power and authority to nominate and assign at his pleasure the said two and thirty persons of his subjects, whereof sixteen to be of the clergy and sixteen to be of the temporality of the upper and nether houses of the parliament," &c., "and that the said two and thirty," &c., "shall have power and authority to view, search, and examine the said causes, constitutions, and ordinances, provincial and synodal, heretofore made; and such of them as the King's high-

ness and the said two-and-thirty, or the more part of them, shall deem and adjudge worthy to be continued, kept, and obeyed, shall be from thenceforth kept, obeyed, and executed within this realm, so that the King's most royal assent under his great seal be first had to the same; and the residue of the said canons," &c., "shall from thenceforth be void and of no effect," &c.: "provided that no canons," &c., "shall be made or put in execution within this realm by authority of the convocation of the clergy, which shall be contrariant or repugnant to the King's prerogative royal, or the customs, laws, or statutes of this realm." It was further enacted by the same act (§ 7), "that such canons, constitutions, ordinances, and synodals provincial, being already made, which be not contrariant or repugnant to the laws, statutes, and customs of this realm, nor to the damage or hurt of the King's prerogative royal, shall now still be used and executed as they were afore the making of this Act; till such time as they be viewed, searched, and otherwise ordered and determined by the said thirty-two persons, or the more part of them."—The intended commission was not put in execution: although the design was kept up at intervals, two Acts of Parliament to the same effect being passed in 1535 (27 Hen. VIII. c. 16) and 1543 (35 Hen.

mitive canons be employed, and the powers given limited, to restore and supply them with such alterations and additions, as the difference between those times and these in the state of the Church shall require. The crown and the Church have their several interests, not only in making canons, in ordinations, excommunications, censures of the clergy, and the endowment of the Church, but also in matrimonial and testamentary causes, causes of simony and dispensations, of sanctuary and hospitals, of colleges of divines and their elections. For that which riseth upon the state of the Church, though the crown protecteth, yet the Church is to regulate.

§ 3. At the resumption under Henry VIII., the usurpations of the see of Rome, which were as well upon the clergy as upon the crown, were all re-invested in it^a. This made the professors of the Roman laws ministers of the crown in those jurisdictions. And this hath obliged the bishops to use them in their offices, involved in those laws which they exercise. And this hath served to the reproach of the Church: the office whereof,

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[Church-lawyers made ministers of the crown by the resumption of the supremacy in the reign of Henry VIII.]

VIII. c. 16); and a letter of Cranmer's is in Burnet's Hist. of Reform. (Pt. ii. Bk. i. Collection of Records, no. 61. p. 236), whence it appears that it was intended then to revive the half-forgotten project.—It slept, however, until the reign of Edward VI.: when in 1549 "an act passed" (3 and 4 Edw. VI., c. 11), "empowering the King to name sixteen persons of the spirituality, of whom four should be bishops, and sixteen of the temporality, of whom four should be common lawyers; who within three years should compile a body of ecclesiastical laws, and these, being nothing contrary to the common and statute laws of the land, should be published by the king's warrant, under the great seal, and have the force of law in the ecclesiastical courts" (Burnet, Hist. of Reformation, Pt. ii. Bk. i. vol. ii. p. 141, folio edition). The result of the labours of these commissioners was the book entitled *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*; which was finished in 1552 (although not published until 1571), but never became law, Edward's death having broken off the design while still incomplete. See the Appendix to Bp. Wordsworth's Sermon on Evangelical Repentance, c. iii. § b. pp. 45—49, and § c. pp. 57—68; and Burnet (as above, pp. 196—202), who gives an abstract

of its contents.—Cranmer was mainly author of its matter, Dr. Haddon of its language. It "was digested and cast into fifty-one titles; to bring it near the number of the books of the Pandects, into which Justinian had digested the Roman laws;" and its style, according to Burnet, was so close an imitation of that of the Roman laws, "that any one who reads the book, will fancy himself to be reading a work of the purer ages of that state."—The above Acts of Parliament were repealed in the reign of Queen Mary; but the first of them (25 Hen. VIII., c. 19), which gives force to the canon law where not repugnant to the law of the land, was revived 1 Eliz., c. i. § 5, 10.—See also Gibson's Codex, tit. xli. c. 3. pp. 949, sq.: and below, § 6. note b; and Disc. xviii.

^a For the extent to which the king "resumed," what was taken from the pope, see above, Just Weights and Measures, c. xix. § 2. note i: and Bramhall, Schism Guarded, as there quoted, where the subject is discussed at length and in detail.—By "the Roman laws" Thorndike intends to express the civil law: see below in Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties, c. xxii. See also Selden, *Ad Fletam*, Op. tom. ii.

§ ECT. V. as it cannot be executed but by the clergy, so, the laws not enabling the clergy to execute it, be the abuse what it may be, the Church is not to answer for it. Whether or no it were not best for the kingdom, that the professors of the Roman laws should manage the interest of the crown in the matters specified, [and] that the Roman laws should be expressly engrafted and incorporated into the laws of the kingdom, for the same benefit which all sovereignties of Christendom reap by them : it is not for me to say. This I say,—that the rights of the Church are so visibly grounded upon the state of the Church, that the kingdom may as easily correct the abuse of them in the clergy, by whom they ought to be managed, as protect them in the use. Let no man marvel, that the government should be apostolical, and yet subject to complaints which cannot be answered, while so much rubbish of time and the interest of the see of Rome is mixed with it.

[The interests of the Church and of the crown, how distinguishable.]

§ 4. Now because all notable and sudden alterations of law are dangerous and troublesome, an easy expedient may be had; by distinguishing causes, arising from the office of the Church by the foundation and constitution of it, from those, that are so upon the protecting of it by secular powers professing Christianity. For the crown hath interest in all parts of the Church's office, in behalf of the subject, that claims protection of it against the invasion of the clergy; which the usurpations of the see of Rome shew to be more than possible. And as the former interest ought not to be managed but by the clergy, so the latter is not manageable in this kingdom but by the professors of the Roman laws. For as the former cannot proceed according to right but by the primitive canons, the pretence of it being to reduce them into use as the state of this time shall require; so the reformation which we profess, protesting against the usurpations of the pope, is obliged to maintain the engrafting of the Church into the Roman empire by the laws which they profess, agreeable both to God's word and the interests both of Church and state. Which, therefore, we are bound to make our pattern; because the Church cannot be maintained one and the same from the first to the second coming of Christ otherwise. I dare undertake, that those two interests shall appear visibly distinguishable by the Scriptures, both founding the Church,

and maintaining the world in that state in which the faith overtaketh it, according to the practice of the primitive Church. S E C T.
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§ 5. What then shall hinder the ecclesiastical courts of this kingdom to be trusted with both those interests? The chapters of cathedral[s] are by their birthright counsellors to the bishop and assistants in his whole office; the arch-deacon, his minister and commissary. As he is guardian of the canons and of canonical discipline through the diocese, so they for the part which he trusteth them with. If this trust were restored and enjoined them by law of the kingdom, the world would be disabused; and not think mother-churches, provided by the apostles for forts and holds of religion, useless to the purpose which they intended. The trust of canonical discipline is as natural to their profession, as the interest of the crown in Church-matters is proper to the professors of the Roman laws; by which, and by no other, the distinct interests of the crown and the Church have been maintained. Why should not the law maintain their concurrence to the same jurisdiction in these distinct interests? For if we forecast the differences that this distinction would occasion, there is a benefit in that; securing the respective trusts, that cannot be betrayed when daily opposition shall maintain them. And persons of that interest are wise enough not to betray the common concernment. For if the right of the subject suffer, we know there is and must be remedy by Westminster Hall. And if canonical discipline suffer, it will concern the law, that the bishop be enabled to maintain it as well against the lay-judge, being of his flock, as against his own officers. For if any cause be started that may concern the law or the Church, the recourse will be ready to greater judicatories; the archbishop's office being settled for the interest of the Church, as the crown cannot want whom to trust with the interest of it, in the respective provinces.

§ 6. This will derogate from that Act, by which the pope's canon-law is made the law of the kingdom, where the law of the kingdom hath not provided^b. For it will introduce this

^b "The whole foreign canon-law was not received here in England; as appears by the famous case of legitima-

tion of children born before marriage: in which point the lords in parliament declared, 'Nolumus leges Angliæ mu-

SECT. V. new exception;—where the primitive canons and the Roman laws have not otherwise provided. And when that exception is made, it will no more be any disparagement either to this Church or kingdom, when it shall only supply that which is not provided for by the said exceptions. Indeed this will require a new exception against pluralities, limiting them to their proper dioceses: so that no prebend, dignity, or archdeacon, be capable of benefice in any other diocese, or (whether office or dignity) in any other Church. But that will be a great justifying of our reformation by restoring a primitive and catholic rule, the interruption whereof is to be reckoned among the usurpations of the see of Rome. And here is fair way to take away all complaint of abuse in that excommunication which enforceth these jurisdictions. Let it once be distinguished, what causes they are, in which the jurisdiction of them may be or not be declined without a scandalous

canons
and of the
Roman
laws ne-
cessary in
this case.]

tare,' though Alexander III. had published an express canon to that purpose: for (as Glanvil saith) it was 'contra jus et consuetudinem regni.'" Gibson, Codex, p. 946: proceeding to give other instances, of excepted canons "never properly received among us;" and commenting on the 25th Hen. VIII. c. 21 (concerning Peter Pence and Dispensations), which declares the realm "free from subjection to any man's laws, but only to such as have been devised, made, and obtained within this realm, . . . or to such other as, by sufferance of your grace and your progenitors, the people of this realm have taken at their liberty by their own consent to be used amongst them, and have bound themselves by long use and custom to the observance of the same, not as to the observance of the laws of any foreign prince," &c., "but as to the customed and ancient laws of this realm, originally established as laws of the same by the said sufferance, consents, and customs, and none otherwise."—"From the request made by the bishops in parliament 23 Hen. III. concerning the admission of Alexander III.'s canon," above mentioned, "my Lord Coke's inference is, 'that any foreign canon or constitution made by authority of the Pope bindeth not until it be allowed by Act of Parliament.' But here we see a parliamentary declaration, that 'long use and custom,' without the authority of Parliament, is sufficient to graft

foreign laws into the English constitution, i. e. to make them part of the common law of the land. Whereupon Bishop Stillingfleet (1 Eccl. Cases, p. 349), making *general practice and allowance* the main foundation of our ecclesiastical legal constitution; 'This is,' adds he, 'when things of themselves do not oblige by the authority of those that made them; yet, being generally received and allowed, they thereby become law to us.' Which is no more in effect than what the justices declared in the case of Evans and Ascuith; that 'they bind not, otherwise than as they are received and allowed; but when they are allowed, they then become part of our law.' And, on another occasion, 'The council of Lateran was a general law received in England, and is as forcible as an Act of Parliament.' And Vaughan, 'If canon-law be made part of the law of the land, then it is as much the law of the land, and as well, and by the same authority, as any other part of the law of the land.'" Gibson, *ibid.*—See also 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19. § 7, quoted above in § 2. note 2: which, says Gibson (*ibid.*, p. 947), "adds a parliamentary authority or enactment to all our own canons and constitutions which are not repugnant to the laws" &c. "of the realm," or the King's prerogative: as the 25th H. VIII. § 1 had done to *foreign canon-law*.

sin: and it will be easy to determine, that, where it is not so, there is no cause why the communion should be forfeited for such contumacy; and yet the penalty of imprisonment remain to enforce the jurisdiction with.

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§ 7. As for the rest of the complaint upon pluralities, which must needs seem just in many cases^c; let the law provide first, that there shall be maintenance for a sufficient curate, and then let what seems for the best, be done. It is visible, that the mischief comes from those Acts, by which the abbey lands were confiscate, not providing for the cures of the churches, the endowment whereof they had swallowed^d. It is visible, that the late war had the rise here; contributions to lectures setting up an interest of difference as well in doctrine as discipline^e. It is visible, that the clergy hath as many enemies, as the Church suffers by, as long as the title thereof seems to continue unextinguishable. [Pluralities have arisen from confiscation of abbey lands.]

§ 8. The primitive Church hath taught us an expedient for unity in sundry cases of this difficulty,—to refer that to God which man cannot set straight. No man can expect, that the Church should warrant any man in point of conscience to God. Yet cannot the Church declare the sacrilege to lie upon the conscience of those, that have such goods either with hereditary charges or by lawful commerce. If the Church leave Christians to their own consciences, and divines, that may be consulted, to their own judgments, it shall do no more, than the Church hath done in cases of like difficulty; than the see of Rome did in this case, when the kingdom was reconciled under Queen Mary: and yet, by such a declaration, quitting claims and importing an act of oblivion, it shall deserve to extinguish the enmity, which it contracteth by suffering^f. [The Church should quit her claims by a declaration of oblivion.]

§ 9. But nothing can possibly extinguish the obligation, which the legislative power of the kingdom hath, to restore the wrong which (though so long since) was done by it. For as it is alway obliged to make good the title, which it hath once made [to] those, to whom the crown hath duly con- [The state is bound to restoration.]

^c See Just Weights and Measures, c. xxiv. § 6; and below, Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxiv.

^d See *ibid.*, c. xx.; Just Weights and Measures, c. xxv. § 1; and True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. x.

^e See *ibid.*

^f See *ibid.*, and references in the notes there.

^g See the quotation from Bacon in True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. x. note e.

S E C T. V. veyed such goods; so is it manifest, that all Christian states stand originally obliged to provide for the cure of souls, and the service of God. How much more, when, having been provided for by predecessors, the provision so made hath been alienated by the act thereof, which hath drawn such a horrible consequence as the late war after it?

[Confiscation of Church property the true cause of the disorders in the Church.]

§ 10. Certainly when we see such a defect in a provision of such consequence, we need not seek complaint upon the clergy, for the cause of the disorders we see; we need not abuse ourselves to think them curable by the Comprehension pretended^a. When we see a course taken to multiply the inhabitants of the city and no course taken for churches, so that the sixth head in some places cannot resort to church as Christians should doⁱ; when we see a course taken for raising the city and not the churches^k: we need seek no other cause

^a See note prefixed to the True Princ. of Comprehension.

ⁱ The population of the city of London, according to a return made by special order of Privy Council 7 Car. I. (August 1631), was 130,268. See Graunt's Observations on the Bills of Mortality (6th edition, 1676), reprinted with the Collection of those Bills in 1759, p. 42. In 1811, it was 120,909; in 1831, it was 125,434 (see the Population Returns for those years): so that the population in 1666 was probably much the same as that in 1631. There were in London before the fire within the walls 98 churches (the editor of Stow in 1631 says 97), without the walls but within the circuit of the two more recent of the above population returns 16 churches, being those of the parishes belonging to the liberties (see Stow's Survey of London, Cunningham's Handbook of London, and the Population Returns above cited): the Return of 1631 however does not appear to include the whole of the parishes in the liberties. Consequently before the fire there were on an average at least more than 1100 or 1200 people to each church in the city. But the out parishes were far worse off than those within the city. The whole population of London in 1685 is given by Macaulay (vol. i. p. 348) from King's Natural and Political Observations (publ. in 1696), as in round numbers 530,000. And, to come nearer to the date we speak of, Baxter (Life of Himself, ed. by Sylvester, Pt. ii. p. 396) complains, that "in the greatest parishes

of London are about 60,000 souls (as Martyn's, Stepney, Giles Cripplegate); in others about 30,000 (as Giles's in the Fields, Sepulchre's); in others about 20,000; and in the lesser parishes fewer:" and in another place, that "in many parishes of London the fourth part (nay, in some the tenth part) cannot be contained in the public temples, if they came, so as to hear what is said" (ibid. Pt. iii. p. 3: written in 1670, but speaking of 1665 and of the Five-mile Act). Elsewhere (ibid., p. 165) Baxter speaks of a "sixth or a tenth," as the proportion.

^k The fire of London of course aggravated the evil spoken of in the last note tenfold. "Eighty-nine churches were destroyed" by it (Baxter, ibid., p. 165), of which eighty-five (including two seriously damaged, although not burnt down), were within the walls: and of these, 35 were not rebuilt (Cunningham, Hand-book of London: and compare Pepys' Diary, April 5, 1667, vol. iv. p. 8, complaining, that "those few that were to be new-built, . . . stand a great many in a cluster round Cornhill, and were in the gift of the king"). Cunningham quotes also from Pepys the quaint observation, that "the fire burnt just as many parish churches as there were hours from the beginning to the end of the fire;" and that "there were just as many churches left standing in the rest of the city that was not burned, being I think thirteen in all of each." This would leave 63 churches within

of disorder in the Church, than the want of that Christianity, which the exercise of it at church should maintain.

§ 11. And therefore let me ask those, that countenance the pretended Comprehension¹, how they can persuade themselves, that it will serve the turn of weak consciences, and oblige them to contend for the establishment; which they have a title to refuse, always in store, against they please to use it. For what is there that a weak conscience cannot pretend to stumble at, if the pretence will serve to change the law of the kingdom? Then, how they can persuade themselves, that it will be effectual to unity, being introduced by treading under foot the authority of the Church, vested in the synods, and encouraging ordinations made against that authority, to proceed in reducing all the right of the Church, that shall remain, to be so exercised as may convict "weak consciences," whom the force of civil power authorizes against their superiors. Certainly it will not be possible to gratify that atheism more, the growth whereof all good Christians stand astonished at^m, than to set up by an act of the kingdom a principle of dissension between the two parties, which the law comprehendeth. For they that would have no religion to prevail, who will certainly dissemble no religion under that which will please the one or the other, will have infinite advantage of propagating their no religion under the divisions of the two parties.

§ 12. And therefore I conjure those weak consciences, who have always pretended for disciplineⁿ, and made themselves considerable by so religious a pretence, to bethink themselves, how it will be possible for them to grasp the authority, which will be requisite to bring any discipline to effect by the law of the kingdom, knowing that they must ravish it from those, that now hold it by the law

[Inutility and evil of the proposed Comprehension.]

[Presbyterians ought rather to submit to a conference under due authority of the synods of the Church.]

the city itself when the rebuilding was finished. The houses however were rebuilt considerably before the churches. The act for rebuilding the city was passed early in 1668, and "London was in four years' time" (1666—1670) "rebuilt" (Burnet, Hist. of His Own Time, Bk. ii. vol. i. p. 452). But the same Burnet (*ibid.*, p. 470) tells us, that in 1669, "when the city was pretty well rebuilt, they began to take care of the churches, which had lain in ashes

some years:" and Baxter, in a petition intended to be presented to the king by the non-conformists (*Life of Himself*, Pt. iii. p. 162), that even then, April 1675, "few of the churches," burnt in 1666, had been "yet re-edified."

¹ See note prefixed to the True Princ. of Comprehension.

^m See above, True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. ii., xi., and notes there.

ⁿ See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xix. begin.

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much better, to make themselves capable of serving God and His Church in that part of it which may come to their own share, by giving and receiving satisfaction, what may be for the best, in the way of amicable conference proposed, preserving the authority presently possessed in the synods, than to set up themselves by trampling their superiors under foot, with so little hope of doing God and His Church service. Especially calling to mind, how odious, how contemptible, themselves made themselves, and their pretended presbyters, to the people of the kingdom, when, having obtained an ordinance of Parliament, after they had prevailed in the war, they went to introduce their discipline°. For if it appear, that the Church ought not to expect that the law of the kingdom should authorize any arbitrary power under pretence of ecclesiastical discipline, it will appear, that they cannot do God and His Church service but by contenting themselves with the laws, that may bring them lawfully into the ministry, with hope of that amendment by the consent of the kingdom, which they or the Church can demonstrate that the common Christianity requires.

[The state bound to aid the Church in restoring discipline.]

§ 13. As, for example, how can it be said, that the kingdom protecteth the power of the keys as a Christian kingdom should do, till it be enabled to reduce all, that shall be convicted in justice of capital, infamous,* or scandalous crimes, under penance, either for to have burial, if they die, or for restoring them to the communion, upon reasonable hope of conversion, if they survive? The increase of wickedness, at present, makes the necessity of this law flagrant. For what is it but infamy (which excommunication brings with it, so far as the kingdom is Christian), that can serve to suppress the vanity of committing murder, under the name of duel? that can be valuable with the atheism which is every where so flagrant†, not only in the blasphemies of swearing and cursing, but of scorning and deriding religion, and traducing the Scriptures which contain it? Can this be counted for

* See above, True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. ii. note g, and references there.

† See *ibid.*, sect. ix. note z, and references there.

° See *ibid.* note a.

† See *ibid.*, sect. ii.; and Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., cc. i, xxii.

in a tax of money⁶, purchasing a privilege to make religion contemptible? There can be no satisfaction made to religion, till they, who forfeit all credit by scorning the religion which they profess, and the excommunication which enforceth it, be disabled to witness in justice, much more for any honour in a Christian kingdom. As for adultery⁷, what punishment hath the kingdom left for it; or how shall it be counted a Christian kingdom, having none? Be the trial of it as civil interest shall require. If it pass without excommunication, though the law of the land lay no hold on it, what can clear the expectation of vengeance from heaven upon us? By consequence hereof, they that should be convicted of simony⁸ in civil justice, would remain irregular to the Church, and not capable of dignity or cure of souls, after such a crime: which, standing upon the account of religion, hath no civil penalty allotted it; though, in my opinion, being convict in civil justice, to the scandal of the world, the privilege of the clergy ought to cease, and they remain not only irregular [but] excommunicate. They that shall consider how this authority concerns religion, how much countenance of civil power it requires, will never believe they shall be able to grasp it by treading upon the authority of the Church through favour of the legislative power of the kingdom.

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[SECTION VI.]

As for the "Indulgence"⁹ intended to the usurpers of conventicles against law, it will become them that introduce it to provide, that "weak consciences" may not proclaim themselves to be persecuted by it. For it reserveth a rate penalty to the public⁷; and they declare that all penalties for religion are persecutions and against God's law⁸. The Quakers we

[The proposed Indulgence, imposing a money-penalty would still be held persecution.]

⁶ See note prefixed to the True Princ. of Comprehension, above, p. 305; and Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxv.

⁷ See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., *ibid.*: and Just Weights and Measures, c. xxiv. § 7. note 1.

⁸ See *ibid.*

⁹ See note prefixed to True Princ. of

Comprehension, above, p. 305.

⁷ See *ibid.*

⁸ "It is a deadly temptation against the proposed injunctions that they have a *penalty of such a nature annexed to them*" (i. e. one appealing to fear). Proposition for Safety and Happiness &c., p. 14. (publ. in 1667, see note prefixed to True Princ. of Comprehension.)

S E C T. VI. know make conscience of paying tithes, as the Jews under Judas of Galilee did of paying tribute to the Romans^a. And truly the Reformation detesteth the cruelty of the see of Rome, in burning of heretics; even those which themselves may allow, and do, to be heretics^b.

[The sovereign may enforce the laws of the catholic Church by penalties.]

§ 2. But the reason, which must assure the kingdom what they may do, must be this^c. Christianity maintaineth the world in the same estate and right, in which it findeth it; and could never have looked the powers of the world in the face, if it had pretended any right of this world to be founded in grace. Sovereign and subject are both concluded by this principle. Therefore, if the sovereign turn Christian, the subject not; his life, or his estate, cannot become thereby forfeit. If not by refusing Christianity, much less by refusing any part of it, any thing belonging to it. But suppose sovereign and subject both profess Christianity, which is our case; the sovereign hath as much right to give law to the subject for the performing of that Christianity which both profess, as he had to give law to him in religion, not only as for the public peace, but as for the exercise of that which they profess, then before their Christianity^d. The question that remains is, how the sovereign can warrant the subject at the day of judgment, that he breaks not God's law by obeying his. And the answer is upon the same principle:—that the catholic Church was in being, when Constantine, for the purpose, received the faith; and that it was and is a part of that faith, that the Church then in being was then, and is now, to be maintained one and the same; and that this cannot be done, but by maintaining the laws of it, either the same, or changeable according to the change of times by those from whom they received the faith and their successors: therefore that it is necessary, that Christian powers make the laws of the

sion).—See also Just Weights and Measures, c. xxv. § 7. note y; Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties, &c., cc. xxvii.—xxix.

^a "Ἐπὶ τούτου τις ἀνὴρ Ἰούδας βρομα, εἰς ἀπόστασιν ἐνῆγε τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, κακίζων εἰ φόρον τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τελεῖν ὑπομένονσι καὶ μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν οἰσσοῖσι θνητοὺς δεσπότας." Joseph., De Bell. Judaico, lib. ii. c. 8. § 1. Op. p.

1060. ed. Hudson: and similarly in his Antiq. Jud., lib. xviii. c. 1. § 1. *ibid.*, p. 792.

^b See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxvii.

^c See above, sect. iv. § 1—3.

^d See *ibid.* § 1. note g; and Just Weights and Measures, Pref. to Reader.

Church the laws of their dominions; requiring such penalties of disobeyers, as the disobeying of sovereign power enacting the laws of the Church, as the danger of public peace and the peace of the Church, shall require. Not as the sin against God in rebelling against His Church, requires. For civil power, subsisting by the light of nature, is no judge of that crime, which is not evident by the light of nature. Here, you see, civil power hath right enough to inflict penalty enough to beat this childish wantonness of innovating religion out of their subjects; who would quickly be weary of such follies, if they saw them in earnest.

§ 3. But upon this account it is manifest, that the penalties of all recusants must be of one and the same rate. For I reckon not here the danger of raising war for religion on either side*, referring that to the consideration of those whom it concerns. For no false Christianity can assure the crown of their allegiance, having a higher bond of religion to measure all the obligations they undertake by. As no true Christianity can be suspected of disloyalty. Setting therefore that aside, the disobedience to the laws of the kingdom by which religion is settled, the disturbance of God's service in unity, being the very same in any other as in popish recusants, it is not possible to cure the reproach which the justice and conscience and honour of the kingdom must undergo, differencing penalties by the men and not by the crimes†. And without doubt it must necessarily lay aside the laws in force against recusants; which, enacting so severe penalties against them, can never with any conscience or face of justice come into effect against the good families of the kingdom, when the scum of the people carry away the same fault for a flea-bite. It is true, greater penalties are due to greater persons for the same crime, in distributive justice. But because the rate is the same, comparing persons with penalties, I call them the same.

§ 4. But there is one penalty absolutely necessary to the maintenance of religion:—that they who excommunicate themselves remain excommunicate‡. All that forsake the

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[But the penalties of all recusants must be of one and the same rate.]

* See True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. i.

† See Disc. of Forbearance or Penal-

ties &c., c. xxix.

‡ See *ibid.*; and Just Weights and Measures, c. v. § 2, c. vi. § 9.

[And all who excommunicate them-

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selves, or communicate with those who are excommunicate, must be held excommunicate.]

[Tit. iii.
10, 11.]

Church of free choice, heretics or schismatics, excommunicate themselves; whereas other crimes are excommunicated by the Church. Therefore St. Paul says, that "heretics are condemned by themselves;" and commands Titus (that is, all Christians) "to avoid them," and not to keep company with them: which cannot be effected in a kingdom professing Christianity, but by the law of it. If therefore there be toleration for recusants under rate penalties, they that would provide against them, must provide, that they who communicate with any of them be excommunicate to this Church, whom they refuse to communicate with. By virtue of this rule, the catholic Church always held them, that communicated with heretics and schismatics, to be the same^b. And however we esteem it, the neglect of it hath brought this Church to the pass we see.

[Hobbes.] § 5. There are two sad instances of it. The Leviathanⁱ maintaineth, that a Christian is bound to renounce Christ with his mouth, if his sovereign command, and may be saved notwithstanding, believing in Him with his heart; renouncing thereby his baptism, at which he undertook to profess Christ till death. This book passing without censure, and the author not excommunicated^k, hath brought such an infamous taint

^b See Just Weights and Measures, c. xxv. § 2, note a.

ⁱ See above in sect. iv. § 6.

^k An attempt was made to censure the Leviathan in 1666; but it came to nothing. What passed, was as follows. A bill against atheism, profaneness, and swearing, was introduced into the house of commons and passed a first and second reading Oct. 9 and 16, 1666. Upon Oct. 17, it was "ordered, that the committee to which" it "is committed, be impowered to receive information touching such books as tend to atheism, blasphemy, and profaneness, or against the Essence or attributes of God; and in particular, the book published in the name of one White, and the book of Mr. Hobbs called the Leviathan: and to report the matter to the house" (Journals). It does not appear what steps were taken in consequence of the order: as the bill, after passing the house of commons in January 1667, and two readings in the lords, dropped through upon the prorogation of the session shortly after.

Pepys, in his Diary (vol. v. p. 1. ed. 1849), informs us that he went, Sept. 3, 1668, to his "bookseller's for Hobbs' Leviathan, which is now mightily called for; and what was heretofore sold for 8s." he "now gave 24s. for, at the second hand, and is sold for 30s., it being a book the bishops will not let be printed again." The condemnation of Scargill at Cambridge followed in July, 1669 (see below, Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxi). And July 21, 1683 (see Kennet, Complete Hist., vol. iii. p. 419, and Wood's Athen. Oxon., vol. iii. col. 1212), the University of Oxford condemned among other propositions the main tenets propounded by Hobbes in his De Cive and Leviathan. That Hobbes was seriously alarmed during the progress of the above-mentioned Bill, lest he should come under its penalties, see his Life in Wood, *ibid.*, and in the Biographia Britannica.

That he continued to receive the communion until certainly within two years of his death (in 1679), see Wood,

upon the religion of the kingdom, as if no religion stood to be the religion of it. If conventicles be so allowed, that the simple may think their religion discharged, frequenting them, what are we to expect but the same as if the mass were so allowed? S E C T.
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§ 6. The other instance is of New England¹. There those of this Indulgence have usurped such a law of government, that no subject of this crown can have any share in, unless he be a member of an Independent Church^m; the rest, far the greater part, so far from being permitted any exercise of religion (more than when they are forced to hear the sermons of such miscreants), that a very considerable fine hath been levied for christening a child on ship-board, to avoid the penalty declared at landⁿ. How much is a Christian kingdom concerned to rescue the subjects thereof from this tyranny of their fellow subjects; that are not afraid, so far as in them lies, to murder their souls, whom they send out of the world without baptism, or communion, or any office of Christianity but hearing the sermons of misbelievers^o? But for that purpose it is evident, that by contagion of this plantation all the conventicles are engendered, that now demand allowance. For be they Anabaptists or Quakers, they are no more than these may be to-morrow if their own votes carry it. To allow them, who trade with them, commerce with them in religion, is to betray the religion of the kingdom to heresy or schism. [The Independents in New England.]

§ 7. The same will be the consequence of admitting strangers for advancing trade, without providing that they conform to the religion of the kingdom, or communicate only with themselves^p. [Of foreign merchants in England.]

§ 8. Always recusants shall have a reasonable cause why they come not to church, and so cannot be punished for [The only reasonable ground to

Athen. Oxon. vol. iii. col. 1216 : where a passage from Kennet is also quoted in a note, speaking of his "frequenting the chapel" and being "constant to the sacraments," when in a panic respecting the Bill in 1666,7, and appealing "to the chaplain" for testimony of his religion.

¹ See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 15; True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. ii. notes c, d, g; Disc. of Forbearance or

Penalties &c., c. xxix.

^m "and irreverence," added here in the MS.

ⁿ No child could be baptized among the Independents unless his parents, one or both, were "in covenant." See Cotton Mather, Eccl. Hist. of New England, Bk. v. pp. 64, sq.

^o See references above in note l.

^p See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxix.

SECT. VI. refusing; so long as they are not reasonably secured by the law against this contagion according to the rules of the catholic Church^a. It is not enough known, that the Arminian congregations in the United Provinces extend their communion to the Socinians^b. And shall not recusants have a reasonable cause not to come to church, when this Indulgence provides not against the contagion of Socinians or Anabaptists or any that will come under it^c? For why are they not as arrant Protestants as those who may be the same to-morrow? We do all justly protest against the abuses of the see of Rome. But if therefore they, that challenge salvation before they are members of God's Church^d, and therefore murder the souls which they suffer not to be baptized and live like Christians and members of the Church,—if they may pass for Protestants, I must also be a catholic Protestant, and protest to abhor their profession as damnable.

^a See True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. xi. ; and above, sect. iv. § 2.

^b See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xix.

^c See *ibid.*: and above, sect. iii. § 10: Letter conc. Present State of

Relig., § 4, sq. : True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. ii.

^d See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 13: Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 8, note n; True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. ii.

A
DISCOURSE
OF THE
FORBEARANCE OR THE PENALTIES
WHICH ARE DUE
REFORMATION REQUIRES.

BY
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THE P R E F A C E.

ARISTOTLE^a (and experience) teacheth us, that no positive law can provide for all the cases, that may arise upon the terms of it. Religion indeed, in general, is a moral virtue: but the true religion, that bringeth salvation, is a positive constitution of God's grace, requiring the condition of Christianity to qualify for the promise of life everlasting; but upon several terms, heretofore under the law of nature and Moses, and now under the Christian faith. The Church of Christ in all ages hath been constrained to provide new decrees, and seek new laws, for the quenching of new heresies and schisms. They that ever hoped to do that by an Act of Comprehension^b, which the Act of Uniformity^c hath not [2 Cor. xi. 13.] done, would have proved themselves "deceitful workers;" they would have made many breaches by stopping of one. That which I am able to propound, I confess, is rather possible than probable. For, were it so far advanced as to be enacted for a law of the kingdom, I should never believe, that it would take effect, unless the faith and the laws of the catholic Church might be received to give bounds to all emergent disputes. No more than I can believe, that the Reformation will ever prevail, after one breach in Germany, after another since in the United Provinces, and these last here amongst us; unless we unite ourselves upon the same principle. Whether I have said enough to prove it well grounded or not, I must refer that to judgment. But he, that excuses me not in such an innocent proposition as this, how would he have Almighty God to excuse me, if, having attained this resolution, I should not declare the consequence of it in our present case? Especially, considering the duty, which the law of the land justly and necessarily imposes upon

^a "Ὁ μὲν νόμος καθόλου πᾶς, περὶ ἐνίων δ' οὐχ οἶόν τε ὁρθῶς εἰπεῖν καθόλου. Ἐν οἷς οὖν ἀνάγκη μὲν εἰπεῖν καθόλου, μὴ οἶόν τε δὲ ὁρθῶς, τὸ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον λαμβάνει ὁ νόμος, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν

τὸ ἁμαρτανόμενον." Aristot., Eth. Nic., V. x. 4: and similarly elsewhere.

^b See the note prefixed to the True Principle of Comprehension.

^c 13 and 14. Car. II. c. 4 (A.D. 1662.)

all of my order, to reduce recusants to Church^d. For there are now two sorts of recusants: and those, that are bound to reduce them, must do it upon such reasons, that, by reducing the one sort, they drive not the other sort from church. Let them that have more skill than I shew, how it can be done without employing my principle. I, that am resolved it can by no other means be done, must declare my resolution, though I were to suffer for it; which from a Christian kingdom I cannot do. One thing I have adventured upon my own head: granting, that the government of the Church was regular till after the sixth general council; and so, that the acts of the Church before that time are effects of it. But that is not to say, that the corruption of the Church, which we protest against and reform, began not till after that time. Religion began to be corrupted earlier in some, and later in other, points. But this corruption had not the force of law till after that time; and especially, till the usurpation of the see of Rome. It is enough, that there is a difference visible in any point between that, which was from the beginning according to the Scriptures, and that, which was when the Reformation was attempted. That which can be made out hereof, will serve to cramp both sorts of recusants. That which cannot, should be no cause of difference. He, that reduces the sense of the Scripture within the faith and the laws of the whole Church, warrants the penalties of recusants*. Let the laws do their office, and make it a disgrace to be out of the Church; and then we may expect to see the blessing of God upon His own ordinance. But without restoring discipline, without canons and laws to restore it, without the office of the synods in providing those canons, let no man think, that temporal penalties will serve to do the business. For though there can be no reason sufficient for violating the unity of the Church; yet, if the dissatisfaction that hath caused it resolve into a defect of the laws, it can no more be ended without redressing the laws, than a disease can be cured without taking away the cause of it.

^d See Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences Discussed and Answ., sect. iii. § 10. note c.

^e See Due Way of Composing Dif-

ferences &c., § 2, sq.; Just Weights and Measures, c. vii. § 1, sq.; True Principle of Comprehension, sect. iii., viii.; and below, ch. iii.—vi., &c.

FORBEARANCE OR PENALTIES

WHICH A DUE REFORMATION REQUIRES^b.

CHAPTER I.

THE CASE, IN WHICH FORBEARANCE IS PRETENDED FOR WEAK
CONSCIENCES.

It is a long time, that the forbearance due to "tender CHAP. I. consciences" hath been alleged^a for the means to restore unity in this Church. And, certainly, were the case stated in which St. Paul prescribed it to the Church of Rome, that so it might be drawn into consequence in our case; the Scripture must needs produce that, which would be of advantage for peace without prejudice to truth. But when the bare phrase of Scripture is tossed up and down, in the discourse of them, that care not to understand either the reason on which it is grounded, or the effect to which it sorteth; no marvel to see the decay of religion proceed from the abuse of the Scripture. We need not the heresies of the

^a The paging in the margin is that of the edition of the tract in 1670.

^b The MS. from which this tract was printed, is in part preserved among the papers of Thorndike in the Chapter Library at Westminster: viz., cc. 1—13, the beginning of c. 14, cc. 17, 18, the last paragraphs of c. 22, and the beginning of c. 23. The differences between the MS. and the printed text are evidently the author's corrections in printing the book. It was published, according to the date in the title-page of the original and only edition, in 1670: but such dates were at that time very commonly antedated (for which see

examples and proofs in the pamphlets mentioned above in the note prefixed to the True Principle of Comprehension), in order, says Barlow (in a MS. note upon one of those pamphlets), "that they might seem always the newer." Certainly the present tract was written before the end of July 1669, and was being printed shortly after that month; as is evident by the story of Mr. Scargill, inserted after the MS. was sent to the printer, in c. xxii.

^c See above in the tract entitled The Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences Discussed and Answered, sect. i. § 2. note c.

C H A P. I. primitive times, even the abominable villanies of the Gnostics^d; to tell us, what irreligious pretences may be set forth in Scripture phrase. Our own Fanatics would furnish sport enough, with the fooleries, which they pretend as from God's Spirit^e, because they can deliver their nonsense in the phrase of Scripture; could such irreligious madness move any thing, but the compassion and lamentation of Christians. It is enough for my purpose, that, unless the precept of the apostle be limited to that consequence which the reason of the case will produce, the "two-edged sword" of the holy Scripture may prove an edge tool, to cut their shins with, who take upon them and have not the skill to handle it. For the state of the case, to which St. Paul speaks, I will say no more at present but this; that he prescribeth only to the Church of Rome at that time, when the care was, not to lose the Jews by winning the Gentiles to be Christians^f. There could then be no question of establishing a national Church by the law of a kingdom; which Church and which kingdom shall by that law reform that, which it protesteth to have been decayed and depraved in the faith and laws of the then present Church. We have a reformation established by certain laws of the kingdom; which all men know, how great a part of the kingdom declineth, because the see of Rome disclaimeth it. And therefore the question is, what that law should be, that may oblige recusants to the reformation which we profess. For division in religion can never so deprave men's senses, as to punish them for refusing that, which they are not obliged to embrace. And yet who would have the kingdom to establish that reformation, which they would not have it enact by competent penalties? Now such is our case, that, since the afflictions, which this nation hath been visited with, have revived the humour of departing into conventicles^g, Inde-

[Heb. iv.
12.]

^d See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xii. § 4, 5.

^e A choice selection of such speeches and discourses is in Dugdale's View of the late Troubles, c. xliii. pp. 566, sq.: and in Leslie's tracts against the Quakers; or in Edwards' Gangræna. And see also Hickes's Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcised; and the Preface to Hammond, On the New Testament. See also above in the Letter conc. Pre-

sent State of Religion, § 18, note m; and Just Weights and Measures, c. xvi. § 11.

^f See Just Weights and Measures, c. xix. § 6, 7: and Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences Discussed &c., sect. iii. § 1—5.

^g This sentence runs thus in the MS.—"that since the deplorable burning of the city, or at least since the disorder at Chatham." The burning

pendents and Fanatics decline communion with this Church as much as recusants; and if we will speak properly, to be understood according to the laws, we must distinguish them by the addition of popish or fanatic recusants. Whereupon the question arises, what penalties are competent to one and to the other; whether the same or diverse. For as there can be no law, if there can be no penalties to enact it with: so there can be no penalty, unless the legislative power be judge of the cause, why the parties decline the law; and may secure them in conscience, that they ought not to decline it. Can any Christian power punish the disobeying of that law, concerning which it cannot secure the

of London happened Sept. 2—5, 1666. The "disorder at Chatham" was the sailing of the Dutch fleet up the Thames as far as that place, "while London was yet in ashes after the great fire," in June, 1667 (Burnet, Hist. of His Own Time, Bk. ii. vol. i. p. 433).—See also Evelyn's Diary under the dates of Sept. 2—5, vol. ii. pp. 263, sq.; and Pepys' Diary under same dates, vol. iii. pp. 267—269. Lond. 1847.—The Dutch were at Chatham June 18, 1667, and were still at the Nore on July 29: Evelyn, Diary, vol. ii. pp. 287, 291.—The great fire, by burning the churches, supplied Londoners at least, with something of an excuse for going to conventicles. So Baxter—"But some good arose out of all these evils. The churches being burnt, and the parish ministers gone (for want of places and maintenance), the Non-conformists were now more resolved than ever, to preach till they were imprisoned. Dr. Manton had his rooms full in Covent Garden: Mr. Thomas Vincent, Mr. Thomas Doolittle, Dr Samuel Annesley, Mr. Wadsworth, Mr. Janoway at Rotherfrith" (sic), "Mr. Chester, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Turner, Mr. Grimes, Mr. Nathaniel Vincent, Dr. Jacomb (in the Countess of Exeter's house), and Mr. Thomas Watson, &c., did keep their meetings very openly, and prepared larger rooms, and some of them plain chappels, with pulpits, seats, and galleries for the reception of as many as could come. For now the people's necessity was unquestionable: for they had none other to hear, saving a few churches, that could hold no considerable part of the people. The Independents also set up their meetings more openly than before:

especially Mr. Griffiths, Mr. Brooks, Mr. Caryl, Mr. Barker, &c. And Dr. Owen (who had before kept far off), and Mr. Philip Nie, and Dr. Thomas Goodwin, who were their leaders, came to the city. So that many of the citizens went to those meetings called private, more than went to the publick parish-churches. Yet at the same time it happily also fell out, that the parish-churches that were left standing, had the best and ablest of the Conformists in them: especially Dr. Stillingfleet, Dr. Tillotson, Mr. White, Dr. Outram, Dr. Patrick, Mr. Gifford, Dr. Whichcot, Dr. Horton, Mr. Nest, &c.; so that the moderate sort of the citizens heard either sort in publick and private indifferently: whilst those on the one side reproached all men's preaching save their own as being seditious conventicles; and those on the other extreme would hear none that did conform, or if they heard them, they would never join with them in the common prayers nor the sacraments." Baxter, Life and Times, edited by Sylvester, Pt. iii. § 39, 40. p. 19.—Burnet (Hist. of His Own Time, Bk. ii. vol. i. pp. 470, 471) confirms the statement, that "at that time" (so late as 1669) "conventicles abounded in all the parts of the city. It was thought hard" (he says), "to hinder men from worshipping God any way as they could, when there were no churches or ministers to look after them. But they begun to raise churches of boards, till the public allowance should be raised towards the building the churches. These they called *tabernacles*: and they fitted them with pews and galleries as churches."—See also Plea of Weakness, &c., sect. v. § 10, notes i, k; and below, c. xxvii. in fin.

CHAP. consciences of them that obey? But there is a further difficulty in our case, in regard of the Presbyterians: who, whatsoever they may do or may have done since the time of disorder, have always pretended to the service of the Church; so far from disclaiming communion with it. For grant they do usurp the liberty of conventicles, to hold their people at the more distance from being reduced to law; their pretence is not, to be obnoxious to the law for violating it, but to make the law obnoxious to themselves by reforming it. Suppose we them then comprehended with the clergy (whose authority is included in the present laws) ⁵ in the same privilege of ministering in and to the Church; our case is not stated, till we consider that, which all pulpits ring of, that no religion stands to be the religion of the kingdom^h. The case was like to come to this, when Cromwell first usurped. For then it began to appear, that this would be the fruit of his course in maintaining all parties in the religions, which the licentiousness of the war had allowed them to exerciseⁱ. The laws having recovered possession, and the dispute remaining, by what penalties to be exercised, whether any or none, whether those that are, or what others; I need not say, that there is any profession of atheism (which could never be professed among the very Gentiles): this I say, that whosoever favours it, will necessarily shelter himself under the law, professing that which it maintaineth: and, therefore, that it is to come into the state of our case,—in which forbearance is demanded for tender consciences,—how it is to be limited, that those who have no religion, if any such should be, may not have the benefit of it. So the question now in hand is of the same consequence, as if it were ⁶ demanded, upon what terms the reformation of the Church is to be stated. For whatsoever comes to debate, the ques-

^h See *Just Weights and Measures*, c. iv. § 1; *True Principle of Comprehension*, sect. ii.: and below, c. xxii.

ⁱ See the Act of Establishment A.D. 1656; quoted above in the Letter concerning the Present State of Religion &c., § 2. note d: and the hideous list of blasphemous tenets recited and prohibited by the Acts of Parliament mentioned *ibid.*, note h, and § 1. note c; or those mentioned in the document of the London ministers quoted

above in *Just Weights and Measures*, c. xxiii. § 5. note v. Cromwell endeavoured in his Act of Establishment to establish (but on an Erastian basis) the Presbyterians, but with a toleration for *all* sects short of those which were openly blasphemous, and excepting Romanists and "Prelatists;" the establishment moreover being on terms sufficiently wide to include a very large range of doctrine in the direction of the Independents.

tion will always be, how far we ought to depart from the Church of Rome. The other part of the question,—what penalties the Reformation, duly stated, may or is to be enacted with,—will depend upon this, for the greater part of it. For what can render the subject of this kingdom liable to penalty for not obeying the law which our reformation is established with, but that he is first bound in conscience to embrace the reformation, and to do the duty of a Christian according to it? Only what penalties, and how great or how grievous, it is to be or may be enacted with; this will further require the reason, which makes it the duty of Christian states to join in reforming the Church.

CHAP.
I.

7

CHAPTER II.

THAT A PRIVATE PERSON MAY BE OBLIGED TO DECLARE IN IT.

THIS is that, which obliges a private person, as I am, to declare his opinion, when so great a concernment of his conscience is at stake. For who could ever think the Reformation could stand, were not the clergy obliged, as the law obliges them^k, every one in his place to reduce recusants to the Church? Or how should they either do this, or stand obliged to do it, if the reason, upon which the Reformation and the law by which it is stated proceeds, enable them not to convince them, that they are bound in conscience to embrace it? These hundred years hath the dispute been on foot. Very nigh so long it is, since the bull of Pius V. acquitted the subjects of the kingdom of their allegiance to Queen Elizabeth^l. The government being then jealous of that party; those, that had appeared before, in the Troubles of Francford^m, to challenge a share in the government of the Church, thought this the time to set their pretensions on foot. It is to be seen by Camden's Annalsⁿ, that, when the

^k See Preface, note d.

^l See above in the Due Way of Composing Differences, § 18, note h.

^m See above in Just Weights and Measures, c. iii. § 6.

ⁿ See Just Weights and Measures, *ibid.*, and Camden, *Annal.*, in an. 1563, p. 131, in an. 1571, pp. 212, 213, in an. 1573, p. 243, &c.

CHAP.
II.

recusants first forbore coming to church, about that time did this party begin to be known by the name of Puritans. Ever since that time did these embers lie raked up in deceitful ashes, still most appearing when the state was most solicitous: till at length the party appeared in arms against the late king; and, prevailing in those arms, became divided into those several parties, which remain united in the plea for "tender consciences." For, the laws recovering by his Majesty's return, the same embers, which it was then thought fit to rake up again in the same deceitful ashes, upon the first rub have flamed out again; to demand law to justify that, which they usurp by way of fact against law: both pleading, that their consciences cannot be subject to any law in the case; and that Christianity hath not where-
 [Rom. xiv. 23.] with to clear up those "doubts," against which if they proceed they are "damned." It must therefore needs be said, that the present laws have been justified beyond all contradiction, that may pretend any thing to be commanded by the laws, which God's law forbids; so that the demand of new laws seems to be a demand, that the conclusion be contradictory to that which is inferred by the premisses. And what should "weakness" demand of reason, that is to give law, but inconsequence? Only let not inconsequence in reason draw mischief upon us in effect. We have hitherto answered the demand,—Where was your Church before Luther?—that it was where it is; the same Church reformed, which was decayed and depraved afore°. Neither can we ever answer otherwise, till we renounce our creed, and deny that "one holy catholic Church," which we must be saved by believing, and by continuing in the unity of it. Depart we once from these terms of our reformation; what shall we plead with a good conscience to bring recusants to Church? It will be said, that the pope is antichrist and the Church of Rome all idolaters; [and] that there can be no question of abandoning idolatry and antichrist. But is there no question of holding the true faith, of continuing a true Church, parting with idolatry and antichrist? Were papists idolaters and the pope antichrist a thousand times, the reason and the rule of reforming the

° See Just Weights and Measures, c. i. § 1. note c.

10 Church would be where it is: and will require, that it be so reformed as to continue a member of one catholic Church, as it was unreformed; saving the unity, which cannot be held without the consent of those that will not be reformed. Not that I grant the pretence of idolatry and antichrist; or that I intend to dispute against it at present, being a question too large to be voided by so short a discourse as this^p: but that to ground our reformation and salvation upon the interpretation of prophecies, sent since the ground of salvation was declared, is a thing without the compass of reason to do; and also a departure from that plea, upon which our reformation is hitherto stated. Having therefore placed my business, and spent my time, in considering the controversies which the Reformation hath occasioned^q; because the disputes we have among ourselves concern nothing but how far we are to depart from the Church of Rome: I thought myself tied in conscience to publish the resolution I had attained, both under the danger that might be expected from the late usurpation^r, and at his Majesty's happy return^s. So that the publishing of my opinion in the case at this time in dispute, 11 is but a declaration of the consequences, that have ensued because a palliative cure hath not served the turn. If they, that break unity in the Church, have liberty to plead for their conventicles, which they usurp against law; why should not my opinion expect a favourable audience? Protesting before God, that, how advantageous soever I think it to the salvation of souls, yet I do not desire that it should take place but by the free act of this Church and kingdom.

CHAP.
II.

^p See Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., cc. i. § 16, v. § 29—53; Epilogue, Conclusion, § 41; Just Weights and Measures, cc. i. § 2, ii. § 4: and below, Reform. of Ch. of Engl. better than that of the Council of Trent, c. xi.

^q Scil. in the Epilogue.

^r Scil. in the Letter concerning the

Present State of Religion among us (1656); and in the Epilogue (1659), of which see the Conclusion.

^s Scil. in the Due Way of Composing Differences (1660) &c.; and again in Just Weights and Measures (1662).

CHAP.
III.

CHAPTER III.

THAT THE RULE OF REFORMATION IS THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

IN the first place, therefore, I hold myself bound in conscience, upon this occasion, freely to declare to my superiors; that there is no power in this Church and kingdom to reform itself in matter of religion, but only by that form and to that form, which may appear to have been held by the whole primitive Church, before the corruption came in which we pretend to reform. And the reason hereof is unanswer-¹² able; being immediately grounded upon the article of our creed, whereby we profess to believe "one catholic and apostolic Church." For if there be such a thing in the world, then must there be one catholic faith, the profession whereof is the condition of communion with it; and one and the same laws, the violating whereof is the forfeiture of the same. And here I crave leave to call all canons, all customs of the Church, whether concerning the rites of God's service or other observations, whether delivered in writing or received by silent use and practice, by one and the same general name, of laws of the Church; only that I may be the better understood. Being therefore well assured, that the Church cannot be catholic but it needs must be visible, because it cannot be catholic, till it may be visibly distinguished from heretic and schismatic both; I must also infer, that it can never be visible, till it become catholic. That is the only way to justify that which hath been always pretended,—that this Church is the same that it was before Luther's time. For as the Church had never been catholic, had it been confined to one nation, as the¹³ synagogue was; so I do believe, that it had never been called catholic, had there not been heresies and schisms before it was so called¹. It had been one Church of "all nations," by virtue of the conversion of the Gentiles. When heresies sprung up, as tares among the corn, then was it called catholic for distinction's sake. It was visible, that the true faith was spread all over; heresies and schisms prevailed but here and there, where they were raised. So if a heretic or

[Matt.
xxviii. 19.]

[Matt. xiii.
26.]

¹ See above in The Plea of Weakness &c., sect. ii. § 6.

schismatic were asked the way to the catholic Church, he durst not have shewed the way to his own, saith St. Augustine^a. Nor is it a question to be asked a Christian, why the true Church should be catholic; the answer being so obvious,—that it was apostolic. Say why the faith preached by the apostles prevailed, why the communion settled by their authority (whereas heresies and schisms were known but here and there); and you have said, why the true Church was catholic. We that profess the Reformation are agreed, that this provision of God's goodness is no promise of God against man's malice; [and] that corruption may become catholic for the present age, though not from the apostles^v. This is the common ground of reforming the Church. If the measure and bounds which it limiteth were also common, all our divisions were at an end. Nor can any private spirit, expounding the Scripture without these bounds, derogate from it. It is a sufficient prejudice against any interpretation of Scripture, that it standeth not with the faith and with the laws of the primitive Church. St. Paul challengeth the prophets at Corinth to shew themselves spiritual men by submitting to his orders: having said, that "the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets;" and inferring, that all their spirits are to be subject to his, being an apostle: 1 Cor. xiv. 32, 36, 37. The same is the case to the world's end; the promise of our Lord—"Behold, I am with you to the world's end"—being made to the apostles, and to all that should be Christ's disciples and learn of the apostles to "do all that He hath commanded:" Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. For who can think he continueth in the doctrine of the apostles, departing from their authority in any thing subject to their authority? Or what is not subject to their authority, excepting that which our Lord had commanded before He gave them their authority? His own commands being the condition of salvation; their authority, the means provided to enable us to attain it by observing and learning His commands. So, as it is heresy to depart from the faith which they preached, so is it schism to depart from the au-

^a Quoted in *Just Weights and Measures*, c. vi. § 9, note f.

^v See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of

Chr. Tr., c. iv. § 13, 21; c. xxxi. § 51; and Conclusion, § 25.

C H A P. thorty which they left in the Church till the world's end.
 III.

Were not the catholic Church a warrant to particular Churches, they could not reform themselves without the consent of the whole. But, seeing abuses are and were visible at the Reformation, it is necessary to grant, that particular Churches (and secular powers, by whose laws they subsist) may restore that which may appear to have been decayed; but it is also necessary to say, that reformation is the restoring of that which was, not the introducing of that which was not.

CHAPTER IV.

16

THAT THE CHURCH IS NO FURTHER VISIBLE, THAN IT IS CATHOLIC.

AND thus shall the Church become visible, according to the will and ordinance of God; which, being in decay by the malice of man, though not invisible, yet must needs become hard to be seen, at least to the purpose of God's goodness. For by the discourse premised it appears, why it pleased God to provide, that the true Church should be catholic. That is to say, that, when it was so easy to discern the true Church from all that pretended, being indeed heretics or schismatics, the simplest were left without excuse, if they made a wrong choice. Which if it be true, how can it be in the power of any Church, or of the secular powers that maintain it, being bound to continue a member of the whole Church, to introduce that for reformation, which cannot appear to be restored, but may seem to be innovated? Which how should it be done without owning that ground of reformation which I have delivered; and by consequence those bounds, which the said ground inferreth? And I do very well believe, that none of those, who decline conformity with this Church, would have the face to deny this, had they to do with the now missionaries of the Church of Rome. For it would not serve their turn, in answer to them, to plead, that the pope is antichrist and the papists idolaters^{*}; having reason to challenge, that God hath founded a visible Church. It would be absolutely necessary to plead, though the goodness of God hath instituted a visible Church, yet that by the malice

^{*} See Just Weights and Measures, cc. i., ii., and above in c. ii. note p.

of man it might be, and is, become invisible, for the difficulty of finding salvation by it; though absolutely visible, because salvation might always be had in it. It is easy for him, that would answer them with a good conscience, for truth and not for victory, to maintain the Church to be visible, so far as the faith and the laws thereof continue visible; but that, so far as the faith and laws thereof may be disguised from that which was from the beginning, so far it may and is to be said, that the Church, which by God's ordinance is and ought to be visible, by human disorder is become invisible. Which being said, it follows immediately, that, as all estates in the Church are obliged in their several qualities to do their utmost that the Church may be visible (the salvation of all Christians requiring them to resort to the communion of the Church, which they believe to be catholic), so there is no other way to make it visible, but to restore the faith and the laws of the Church, that from the beginning made it visible. And, therefore, no Christian Church or state can have power to reform the Church any otherwise, than by restoring that faith and those laws, which the Church may appear to have had from the beginning. It would be sacrilege, and usurpation upon the faith which God hath built His Church upon, and upon the laws, which either the apostles have delivered to the Church or enabled the Church to deliver to posterity, to introduce any thing else for the reformation of the Church. Which,—seeing it must needs bind over the Church and kingdom to the wrath of God, as either destructive, or at least prejudicial, to the salvation of the people,—must needs bind over him, that hath this opinion, to the same, if upon so just an occasion he should forbear to publish and to plead it as he may, without offence. And, therefore, I take leave to blame all those, who declare in behalf of this Church, that it departeth and separateth itself from the Church of Rome. For, seeing it hath been granted in and by this Church ever since the Reformation, that there is and always was salvation to be had in the Church of Rome as a true Church, though corrupted⁷; I am very confident, that no Church can separate from the Church of Rome, but they must make themselves thereby schismatics

⁷ See Just Weights and Measures, c. i. § 1. note d.

CHAP. IV. before God; though before the Church they cannot be condemned for such, because the Church of Rome (the authority whereof must needs be ingredient into the sentence) cannot oblige any body to stand to the authority which it so abuseth. For if God have tied all Churches to communion with all Churches, how should it not be schism to profess separation from a true Church? And it is every whit as easy to say, that we intend only to reform ourselves; and that the separation hath come to pass by the rigour of the 20 Church of Rome, excommunicating those that reform themselves without her leave.

CHAPTER V.

HOW FAR THIS RULE IS OWNED BY THIS CHURCH.

HERE it will perhaps be demanded, whether or no the law of this land make this the rule of the reformation which we profess. And my answer is, that in effect and by consequence it doth. For by maintaining the three creeds^a to be part of the service, wherewith we glorify God by professing the catholic faith; and by maintaining the four councils^a, whereby both the faith and the then canons of the whole Church are established; it doth in effect maintain the primitive Church, not only till that time, but beyond it. For seeing it is evident, that the fifth and sixth councils are but appendances of the fourth^b (tending only to maintain and enforce the decree of it); how can it be doubted, that the law of this kingdom^c, receiving all councils that have decreed

^a The probable date of the Creed of S. Athanasius (so called), is, according to Waterland, between A.D. 420 and 430. But in Thorndike's time (as may be seen in Waterland's tract on the subject) the currently received date among English divines was probably about A.D. 600. So Voss, L'Estrange, and Bp. Pearson, whose Exposition of the Creed first appeared in 1669. Ussher, however, had dated it before 447. Either way it is clearly included within the time of the first six councils.

^a It is enacted by 1 Eliz. c. 1. § 36,

that the first four councils interpreting Holy Scripture should be the test of heresy. See The True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. iii. note o.

^b See The True Princ. of Comprehension, *ibid*.

^c Both the MS. and the printed text of the book here read, for "law of this kingdom," "article of this Church;" referring to XXXIX. Art., art. xxi. The text is from the errata to the edition of 1670.—For the "law of the kingdom" here referred to, see above in note a, and True Principle of Comprehension, *ibid*.

21 according to the word of God, receiveth and enacteth those, which tend only to enforce the fourth, which it owneth, for decreeing that faith which the word of God teacheth? Besides the prayer for the prosperity of the catholic Church^d, whereby we prove ourselves no schismatics to the see of Rome, when we repay the curses of it with our prayers^e. Besides that injunction of Edward VI.^f, which obligeth all preachers to expound the Scripture "according to the consent of the ancient fathers." Which, as no man can say, why it should not be in force; so, had it been in force, we need not have come to the question now on foot. And indeed it is in effect that which I demand. For it will be found, that "the consent of the fathers" is not to be had but in the common faith, and in those laws, which the whole Church either enjoined or allowed particular Churches. So that to expound the Scriptures "according to the consent of the fathers," is to expound them within those bounds; and to trouble the heads of Christian people with nothing that is without the same, as if their salvation could be concerned, all being safe within those bounds. Here I must take notice,

22 that the reason, why the Church catholic is to be held, may be miskenned; if it be extended to all that is called Chris-

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^d Prayer for all conditions of men: Litany: Prayer for the Church militant.—See also Bramhall, Schism Guarded, sect. vii.; Works, Pt. i. Disc. iv. vol. ii. p. 594.

^e See above in the Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xviii. § 8: and Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 5.

^f There is nothing in Edward VI.'s Injunctions to this effect; nor in Queen Elizabeth's. Thorndike apparently refers to the often quoted canon of 1571:—"Imprimis vero videbunt (concionatores) ne quid unquam doceant pro concione, quod a populo religiose teneri et credi velint, nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinæ Veteris aut Novi Testamenti, quodque ex illa ipsa doctrina Catholici patres et veteres Episcopi collegerint." Can. of 1571, can. 6; ap. Wilkins, Concilia, tom. iv. p. 267; or in Sparrow's Collection, p. 238.—Cosin, in his Regni Angliæ Religio Catholica, c. v. (Works, vol. iv. pp. 344, sq.), draws the limit at the

"*Quinque priora patrum sæcula*."—The council of Queen Elizabeth in 1582, in the rules given to the bishops (quoted from Strype's Life of Whitgift in Tracts for the Times, no. 78. vol. iv. p. 7), fixes the time "when doctrine and religion were most pure," at "above four hundred years after the time of the Apostles."—Bishop Hall, Concio ad Clerum, A.D. 1623 (quoted *ibid.* p. 15) and Bishop Cosin again, Judgment betwixt Ch. of Engl. and Ch. of Rome (quoted *ibid.* p. 46), fix the limit at six hundred years from Christ.—Thorndike (in c. xxiii.) fixes the reign of Charles the Great as the period to which he would limit the *canons* which he would have enforced.—Out of similar discrepancies of detail rather than principle Baxter tries to make an argument in his letter to Allen, dated 1676 (Appendix to his Life by Himself, p. 104), by alleging that Bramhall, Thorndike, Grotius, &c., are at variance with themselves as well as with the Romanist theory on the subject.

CHAP. V. tian, and not limited to that, which maintaining the faith violateth not the unity of the primitive Church. If the profession of Christ and Christianity were enough to make men members of the catholic Church, why should not Socinians and Anabaptists belong to the Church "dispersed over the face of the whole earth?" Again, the eastern Christians [under Prester John^h], that are thought to come from Nestoriusⁱ,—the southern Christians, that maintain the memory of Dioscorus, and condemn the fourth council of Chalcedon,—cannot be admitted to be catholics by any man that owneth the four councils. But in regard it appeareth not, that they own the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches, though they own the memory of their persons^k; and in regard there is cause enough to presume, that they would with all their hearts be reunited to the Church, did not the see of Rome refuse all terms of reunion, that include not the infinite power which it challengeth: they cannot be included within the Catholic Church, without reserving a liberty to exclude them, whensoever in point of faith it shall appear, that they²³ own the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. As for the canons of the Church, it was never necessary to the maintenance of communion, that the same customs should be held in all parts of the Church; it was only necessary, that several customs should be held by the same authority. Which is to say, that the same authority instituted several customs, which they thought to be for the best in several times and in several places. For so they might be changed by the same authority, and yet unity remain. Whereas, questioning the authority by questioning whether the acts of it be agreeable to God's law or not, how should unity be maintained? This is the reason of that which I said even now,—that the fathers do not agree in any thing but in the faith and the laws of the Church. For it is manifest, that they could not have agreed in the laws of the Church, if any had excepted against any thing used in any part of the Church, as if God's law

^g Form of Bidding Prayer, in Canons of 1603, can. 55.

^h See *Just Weights and Measures*, c. vi. § 10, notes h, i.—The words in brackets are misplaced in the printed text of 1670, and follow the words "southern Christians," one line lower

down.

ⁱ See *Just Weights and Measures*, *ibid.*, note k.

^k See *ibid.* c. xxv. § 4, notes j, k: and compare Field, *Of the Church*, Bk. ii. c. 1. pp. 47, sq.

had been infringed by it. Seeing therefore it is manifest, that there are certain canons and customs, known to have been the canons and customs of the primitive Church, owned ²⁴by this Church; it followeth of necessity, that nothing can be disowned by this Church as contrary to God's law, which holdeth by the primitive Church. So it is not my intent to say, that the canons and customs of the primitive Church ought to be in force; and that there is no other means to restore unity in the Church: but that nothing can cause a breach in the Church, that hath authority from the primitive Church; and that nothing can have authority in the present Church, that infringeth the authority of the primitive Church, as if God's law were destroyed by any act of it. Further, there are two points in the title and cause of the late war, episcopacy and sacrilege; wherein the cause of the crown hath been so united to the cause both of this and of the catholic Church, that I may well say, that to disown the same cause in other points, alike primitive and catholic, would be to deny the conclusion admitting the premisses, or to keep "divers weights and measures" in the same budget. [Deut. xxv. 13—15: Prov. xx. 23.] The plea for episcopacy, and for consecrate goods, hath made out so much evidence for itself, that it hath helped to recover ²⁵the laws of the kingdom. And shall not the laws of the kingdom, so recovered, maintain the same plea in all other things? For the visible unity of the catholic Church, as it never subsisted but in the consent of bishops¹, so was it never maintained but out of consecrate goods^m.

CHAPTER VI.

WHAT ERRORS HAVE FOLLOWED, BECAUSE IT IS NOT SO EXPRESSLY.

BUT I do freely acknowledge, that, though this Church hath many obligations to own this principle for their rule,

¹ See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. iv. § 11; Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. xi. § 2, 10; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 64, 65: Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 27, sq.; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xvi. § 7: Due Way

of Composing Differences &c., § 26.

^m See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 41—52: Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xvi. § 29, 44, &c.; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 27.

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yet it is not formally and expressly enacted by those laws of the land, whereby religion and the rights of the Church are established. For I do further claim, that the want of enacting and enforcing it, and driving it home to the true consequence in every point, is the cause and source, not only of the disorders which divers pitiful plaisters have been tendered to cure, but of all disorders, imperfections, and decays of religion, which have succeeded upon the Reformation; having been made without limiting those bounds: and that the present disorders in religion are the symptoms of a common disease, which all men are offended with, but cannot be cured without recourse to the unity of the catholic Church and the terms of it; wherein that health of Christianity consisteth, which all division impeacheth. I do therefore freely acknowledge, that I find two positions^a to be the source of all those excentrical opinions in religion, which caused that confusion upon the issue of the war, that helped to make way for his Majesty's happy return. The first is, that there is no condition for the covenant of grace; that there is no contract in it, but a mere promise. The second is, that there is no such thing as a visible Church instituted by God; but that men are first children of God by faith, then members of a Church of free choice. Of these positions the one necessarily dependeth upon the other. For the faith of the whole Church^c from the beginning requires baptism to salvation: and therefore includeth it in that faith, which alone justifieth: and by consequence requires, that justifying faith cannot be understood without that profession of faith, which a man maketh^d at his baptism. And this will necessarily infer a Church, therefore visible, because catholic. For it is agreed upon by the whole Church, that baptism in heresy or schism (that is, when a man gives up himself to the communion of heretics or schismatics by receiving baptism from them), though it may be true baptism, and not to be repeated, being given in the form of the Church, yet is not available to salvation^e;

^a See Letter conc. Present State of Relig., § 3, 7; Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 7, and references in the notes there.

^c See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. ii., sq.: Plea of Weakness

&c. Discussed and Answered, sect. iv. § 3: and below, c. xvii.

^d See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 31: Just Weights and Measures, c. xiv. § 2.

making him accessory to heresy or schism, that is so baptized. C H A P. VI.
 Now it is not my intent to say, that these two positions were expressly and formally professed by companies distinguishing themselves from others by ecclesiastical communion in the profession^a; which is the true signification of a heresy in the eye of the Church. But the positions I maintain to be heresies, in so much that, if there were such companies, they must of necessity be taken for heresies in the account of the Church. And my reason is clear. For it is acknowledged by the whole Church, [and] clearly delivered by our Lord in the Gospel, that the taking up of His cross is a necessary condition to salvation. Now since our Lord gave commission to His apostles to "baptize all nations in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost;" it is evident, that ever since we take up Christ's cross, when we undertake at our baptism to lay down our lives rather than deny the faith of Christ or transgress His commandments. And since this promise is not available, unless it be deposited with the true Church; it cannot be available to him, that continueth not in the true Church, that may exact the promise deposited with it. If any man ask, whom I can charge with these positions, which I cannot shew to have been professed by visible bodies^a; I discharge myself upon a number of pamphlets, of the time of that confusion, which was called the Blessed Reformation^r; wherein "free grace" was made to be the pardon of sin before it is done; justification to be the revelation of predestination to glory, and "no sin to be seen in God's elect." One^s particularly—which I have cause to believe was printed by Cromwell's own appointment, because it answered a petition of Welsh fanatics, which charged him to depart from his principles,—answers expressly, that the "principle" of salvation is neither faith nor good works, but "Christ" living "in the heart," and "abiding" there, whatever principles the godly may change^t. And for the Church, have we not seen our Independent congregations, or do we not see them in

[Matt. x. 38, xvi. 24; Mark viii. 34, x. 21; Luke ix. 23, xiv. 27.]
 [Matt. xxviii. 19.]

^a See True Principle of Comprehension, sect. ii. note g.

^r i. e. the time of the Rebellion. See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. i. § 11, notes z—d, and Conclusion, § 10: and Due Way of Composing

Differences, § 12.

^s See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 10, notes o, p: and Due Way of Composing Differences, § 12. note b.

^t Quoted in Epilogue, Conclusion, § 10.

CHAP. VI. New England, refuse baptism to all, that will not take the covenant which they appoint themselves to take, and own no other Churches but such congregations^a? I suppose no man in his right senses will imagine, that there can be a catholic Church, consisting in the communion of all such congregations; or that there can be any faith to give law to their communion, who have the law in their own hand, to be tomorrow Socinians if they please; or any other sect, that allows Independent congregations. For the Socinians may seem to have the eldership of New England, for Independent congregations. On the other side, do we not see the Levathan, that monster of a Christian, openly profess, that he is bound to renounce Christ with his mouth if his sovereign command^x, though still bound to believe in Him at the heart? So utterly persuaded, that there is no such thing as a Church of God's ordinance, but only by the act of sovereign powers within the respective dominions of each of them^y; that he had rather renounce his baptism (and so the benefit 30 of it) than own any creed or any catholic Church.

CHAPTER VII.

THAT IT IS FOR THE INTEREST OF THE REFORMATION, AS MUCH AS
OF THE SEE OF ROME.

HAVING therefore observed (upon due consideration, as I hope), that all the errors, which have had vogue during our late confusions, are reducible to these two positions, destructive to two articles of our creed, that profess "one catholic Church," and "one baptism for remission of sins;" I am still led by the same consideration to think myself tied in conscience freely to profess, that, were these two positions clearly renounced, and the sense of those two articles duly

^a See Epilogue, Conclus., § 13, note a: and Plea of Weakness &c. Discussed and Answered, sect. vi. § 6, and references there in note l.

^x See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 52: Due Way of Composing Differences, § 10:

and Just Weights and Measures, c. iv. § 3.

^y See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ii. § 9, 10, c. xix. § 1, sq.: and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 18, 52, &c.

established, and received by all parties that own the same creed, the reunion of the whole Church must needs follow. For, the power of the whole Church being so^r stated, as to presuppose the whole condition of our salvation, and to ex-
 31 tend only to the determining of those things, which may promote edification in it, without endangering the unity of the Church: why should not I think, that there is found, by the consent of the whole Church from the beginning, so clear a resolution of all that is disputed to maintain separation concerning the condition of the covenant of grace, that it cannot be refused by the parties, owning the common faith? There is great cause to fear, that, notwithstanding the mischiefs we feel by our own divisions, some would think it still a greater mischief, that the whole Church should be reunited; though upon just terms, and such as must needs reunite ourselves. But if the Christian religion oblige us to do men good against their will; he, that demand[s] nothing but the right understanding of two articles in the creed to the reuniting of Christendom, intends the greatest charity, that those who love division can receive. Whether his demand be sufficient to do his work or no, he must leave it to the world to judge. For it is to be acknowledged, that, when the condition of our salvation is settled and all that causes
 32 division upon the account of it, there remains besides very many disputes concerning public orders, as well in the offices of the Church as in the public government of it, and the interest as well of the state as of the Church in the same. But let not therefore those that love not unity pretend difficulty. For they shall find such principles laid to the determining of them all in the visible laws of that one Church (which cannot continue one but by owning the same), that the due bounds of reformation cannot escape them, that will not decline the thread and the grain of these grounds. And yet, in all this, no man declines the Scripture for the only rule of faith. But he, that refuses the see of Rome for judge in the sense of it, which is all that remains in question, may well crave leave to decline the judgment of any private spirit, not confined within the bounds which the visible consent of the Church determineth. Not as if the sense of the Scripture were not more and more to be discovered; which is in-

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deed discovered every day more and more: but because the true sense of it will always fall within the compass of that, which the Church hath always received^a. I am very well persuaded, that the see of Rome will never hear of any terms³³ of reconciliation, so long as they see our divisions increase. But I am very well assured, that the divisions of the Reformation can never be reunited, so as to prevent the like for the future; but upon that ground, which, being received, will serve to reunite the whole Church. There can never be one visible faith, one visible Church, upon any other terms. There can be no such sin as heresy to violate faith, as schism to violate charity, upon other terms. And therefore it is out of love to the Reformation, that I insist upon such a principle as may serve to reunite us with the Church of Rome: being well assured, that we can never be well reunited with ourselves otherwise; [and] that not only the Reformation but the common Christianity must needs be lost, in the divisions, which will never have an end otherwise. And he, that can take measure, how much of it is lost in thirty years' time^a since these troubles began, even among them that inclose the name of "saints" and "the godly" to themselves; will easily believe, that it hath not long to live, unless division be put to death. And yet the vain hopes of the parties, ever³⁴ since the division, may make it appear, that both have reason enough to be reconciled. They of the see of Rome have long expected (a hundred and fifty years or thereabouts), that those Christian princes, that have looked upon the Reformation as dangerous to the peace of their dominions, should give them assistance to reduce all, that protest against the abuses thereof, by force of arms to submit to their will. Which would be, to make that will the law of religion, as well to themselves, as to those that should be so reduced. But the experience of so much time evidences, that the powers of Christendom have something else to do than to employ the forces of their dominions to that purpose; and that, if it prove for the interest of some of them at some times, it will prove not to be for the interest of others at the same or other times. Of which interest, as they are indeed and in con-

^a See True Principle of Comprehension, sect. iii., vii. ^a A.D. 1639—1669.

science to give account to God, and not to the see of Rome; so, that they will ever make the see of Rome the judge of them, what appearance can there be? So it is time of the day for them to hearken to reason, whether they regard God
 35 and religion, or interest and themselves. But is not our case the same? Or are not we transported as far with the conceit, that they are limbs of antichrist and idolaters, as they are with the conceit, that we are heretics and schismatics? Have we not as long expected, when the kings would join to strip "the whore of Babylon naked," as they, when they would
 join to reduce the heretics by force? And is it not yet time
 of the day for us (whatsoever opinion those, that employ their time in searching the meaning of a prophecy, may have), at least to make it no principle of our profession, nor to maintain separation upon the account of it? knowing, that, were the pope twenty times antichrist and the papists idolaters, he can never be antichrist nor they idolaters for any thing, that the consent of the catholic Church either alloweth or enjoineth. So that, whatever become of any prophecy in God's word and the sense of it, the bounds of reformation will be the very same; and he will be no less a heretic or a schismatic, that makes the pope antichrist or the papists idolaters for doing or believing any thing, which the Church
 36 from the beginning hath enjoined or allowed to be believed or to be done, than if he pretended no prophecy to prove it^b. If ever any people had cause to reflect upon the sad consequences of this conceit, we are they; that shall find no probable reason to impute the mischiefs of the late usurpation to, but the hope of fulfilling this sense of this prophecy. It is a vain thing to think, that a man, who believed no God, could act a counterfeited religion throughout, as we have seen the usurper do. He, that could hope to be saved, either without faith, or without good works, by having Christ alive at the heart^c; why should not he think, that all the foul way he went through was the service of God, having intended to "strip the whore of Babylon" by his means? Neither Mani-
 [Apoc. xvii. 15, 16.]
 [Apoc. xvii. 16.]

^b See below in the tract entitled *The Reformation of the Ch. of Engl.* better than that of the Council of Trent, cc. vii.—xi.

^c See above in c. vi. note t: and for

Cromwell, *Due Way of Composing Differences*, § 12. note c; *Just Weights and Measures*, c. ii. § 5; *True Princ. of Comprehension*, sect. iii. notes a, b.

CHAP. chæus nor Mahomet nor any enthusiast can be barred of the
VII. like aim with this, if once he make his private spirit parallel to the Scripture^d. For that which the same authority last dictates, as in wills and testaments, must take place. I say not, that this is the case of those, that interpret this prophecy of the see of Rome. I believe they follow their reason in expounding Scripture by Scripture. But if their reason be not the reason of religion, the reason of that Christianity which^e we all have interest in; the private spirit, that follows it, may take all for God's service, though never so wicked, that is done in prosecution of it. In the mean time, division increasing among us as it does, I think I gratify ourselves, and not the see of Rome, in proposing that truth, which reconciles the interest of reformation to the interest of unity in the Church. For in civil war (as schism is nothing but a civil war in the Church^e) that party that divides is the likely to ruin. And though the first hopes of the see of Rome have proved addle, yet, if our divisions prevail, they must needs have fresh hopes to prevail by our divisions.

CHAPTER VIII.

THAT IT IS THE DUTY OF THIS KINGDOM, AND OF ALL CHRISTIAN SOVEREIGNTIES.

AND, therefore, I must freely profess my opinion; without any manner of hope that ever the see of Rome will abate any thing of their rigour, though the Reformation should³⁸ content themselves with these terms. For I find by the proceeding of former times, that it is their maxim to stand to that which they have once done; and to mark those popes to posterity, that have abated any thing from the rigour of their predecessors. For, being arrived at this greatness by this rigour and obstinacy in all pretences, right or wrong, they will always think themselves obliged in reason of state not to yield so much as the cup in the eucharist, though the

^d See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 17, 18, 38, 39: Just Weights and Measures, c. ix. § 1, c. xxi. § 5: and the re-

ferences in notes there: and above in c. i.

^e See Just Weights and Measures, c. ii. § 6.

council of Trent leave it in the pope's power to grant it^f; because, granting that any thing is and hath been amiss, who shall secure them, that nothing more shall be questioned than is indeed amiss, when we see no point in religion remain unquestioned some time or some where: not considering all the while, that this rigour is the cause of division, and division the cause of these questions; and that, the reason of reformation being owned on both sides, there is a ground restored for confidence, that they who accept of it will stand to those bounds which it settleth. But if the see of Rome can have no power against the whole Church; 39 much less can any other Church, or any part of the Church, or any secular power that protecteth it, make that to be reformation, which the whole Church alloweth not; or secure their subjects' consciences of the salvation they seek, in exercising their Christianity according to their laws, but by confining the reformation which they maintain, within those bounds, which the faith and the laws of the whole Church either require or allow. Now how can the interest of the nation be secured without due ground for hope of God's blessing upon that which shall be done? How can there be ground to expect God's blessing, till it appear, how all subjects of this kingdom shall stand discharged at the day of judgment, following that form which the kingdom enacteth, rather than that which the see of Rome requireth? For there are other Christian princes and sovereignties, that command their subjects to obey the see of Rome; whose subjects must as well stand discharged to God upon the same plea, as the subjects of reformed princes and states. And how shall the consciences of them that make laws be secured, if they can- 40 not secure the consciences of them for whom they are made? Or how can God's blessing be expected, if this security cannot be evidenced? It is not yet time to ask, how those,

^f The questions—whether the laity and priests non-celebrants, or any particular nation under special circumstances, might be permitted the use of the cup in the eucharist,—were proposed at the council of Trent, sess. xxi. (in fin. canonum, ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xiv. pp. 847. E, 848. A): but were then deferred. In sess. xxii. a decree was made “super petitione con-

cessionia calicis,” whereby the synod “decrevit, integrum negotium ad sanctissimum dominum nostrum esse referendum, prout præsentì decreto refert, qui pro sua singulari prudentia id efficiat, quod utile reipublicæ Christianæ et salutare petentibus usum calicis fore judicaverit” (Labb., *ibid.*, p. 861. E).

CHAP. that allow not the reformation upon these terms, should be
VIII. punished; because there are that pretend, that no punishment can be inflicted for disobeying any law of the kingdom by which religion is settled[§]. But it is time to say, that they make it a very ridiculous thing for the legislative power to make laws for the kingdom, which they can enact by no penalty. And how shall this difficulty be voided, but by demanding nothing, but that which Christianity will require of all Christians,—that no Christian kingdom can have power to introduce any thing for reformation in the Church, but that which the consent of the whole Church either enjoineth or alloweth. Not as if the least tittle of Scripture were not enough, to warrant that which it enjoineth to be the reformation of the Church: but—whereas the sense of the Scripture is that which remains questionable, not the authority of it,—that nothing can be the true sense of the Scripture, which the consent of the whole Church contradicteth; and therefore that, though there be an appearance of truth ⁴¹ in such a sense, yet it is not for a Christian kingdom to enact it for law, till it be duly debated. And, that being done, it will infallibly appear in all, which in most things appeareth already;—that the consent of the whole Church cannot contradict the true sense of the Scripture, and that it is nothing else but not knowing the one or the other that makes it seem otherwise. If the Scripture itself is not nor can be owned for God's word, but by the consent of God's people from the beginning, attesting the motives of faith related in the Scripture to have been infallibly done, by submitting to the faith which they enforce^b; then must the same consent be of force, to assure common reason, that the faith and the laws, wherein the whole Church agrees, came from the authority settled by God, not by any consent of all Christians to fall from that which they profess. And therefore, though a kingdom may force the subjects thereof to call that reformation which they enact, yet they can never make it reformation, in that sense which the salvation of Christians requires, if it be not within these bounds. It

[§] See below, c. xxix.; and references there.

^b See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of

Chr. Tr., cc. iii., iv.; and Just Weights and Measures, c. xxi. § 1—5.

42 may be called reformation, to signify a new form ; but it can never be reformation, to signify that form which should be, unless it signify the form that hath been in God's Church. For that, being one and the same from the first to the second coming of Christ, can authorize no other form than that which it may appear to have had from the beginning.

CHAP.
VIII.

CHAPTER IX.

THAT IT CANNOT BE DONE WITHOUT THE SYNODS OF THIS CHURCH.

AND therefore, it being granted on both sides, that the sovereign power of Christian kingdoms and states, proceeding duly, obligeth the subjects to submit to the reformation of the Church ; and cannot exact legal penalties of them which refuse, upon any other terms : I do except, in the second place, that it ought to proceed in all reformation by and upon the authority of this Church ; that is, of the synods. For what doth the whole Church agree in so visibly as in this,—that the authority which God hath instituted in His
43 Church should give law to His Church ? And how can a Christian kingdom promise themselves God's blessing upon such acts as they have no power nor right from God to do ? For granting there is such a thing as a catholic Church, it is not possible, that any Christian kingdom, which must be a part of it, should have power to enact any thing prejudicial, much less destructive, to the whole ; [therefore not] to the visible being, which is the visible communion, of it. And therefore, the faith and the laws of the whole being the condition under which the parts are to communicate, no Christian kingdom can have power from God to give new laws in religion to the subjects thereof, which the Church of the kingdom warranteth not to be according to the laws of the whole Church. If any thing may appear to have been in force in the primitive Church, and by the abuse of succeeding times to have become void ; I do not deny, that the secular power may reform the Church by restoring it, though the Church should refuse their consent to it. The reason is, because the Church would be without help, if there were no lawful way to restore the de-

CHAP. cays of it; which, we agree, have come to pass without the 44
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consent of them that are chargeable for the decay of it. Now the faith and the laws of the catholic Church are the birth-right of all Christians, purchased by undertaking to profess one catholic Church at their baptism; and Christian powers are to protect their Christian subjects in their birthright. And the authority of the present Church is not seen in the faith and the laws of the whole Church. For it is mere matter of fact, what they are; the evidence whereof (pre-existent to the authority of the present Church) cannot be understood to require or to presuppose it. And, therefore, the authority of the Church cannot be violated by reducing the faith and the laws of the primitive Church into force. Nevertheless, in regard that which is decayed can seldom be restored without determining new bounds, which the present state of the Church requires, it is manifestly the office of the Church to determine the same; nor can it be done by Christian powers of this world without assuming to themselves that authority, in which they are to maintain the Church. For though sovereign power hath sovereign right "in all 45 causes and over all persons ecclesiastical," yet is it capable of no ecclesiastical power or right; but is to maintain those, that have it by the laws of the Church, in the use of it. If any thing were done at the Reformation, setting aside the synods of this Church (which I am here neither to deny nor to acknowledge); it must be justified upon this account, that they refused the authority of the whole Church in authorizing the reformation of this Church¹. If any thing now may appear to be demanded upon the same account; let the authority of the synods be passed by, for their punishment, if they hinder the reformation of the Church by refusing it. But that cannot appear, till it may appear, first, that the matter demanded ought to have the force of law in the Church; having been of force, and since decayed by the injury of time or corruption of men: secondly, that it is of such weight, that religion is like to have more advantage by restoring it, than the unity of the Church shall suffer by violating the regular authority of the Church. What thanks

¹ Compare Just Weights and Measures, cc. vii., viii., and c. xxv. § 8, 11: and True Principle of Comprehension, sect. viii.

I shall have of my lords the bishops for this, I know not; for
 46 I deny, that they themselves can have any authority in the case, that shall not be confined within the same bounds. But it is not possible for him, that is the most jealous of the rights of the crown in Church-matters, to say, what danger there can be to this crown in securing the conscience of the kingdom by the authority of the Church. For the acknowledging of those bounds, which the authority of the Church is confined to, as well in respect of sovereign power, in the dominions whereof it subsisteth, as of the rest of the Church, leaveth no plea for it to usurp either upon the crown or upon the Christian subjects of it. And all this I claim by St. Paul, where he commandeth all Christians to "abide in that state" [1 Cor. vii. 20.] in which they are "called" to be Christians¹. Which cannot otherwise oblige all clergymen to be subjects upon the same terms, as they should be if their sovereigns were not Christians; but that it must oblige all public powers to maintain the clergy in the same rights, which they had and must have had over Christian people, did not the public powers profess the faith. And, therefore, though I do claim, that the synods
 47 of the two provinces and their decrees ought to be confined within the bounds so oft said; yet I do demand of all (especially of those that have made the oath of canonical obedience to their bishops), how they can profess to own episcopacy, especially according to their oath, that pass over this right of the synods. For that, which is done without or against their consent, shall make them no bishops; that must receive law from their clergy, if the secular power make their sense of the Scripture law to the kingdom. Whereas I, that take the liberty to prove all this without their authority, can clearly profess, that I think it a point not subject to canonical authority, which I plead for; and that, otherwise, I should think it inconsistent with the oath of canonical obedience which I have made.

¹ Compare Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 4, c. iv. § 3, 62, c. v. § 17, &c.; and Review of it, c. iv. § 3, sq.; Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xi. § 35, c. xix.

§ 13: Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 1, sq.: Just Weights and Measures, c. viii. § 3, 4.

CHAPTER X.

48

THE CASE IN WHICH ST. PAUL FORBEARS THE WEAK.

COME we now to that scripture of St. Paul to the Romans, upon which the whole plea for "tender consciences" is grounded; and to state the case in which he prescribeth, and see, what forbearance it will enforce in our case^k. St. Paul, having shewed the Romans (who, before they were converted to be Christians, had been, some Jews, some Gentiles), that righteousness and salvation comes only by faith or by Christianity and not by the Law or by Judaism also, proceedeth, in the fourteenth chapter of that epistle, to order them to forbear one another; the Jews not to censure the Gentiles for not observing the Law, the Gentiles not to scorn the Jews, if, not understanding the freedom of Christians, they lived as Jews in all or in some things^l. It is manifest, who are "the strong" and who are "the weak" with St. Paul, in that he is one of "the strong;" where he says, [Rom.] xv. 1, "We that are strong ought ⁴⁹ to bear the infirmities of the weak." They, that understand, how righteousness and salvation comes only by faith, notwithstanding that it was to be had under the Law as well as afore the Law; these are "the strong." "One man believes he may eat anything;" though forbidden by the Law; "but he that is weak," and sees nothing else on the table but that which the Law forbids, "eats herbs." "One man makes difference of a day above a day," according to the Law; "another esteems every day alike." [Rom.] xiv. 2—5. These two instances are put for all indifferent things, prescribed or forbidden by the Law. He, that understood the purpose of God in giving the Law (which He intended to "make void," or rather to "fulfil," in due time), so that salvation came not by it, when it was to be had under it^m; he is "the strong" with St. Paul: he, that understood it

[Matt. v.
17: Rom.
iii. 31.]

^k See above in The Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences Discussed and Answered: and the references there made.

^l See *ibid.*, sect. ii. § 1, note f: and Grotius there quoted.

^m See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Covenant of Gr., c. viii. § 5, 6, sq., 13, 14, sq.

not, and yet continued a Christian that he might come to understand it; "the weak." Let no man marvel, that the Romans, who took St. Paul for an apostle, should not understand that, which St. Paul had proved by this whole epistle. For he proveth it by the mystical sense of the Old Testament; which they who had submitted to the faith could not own nevertheless, until they understood the reason, why God gave the Law with an intent to bring in the gospel by it. Let no man think, that they were not fit to be baptized (for such were they all to whom St. Paul writes), that understood not this, belonging to the foundation of faith^a. Baptism maketh all "disciples" of Christ, and therefore findeth them not so. It is necessary, that he who is baptized should undertake all that, which he shall come to learn that Christ hath taught. It is not necessary, that he should know what it is; knowing, that salvation is not to be had without doing all that, whatsoever it is, which it shall appear that Christ hath taught.

CHAPTER XI.

COMPARED WITH HIS ORDERS AT CORINTH, AND ELSEWHERE.

BUT seeing St. Paul forbiddeth the Corinthians to "scandalize the weak," in eating meats that had been sacrificed ^[1 Cor. viii. 9.] to idols; we must not state the case of the Romans without considering how the case of the Corinthians may concern it^c. Here St. Paul distinguishes scholastically, that such meats might be eaten either as God's creatures materially, or formally as meats sacrificed to idols, which idolaters feasted upon after their sacrifices in honour of their idols; as we see by his words, 1 Cor. x. 7,—“Nor be ye idolaters, as some of them were; as it is written, The people sat down to eat and drink and rose up to play.” And Dan. v. 4: “They drunk wine, and praised the gods of gold and

^a See S. Irenæus as quoted in Epilogue, Conclusion, § 4, note a.

^c The greater part of this chapter is repeated from the previous and until

now unpublished tract of Thorndike's, entitled *The Plea of Weakness &c. Disc. and Answered*, sect. iii. § 4, &c.

C H A P. silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone." St. Paul then
 XI. resolveth, that Christians may eat meats sacrificed to idols as God's creatures; and that they cannot be polluted by being sacrificed to idols, which are "nothing:" but that, when there may be occasion for Christians to think, that a Christian eats them as idolaters did (as eating them "in an idol temple," or "being invited" home "by an idolater"), in such cases it was necessary to forbear for Christian charity's sake; lest a "weak" Christian, seeing a "strong" Christian eat them, should think he eat them as idolaters did, and doing so himself should fall into misprision of idolatry; 1 Cor. viii. 7—10; x. 27, 28. And by this ex- 52 ample we may gather, by the way, what St. Paul means, Rom. xiv. 15, 20: "Destroy not him with thy meat, for whom Christ died; for meat destroy not the work of God." He means, that the danger was no less (if the Gentiles should not forbear the Jews, but despise their weakness, that could not see themselves free of the Law), than that they should fall into dislike with the faith, and return to the Jews' religion again. So the danger at Corinth was idolatry; at Rome, apostasy. St. Paul then forbids the Corinthians to "make inquiry for conscience' sake" (1 Cor. x. 27), whether that which is sold in the shambles had been sacrificed to an idol or not. But Daniel did "make inquiry for conscience' sake," when he resolved "not to be polluted with the king's meat" (Dan. i. 5, 8); taking all of it to be dedicated to idols in the first-fruits of it^p. For this, being the custom of the heathen, made all their meats suspicious, as dedicated to their idols. Tobit is not canonical Scripture; but it is as old as the Old Testament in Greek^q. The author of it relates, for his commendation, that he "kept" himself "from eating the bread of the Gentiles," when his "brethren and kindred did eat of it" (Tobit i. 10—12); "because" he "remembered God with all his heart." This sig-

^p See Plea of Weakness &c., sect. iii. § 4, note q: and Grotius there quoted.

^q The book of Tobit was originally written in Chaldee (S. Hieron., *Epist. ad Chrom. et Heliodorum*, Op. tom. i. p. 1158), and is assumed therefore to date during the Captivity (so Serarius, ap. Corn. & Lap. ad lib. Tobie). Whether the Greek Version (from which

that in our Bibles is taken) is as old as the LXX., is very dubious. The Vulgate Latin is S. Jerom's translation from a lost Chaldee original. The Hebrew copies published by Munster and Fagius are modern translations from the Greek. See Corn. & Lap., *Pref. ad lib. Tobie*; Calmet's Dictionary; Dupin, *Hist. of Canon of Old and New Testaments*.

nifies, that the more religious did observe it; though not commanded by the Law. It seems they were only forbidden by the Law to go to the feasts, which they, the Gentiles, made of their sacrifices; lest they should worship their gods, as they that invited them did (Exod. xxxiv. 15), and as they did with the Madianites (Numb. xxv. 2). The forbearing of idolaters' meat was "a hedge to the Law," that they might be the further off from transgressing it; but brought in under the prophets, and observed by the more religious. And the Jews have reason, when they tell us, that Nehemiah was dispensed with "for drinking the wine of the Gentiles, because he was cup-bearer to the king." Whereby it appears, that St. Paul leaves it to the charity of every Christian, to use his freedom so sparingly as not to offend a "weak" Christian. But under the Law it became a rule, that all "the strong" should forbear that, which might possibly offend "the weak." And therefore, when the apostles at Jerusalem enjoin those, that were converted of Gentiles, 64 to "abstain from meats sacrificed to idols;" they do forbid [Acts xv. 29.] them to eat such meats, even materially, and command them to "make inquiry for conscience' sake," as the Jews used to do, and as converted Gentiles did in the land of promise. For the ordinance of Acts xv. 23 [—29], addresseth only to the Churches of Judæa, and to those, which Paul and Barnabas, being sent from Antiochia, had founded in Cilicia and the parts adjacent: Acts xiii. 2, 3, 14, &c.; xiv. 26; xv.; xvi. 4. The reason of this difference is manifest by the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xii. 2: "Ye know ye were Gentiles, carried after these dumb idols, as ye were led." Whereas Paul and Barnabas addressed first to the Jews, and founded Churches of them for the greatest part. So that, the hopes of winning the Jews remaining, the dispensation was to take place. But the Church of Rome consisted of Gentiles, as well as of Jews; whereas, in the Church of Corinth, there is no account at all had of the Jews. And, therefore, the forbearance required at Corinth is out of fear of idolatry; at Rome, of apostasy.

† See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Church, c. xxxi. § 36, note d.

* See Plea of Weakness &c., sect. iii. § 4, note 1: and Vatablus there quoted.

CHAPTER XII.

55

THE PRESENT CASE OF THIS TIME STATED.

HAVING thus stated the case, in which St. Paul ordereth this forbearance; let us state our case, in which it is demanded by consequence. But that cannot be done but out of the premisses. We must suppose the Church of England, a member of the whole Church, desires to reform itself, because the rest of the Church will not join in the same work; but desires to continue a member of the whole Church, and not to give any cause of interrupting unity by improving Christianity. I know some of them, that demand toleration, do not allow any such thing as a Church of England, when they are understood¹. For how should they own any right of sovereign powers to give law to the Church of their dominions, that allow them no right to punish the transgression of such laws? But the case must be stated upon the terms proposed, nevertheless, as to those that acknowledge national Churches; excepting for those that make this plea, when we ⁵⁶ see time. This only, I think, would be said;—that the Church of England is not now to be reformed, but, having been reformed, is now questioned, as if the reformation of it were not yet perfect;—and therefore the boldness is taken by a private person of my condition to give an opinion what is most wanting in the reformation of it, because it cannot be said what is unduly demanded, until it may be said what is due to be done. But it must be remembered, that the demand is made in behalf of those, that had made a schism in the Church of England by ordaining or being ordained presbyters by presbyters, without and against the will of their bishops². In behalf of those it hath been demanded, that

¹ See Just Weights and Measures, Pref. to Christian Readers, note a.—The allusion is to the Independents; see below, c. xxix. : and to Dr. Owen, at the time of the publishing of this tract one of the leaders of the Independents (see Baxter, Life and Times edited by Sylvester, Pt. iii.), who in his treatise of schism, published in

1657, employs a chapter in proving that there was no such thing as a Church of England. That he and the Independents "demanded toleration" in 1667, see the note prefixed to The True Principle of Comprehension.

² See Plea of Weakness &c., sect. iii. § 8. And see also the note prefixed to The True Princ. of Comprehension.

their ordinations may stand valid and good, and the persons enabled by the law of the land to minister the offices of their orders and to be trusted with the cure of souls by their bishops^a. And not only so, but it hath been further demanded, that some of those laws, by which religion is settled in the kingdom, be repealed for their sakes^b; that they may have 57 no pretence to scruple the office of the ministry. Not that it is now said (as for this hundred years it hath been said^c), that the laws which they would have repealed are against God's law, and that therefore they cannot yield them obedience: but that the ministers, or people that will follow them, have a "doubt" in conscience, which they cannot be cleared of, that it is not lawful for them to yield them obedience; and that they cannot do it without sinning and incurring damnation by doing against their consciences^d. And this is also the case, in which those, that acknowledge no Church of England, no right in Christian powers to give law to the Church within their own dominions, do demand liberty to separate from the Church into their private conventicles^e: protesting, that they cannot hold communion with the Church settled by the laws of the land; no, not though reformed to the content of those hitherto mentioned; and pretending the same reason from St. Paul,—that they should incur sin and damnation, doing it in that "doubt" which [Rom. xiv. 23.] they cannot be cleared of^f.

C H A P.
XII.

^a See Plea of Weakness &c., *ibid.*, § 7, 8: and also in the note prefixed to the True Principle of Comprehension.

^b See Plea of Weakness &c., sect. iii. § 12, note c.

^c As by Travers, Cartwright, and the Mar-prelate people, and the supporters of the Discipline: and generally by those against whom Hooker and Bancroft wrote. That the non-conformists still maintained the same tone when driven to it by their own position, see above in Plea of Weakness &c., sect. i. § 3, note c: but it was so obviously inconsistent with a plea of

"weakness" and "indifferent things," that they practically gave it up.

^d See Just Weights and Measures, c. iii. § 13, 14, c. xix. § 6, 7: and Plea of Weakness &c., sect. i. § 2, notes c, d.

^e Scil. the Independents: see Just Weights and Measures, Preface, note a; the note prefixed to the True Principle of Comprehension; and below, c. xxix.

^f Quoted by the non-conformists repeatedly as covering their case: e.g. in the Petition for Peace, p. 19. 4to. Lond. 1661; and by Corbet, Disc. of Relig. of England, sect. xv. p. 30.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE MISTAKE WHICH CAUSETH WEAKNESS IN OUR CASE.

THE case thus stated, I must, in the first place^d, ask both parties, whether they do think in their consciences, that St. Paul had not shewed the Jews at Rome, that were become Christians, sufficient reason to clear them of the doubts they had concerning their obligation to the law of Moses; that they were indeed free of it, and ought to be free of those doubts. I suppose they will think it fit to say, that, though St. Paul enjoin them to "forbear" one another, so long as they did not understand their freedom; yet that they might understand it, and were bound to understand it. For is there any man so little a Christian (now that the time of "forbearance" is past, [and] that there is no more hope to gain the Jews by compliance, without making ourselves Jews), as to make a question of offending a Jew by not abating the profession of his Christianity? The consequence whereof is all that I demand. If St. Paul would have the Jews forborne, that the provocation, which they might meet with, might not move them to dislike their Christianity; certainly he held them to be under a light, which obliged them not to dislike it. Otherwise he should not have done the work which he pretends to do by this epistle; to shew the Law to be void, because salvation comes "only by faith^e." And, certainly, there can be nothing more opprobrious to Christianity, than that which is pleaded for abatement in the present laws;—that "the weak" are not under a light, enabling them to see those things to be lawful, which in deed and to "the strong" may be lawful and appear such. For how could this doubt be cleared, if a weak conscience should be pretended, when the question is, whether to turn Christian or not? Is it not possible, that there should be such a doubt in that point, that a man, to whom the reason why he ought

^d See the Plea of Weakness &c., sect. ii. § 3, sq.; and sect. iii. § 4, 5: where the argument is proposed, which

is here expanded.

^e See *ibid.* sect. i. § 1. note b, and references there.

to be a Christian is sufficiently proposed, can be said to be CHAP.
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under a light, that convinceth him not? Which if it be true, then is there nothing in Christianity, which there is not a
60 sufficient light to convict that man of, to whose office it belongs. Otherwise it could not belong to his office, not being able to discern the obligation of it. It is therefore a horrible reproach to Christianity, to say, that any doubting conscience is not under a light sufficient to resolve it. Scruples of conscience there may be, which may eternally have recourse: and that no disparagement to the faith; because the faith provides a resolution, that they who have scruples in conscience, are bound in conscience to lay them aside, nay to act positively against them. But he, that says, that being a Christian he is not under a light sufficient to clear him in any doubt of conscience, says, that the faith obligeth him to sin; whereas it is not the faith, but the want of it, which obligeth not the erring conscience to sin, but entangleth him so, that he must sin, if the obligation of acting fall out before the error be removed. Suppose the Jews convict by the epistle to the Romans, that salvation comes "only by faith, and not by the Law" also; and you suppose them under a light, that neither the Law, nor any ordinance then standing by virtue
61 of the Law, could oblige. But suppose them in love with themselves, and with their ancestors, and to have such an opinion of salvation entailed upon them and their issue by the Law, as to think, that they could not have it by God That gave the Law, if the Gentiles might have it as well as themselves; and they might (very well for consequence of reason, though very ill for their own account) oversee the light they were under. Suppose we now those, that make this plea, not to believe "one catholic Church" and "one baptism for the remission of sins;" but had rather gratify the Socinians, and deny that any Christian can be obliged to any thing that appears not to his own reason out of canonical Scripture, than imagine he should gratify the papist, if he should grant, that catholic communion always made the catholic Church:—suppose them not to believe, that the faith which only saveth includeth baptism in the catholic Church; and

¹ See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. v. § 24, note c.

C H A P. XIII. that this Church is not reformed, unless it be restored to the same form :—I say, suppos[e]^s them possess with such prejudices as these, and marvel not to see them eternally
 [Rom. xiv. 23.] “doubting,” whether or no it be lawful for them to obey the laws, which this Church and kingdom is able to make: 62
 nay, to see them break out into schism, as all parties now seem to do, rather than obey them, when they shall be out of hope to give their own law to the kingdom; never forecasting, how it may appear to continue a Church, when they have given such laws to it.

CHAPTER XIV.

THAT IT IS NOT FORBEARANCE TO ALLOW THEIR ORDERS.

I SUPPOSE they, who make this plea, will not grant, that they are in any error so near the foundation as these which I name. Nor do I think, that those Christian Jews at Rome,
 [Rom. xiv. 23.] that “doubted” of transgressing the Law, when they knew that salvation comes “only by faith,” did deny the foundation of faith. For as long as they lived in the Church, they were in the way to learn and understand, how both were true. Neither will I say, that any of those, who desire “forbearance” for “the weak,” are in any error destructive to the foundation of faith and the hope of salvation, till they 63
 break out into conventicles. When that is done, I am thenceforth bound to charge them with all the error, which the title of their schism can signify. And therefore I charge them with hypocrisy, when they pretend to “forbearance” because they are “weak,” and yet break out into conventicles. When they do so, then they can be counted no more the “weak” among Christians, than those Jews, which St. Paul will have to be forborne as “the weak” among Christians; supposing them to have renounced the faith afterwards, rather than continue in the Church. And, therefore, the plea of “weak”

^s Misprinted “supposing,” ed. 1670: and so also miswritten in the MS. The whole sentence is considerably altered

in the printed text of 1670 from the original MS., and is obscure and imperfect in both.

consciences cannot be allowed those that engage in conventicles^b. They have cut themselves off from it by leaving the Church. Let them return, and then make their best of it. As to them, the Church is under a new precept of St. Paul; which says—"A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition avoid; knowing that such a one is out of the way, and sinneth, being condemned by himself:" Titus iii. 10, 11:—because (saith St. Hieromeⁱ, after St. Cyprian^j), whereas other sinners are put out of the Church by those
64 that manage the keys of the Church, heretics and schismatics put themselves out of the Church. Therefore Titus, that is, all Titus his flock, are to "avoid" them for excommunicate persons, who do "excommunicate themselves." As for those that continue in the Church, though with a pretence of giving such laws to the Church as no man knows how soon they may unchurch it; let them make their best of it. But being grounded at least upon a pretence of "weakness," there can be no question made, but some error must be granted for the ground of this "weakness." Let themselves at their leisure assign what error they will acknowledge, if they like not that which I have assigned. Only let them shew the world (that is, the legislative power of this kingdom), what error it is, that they have hitherto had; which being avoided for the future, all those difficulties will cease, which this discourse pretendeth cannot be met with but by bounding the Reformation within the faith and the laws of the catholic Church. In the mean time, let me go on to shew, that those, who
65 were ordained in and for the late schism (composed by the laws at his Majesty's return) by presbyters against their bishops, cannot claim by virtue of it to be owned for presbyters; or, in the terms of the ancient Church, to be "received in their own orders^k." A thing, which there can no

^b See Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences &c., sect. iii. § 1, and sect. vi.

ⁱ "Propterea vero a semetipso dicitur esse damnatus: quia fornicator, adulter, homicida, et cætera vitia, per sacerdotes de Ecclesia propelluntur; hæretici autem in semetipsos sententiam ferunt suo arbitrio de Ecclesia recedentes: quæ recessio propriæ conscientie videtur esse damnatio." S. Hieron., In Epist. ad Tit., c. iii. v. 10; Op. tom. iv. P. i. p. 439.—See Rt. of Ch. in Chr.

St., c. i. § 34. note c; Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxv. § 13.

^j "Quod apostolus Paulus explanat, docens et præcipiens hæreticum vitandum esse, ut perversum et peccatorem, et a semetipso damnatum. Hic enim reus sibi erit, qui non ab episcopo ejectus, sed sponte de Ecclesia profugus, et hæretica præsumptione a semetipso damnatus." S. Cyprian., Epist. lxxix. Ad Magnum, p. 182.

^k See below in this chapter, note c.

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XIV. Church or what a schism signifies. And it is marvel, how they that would be thought to allow episcopacy¹ should question it. To acknowledge the authority of giving orders in the bishops, according to the laws, by which we both maintain this Church to be reformed, and yet to allow those that are made presbyters by those bishops (not to ordain others, but to minister the office of their order according to the reformation settled in this Church—I say, to allow them) to ordain others, to minister their office by other laws, not only without but against the consent of the bishops, from whom they have their orders, is nothing else but to imagine, that God hath given power to divide (that is, to destroy) His Church. For what is “setting up altar against altar^m,” but to usurp power to consecrate the eucharist and give the communion of it in despite of them, whom they allow to have power to do the same, because they do it by authority received from themselves? In all the records of the Church there is but one case expressly remembered, in which it can be said to have been done. That fell out in Egypt, at the time when the Church was divided between the Arians and the Catholicsⁿ. But before that trouble there was another division on foot about receiving back into the Church those that had fallen from the faith in the persecution of Diocletian. For Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis, had proceeded to ordain bishops in as many cities as he could, in opposition to those bishops, that stuck to the see of Alexandria^o. In these distractions, Coluthus^p, “one of the twelve presbyters of Alexandria,” became the head of a party by himself; and, to propagate his party, took upon him to make ordinations of presbyters, to minister to those of his sect. Aerius is the man, that maintained the authority of bishops and presbyters to be all one^q. Yet do I not remember, that it is any where said, that Aerius took upon him to ordain presbyters, being himself one: much less, that he was able to hold up a sect by such ordinations. Audius was a presbyter, that became

¹ See below, c. xvi. note x.

^m For the origin of this phrase, see above in Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. x. § 5, note l.

ⁿ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 51.

^o See Mosheim, Bk. ii. Cent. iv. Pt. vii. c. iii. § 18: with the note (in Soames' edition) respecting the conflicting accounts of S. Athanasius and Epiphanius.

^p See Epilogue as in note n.

^q See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xiv. § 2.

67 the father of one of those sects, that Epiphanius writes against^r. But Epiphanius says expressly, that he had bishops, that embraced his opinion, and propagated his sect by ordination^s. Tertullian became the father of a sect, which continued at Carthage till St. Augustin's time; by whom they were reduced to the Church^t. And truly it is to be presumed, that the father of the sect did propagate it by ordinations made of his own head. For what should he stick at, that takes upon him to divide the Church and to "set up altar against altar"^u? But I have not found it said, that he did do it. Nor have I found, that any presbyter did ever undertake to do it but Coluthus^v. At the council of Nicæa, to unite the Meletians to the Church, the bishops ordained by him were allowed to succeed when the present bishops should die; yet so, as to be then lawfully ordained, though they had been schismatically ordained afore^x. But when the Coluthians pretended the same privilege, Athanasius pleads for himself, that all Coluthus his ordinations were made void^y: which is thought to have been done by that synod at Alexandria, which Hosius was present at with commission from Constantine^z. This is the only example of presbyters ordained by a presbyter without and against his bishop. All the rest^a are mere conjectures; which cannot stand, unless we suppose the canons of the Church were not observed, because it is not recorded how they were observed: whereas all reason requires us to suppose, that they were observed, because they might be observed, and because there followed no dissension upon their not being observed. Such ordinations, then, being mere nullities, as presumed to be done by them that never received authority from the Church to ordain, do further induce irregularity^b, by the canons of the Church. And who can deny, that all reason and conscience requires it? For who can believe his creed, professing "one catholic

^r S. Epiph., Adv. Hær., lib. iii. tom. i. Hær. 70. Audiani; Op. tom. i. pp. 811, sq.

^s "Of ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπισκοποι." Id., ibid., p. 812. D: and again at some length, ibid., § 18, pp. 827. D, 828. C.

^t See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 11; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xix. § 3.

^u See above, note m.

^v See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws

of the Ch., c. xx. § 51.

^x See ibid., note x, and references there.

^y See ibid., note t.

^z See ibid. The synod was the third of Alexandria, A.D. 324, according to Cave's numbering and date.

^a See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 51, sq.

^b See below in note l.

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Church," and not think the Church more disobliged by schism than by any other crime, that renders a man incapable to be promoted to orders? Certainly, if rebellion be the crime, that is hardest to be reconciled to civil trust, then is schism hardest to be reconciled to trust in the Church. Nevertheless, because unity is to be preferred before discipline; and because experience shews, that, when⁶⁹ men are taken off from an engagement in division, they prove the more trusty, the more weary they were of their engagement: it hath been often practised by the Church to receive not only schismatics but even heretics also (that is, such as had received orders of those, that parted from the Church upon an error in faith) "in their respective orders^c:" but always upon condition of renouncing the cause of their division; whereupon they were to receive the blessing of the Church by prayer with imposition of hands^d. The reason was, because neither is baptism in schism effectual to salvation, nor ordination in schism effectual to grace, by the ministry of any office in schism. But, being renounced, there remains no cause, why their ministry should not be effectual to their people, their baptism and their ministry to their own salvation; supposing it sincerely renounced. Therefore the reason, why they who are ordained by presbyters cannot be received in their respective orders, is peremptory;—because the schism, consisting in ordaining against authority, cannot be renounced, unless the ordina- 70 tion be voided. For so long as the ministry may be usurped upon such ordination, so long is the schism on foot. I do very well know, that the ordinations of Arians were allowed by St. Athanasius in a synod at Alexandria^e; who had made the ordination of Ischyra by Coluthus void^f. And I remember the high acclamation, which St. Hierome^g applauds

* See e.g. the authorities in Bingham, Orig. Eccl., IV. vii. 8; which is a fairer statement than that contained in the same writer's Schol. Hist. of Lay Bapt., Pt. ii. c. 3.—For schismatics, see S. Augustin, of the Donatists, as quoted in the Due Way of Composing Differences, § 5, note h, and § 17, note g, and Just Weights and Measures, c. ii. § 9, c. xxv. § 11: and so also of the Meletians, for whom see Just Weights

and Measures, c. xxv. § 4. note e, and references there.

^d See Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 16, 17, 19.

^e See note g below.

^f See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 51.

^g "Per tam necessarium concilium Satanæ faucibus mundus ereptus est." S. Hieron., Adv. Luciferianos; Op. tom. iv. P. ii. p. 302.

his act with;—that thereby “the world was snatched out of Satan’s jaws.” But I read, that the Tertullianists were received into the Church^b: not that they were “received in their orders.” I find difficulty made by foreign Churches of “receiving the Donatists in their orders^c,” notwithstanding the complaints of the African bishops, that without them they had not clergy enough to serve the Church^d. Hereby it is to be judged, how severe this Church was with them, that had received ordination by presbyters. The canon of the whole Church makes all irregular, ordainers and ordained^e. Because they had concurred to bring back his majesty (which was the restoring of the laws, and so of the Church), the forfeiture was wholly passed by, and nothing required of ordainers more than of the clergy; which is an utter oblivion of the attempt made by those ordinations. And is not that a very great degree of “forbearance” in our case? St. Paul, when he enjoins “forbearance;” doth he enjoin, that those, who did not understand, how men were saved by “faith alone, that were saved under the Law, should be promoted to orders indifferently with those that did profess it? That were indeed something like that which hath been demanded;—that “weakness” should entitle to the clergy, which orderly supposes strength. But does he enjoin farther, that they should minister without orders? that, continuing laymen, they should commit the sacrilege of usurping to celebrate the eucharist? that, if their ordination be void by the law of the land, there should be a new law made to make their ordination good and valid, which was void when it was made? Then must he enjoin, that it be lawful for every layman to celebrate the eucharist; forasmuch as every layman hath as much to do to celebrate the eucharist, as he whose ordination is void. Surely St. Paul, that commands 71 Christians to be “without offence to the Jews and Gentiles, as well as to the Church,” commands them also to be without offence to papists. And will not we have those, that would be enabled to consecrate the eucharist by such a law, to shew us how to satisfy the papists, that such orders are

^b See Aug., Hær. lxxxvi.; Op. tom. viii. p. 24. G.

^c See Dupin’s Hist. Donatist, prefixed to his edition of Optatus, p. xvii.

^d See Dupin, *ibid.*: and the Acts of

the 3rd Council of Carthage, A.D. 397, ap. Labb., Conc., tom. ii. p. 1181. D, E.

^e See canons quoted above in Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 62. notes n, o.

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[Rom.
xv. 1.]

good? At least those, that by their sufferings have preserved ordination by bishops; let them at least be satisfied of the validity of ordination without bishops. At least, let no man impose upon them, that they cannot yield the "forbearance," which St. Paul requires for "tender consciences," unless they receive the sacrament consecrated by laymen; that is, by those, whose ordination they believe to be utterly void.

CHAPTER XV.

THAT THE ORDERS OF THE REFORMED CHURCHES ARE NOT VOID,
BECAUSE THESE ARE.

Now I am to look an objection in the face, which at a distance seems to admit of no answer; but if it be a little considered, will appear to have neither reason nor religion at the bottom of it. It is said, that hereby we shall make void ⁷³ the ordinations of the reformed Churches of France, and others reformed according to Calvin; and so make them no Churches^m. Here we agree, that it was necessary for the French, as well as for ourselves, to reform themselves. That it was necessary for all to reform themselves unto the form of the primitive catholic Church, I say not we do agree; I say, that, till we do agree, there remains no hope of unity, because no rule for reformation in the Church. But to the objection; who hath the conscience to think, or the face to say, that, if ordinations made by presbyters against their bishops be void, then ordinations made by presbyters, where they could not be had by bishops, are void? For that is the difference of the cases. It is manifest, that the bishops of this Church, when they ordain presbyters, ordain them to

^m So e.g. Hickman, *Apolog. pro Ejectis in Anglia Ministris &c.*, p. 19. 8vo. Lond. 1665: and it was a common topic on that side at the time. Hickman adds (*ibid.*), that the "more moderate" Churchmen, in reply, "disparrem esse clamant nostrum et transmarinorum conditionem." On the other side of the question, Durell, in his *Vindic. Eccl. Anglic.*, c. vii. pp. 51, sq., urges the difference between the cases of the "*Ecclesiarum extra Angliam ministrum*" and the "*schismatici sacri ministerii usurpatores*." And see Biamhall,

Replic. to Bp. of Chalcedon, c. i. sect. 2 (*Works*, Pt. i. *Disc.* iii. vol. ii. pp. 68—70); *Serpent Salve*, sect. xxv. (*ibid.*, Pt. ii. *Disc.* ii. vol. iii. pp. 475, 476); *Vindic. of Grotius &c.*, c. iii. (*ibid.*, *Disc.* iii. pp. 517, 518). Jeremy Taylor in his *Episcopacy asserted*, § xxxii. (*Works*, vol. x. pp. 119, 120) quotes some statements of foreign reformers endeavouring to shew, but not very successfully, that they were *not* under a necessity of reforming without and against their bishops.

minister their office according to the laws; that is, under their bishops. And can any man imagine, that hereby they give them power to ordain others to minister their office, by what laws they please themselves? And had the French de-
 74 manded of their bishops to ordain them presbyters, that should minister their office according to the Reformation, does any man think they would have done it? So the necessity of reforming, which we all agree in, made the ordinations of the reformed Churches; the pride and presumption, which causeth all heresy and schism, usurping authority never received, made the ordinations of our presbyters. And shall they be as valid as those? All that can be questioned is, how it may appear, that it was not of choice, but of necessity, that they embraced that way of settling and propagating their reformation, which they embraced. And for that we have sufficient presumption from the Albigenses; who, secretly reforming themselves under the see of Rome, did certainly do it by the authority of bishops, who propagated their order by ordinations^a. This may be proved by other testimonies, if need be; but it is sufficient, that the case of the Bohemians is so well known^b. They, having resolved exactly to reform themselves, and having chosen the persons whom they would have for their

^a Thorndike confounds Albigenses with Waldenses, an error not removed until very lately. That he means the latter, see above, *Due Way of Composing Differences &c.*, § 46, where he traces the episcopacy of the Moravian Brethren to them and not to the Albigenses. And that the Waldenses had officers whom they termed bishops, may be seen in Allix's *Churches of Piedmont*, c. xxiv. pp. 238, sq., where he proves also the existence of bishops, priests, and deacons, among the reformed communion in Piedmont. The real distinction between the sects here mentioned may be found in Matland's *Facts and Documents respecting the Albigenses and Waldenses*, and in the other authorities quoted in Soames's *Mosheim*, Bk. iii. Cent. xi. Pt. ii. c. v. § 2, and Cent. xiii. Pt. ii. c. v. 7; and notes in both places; or in Hardwick's *Hist. of Medieval Church*, c. xi. pp. 305—314. c. xv. p. 398: whence it appears, that the Albigenses, when spoken of as a heretical sect, were

strictly speaking an offshoot from certain Paulicians who migrated from the East, so called as living in or near the town of Alby in Aquitaine, and were wholly distinct from the Waldenses; that these latter were the followers of Peter Waldo, were called by various names, as e. g. Poor Men of Lyons, and were, long after their rise, included in the general term of Albigenses, only so far as that the term was applied to some of them living near Alby: that among the Vaudois, lastly, or people of the Piedmontese valleys, there were persons who held Waldensian tenets, although the name Waldensis has no connection whatever with Vallensis or Vaudois.

^b See *Due Way of Composing Differences &c.*, § 44—46, for the whole of what follows in the text. And see also Durell, *View of Government &c. in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas*, sect. i. § 11—13 (4to. Lond. 1662); and *Vindiciæ Eccles. Anglicanæ*, c. xxxiv. p. 503, sq. (4to. Lond. 1669).

CHAP. XV. bishops, were at a stand how to compass their succession from the apostles by having them ordained by bishops. In⁷⁵ this nonplus, they understood that there were in Austria of the Albigenses, that kept secret communion among themselves under their bishops; notwithstanding that publicly, to avoid the laws, they went to mass. To them they sent their bishops elect; protesting against their dissembling, but desiring ordination for their bishops, which thus were propagated. And this may well seem to be the reason, why they, that reformed in the empire according to Luther (in the name of whom Melancthon had offered to be subject to their own bishops, admitting the reformation^P), set up such a form of episcopacy as they could of themselves^Q. For they had cause to think, that the Bohemians had not advantaged themselves enough by that ordination, which they had been able to procure. For it is to be noted, that they, the Bohe-

^P "Quid? quod omnia, quæ largiti sumus, habent ejusmodi exceptiones, ut hoc metuam ne episcopi existiment offerri *ῥήματα ἀντὶ ἀλλήλων*. Sed quid potuimus aliud? Quamquam, ut ego quod sentio dicam, utinam utinam possim, non quidem dominationem confirmare, sed administrationem restituere, episcoporum. Video enim, qualem sinus habituri Ecclesiam dissoluta *πολιτεία* Ecclesiastica. Video postea multo intolerabiliorem futuram tyrannidem quam antea unquam fuit. Adhæc nihil adhuc concessimus adversariis, præter ea quæ Lutherus censuit esse reddenda, re bene et diligenter deliberata, ante conventum. Neque ego non additurus eram aliquid quasi auctarium, publicæ pacis causa. . . . Heri dictæ sunt sententiæ a nostris, de restituenda potestate Ecclesiastica. Et convenit inter Saxonem, Marchionem, et Luneburgensem."—"Quo jure enim licebit nobis dissolvere *πολιτεία* Ecclesiasticam, si episcopi nobis concedant illa quæ æquum est eos concedere? Et ut liceat, certe non expedit. Semper ita sensit ipse Lutherus, quem nulla de causa quidam ut video amant, nisi quia beneficio ejus sentiunt se episcopos excussisse, et adeptos libertatem minime utilem ad posteritatem. Qualis enim cedo futurus est status ad posteros in Ecclesiis, si omnes veteres mores sint aboliti, si nulli certi sint præsidēs." Melancthon, in Epist. ad Joach. Camerarium; ap. Chytræum, Hist. Confess.

Augustan., pp. 305, 309. 4to. Francof. 1578.—"Facile possunt episcopi legitimam obedientiam retinere, si non urgerent servare traditiones quæ bona conscientia servari non possunt. Nunc imperant cælibatum; nullos recipiunt nisi jurent se puram evangelii doctrinam nolle docere. Non petunt Ecclesiæ, ut episcopi honoris sui jactura sarciant concordiam." Confess. August., cap. de Potestate Ecclesiastica; ap. Op. Melancthon., tom. i. fol. 38. a.—See also Durell, in his Latin book quoted in last note, c. xxxiv. pp. 510, sq. (from whom these citations and that from Carpzov in the next note are borrowed).

^Q "In Evangelicis Ecclesiis" (scil. Germaniæ) "loco episcoporum constituuntur superintendentes, quorum officium versatur tum circa ea quæ sunt ordinis, tum etiam circa pleraque quæ sunt legis diocesanæ. . . . Namque superintendentes inspectionem habent super alios pastores et populum suæ diocesi subjectum. . . . Visitationes Ecclesiarum expediunt loco episcoporum in eorum territoriis et diocesium. . . . Cumque ordinis præcipua pars sit clericorum ordinatio, utique loco episcopi superintendens clericos ministerio peragendo, prævia morum et doctrinæ donorumque inquisitione, per manuum impositionem consecrat." Benedict. Carpzov., Jurisprud. Ecclesiast., lib. i. tit. 2. defin. 19. p. 26. Lips. 1685.

mians, had sent all over the world, to learn how to get such ordination, as might authorize their ministry, according to the reformation which they pretended. And are not we hereupon to presume, that the French, by these degrees, finding a necessity of balking the authority of the episcopacy which they were under, did think themselves thereupon free to cast themselves into that form which they use? For if it be said, that by this time they had profited beyond their predecessors in discovering the "whore of Babylon;" [and] that they found episcopacy to be the body of antichrist, and therefore renounced it: it will appear by many reasons, that this cannot serve the turn. First, how can the common sense of men endure to believe, that the pope is antichrist by reason of that greatness, which it is certain and evident that he hath attained by usurping the rights of his inferior bishops; and yet those inferior bishops be the body of antichrist by suffering those usurpations, which they cannot help? Secondly, it is manifest, that they who should hold this plea could not pretend by virtue of their orders, received from the bishops of this Church, to ordain presbyters; unless they would say, that they may have their authority from antichrist. This plea, therefore, must remain for the Independents; to authorize them (that think themselves¹ in the state of grace before they are members of the Church) to make their congregations Churches, and usurp the authority of apostles in ordaining their own ministers. Lastly, it appeareth sufficiently, that very many learned and religious persons of those Churches have not only approved the episcopacy here settled, but have wished the benefit of it to themselves². Whereby it is manifest, that those Churches cannot own this reason; when another, so far from it, is owned by their principal members. I have another reason to allege, which weighs as much with me as all these; and that is the communion, which hath always been used between this Church and the reformed Churches. For should

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[Apoc.
xvii.]

¹ See Bingham, French Church's Apology, Bk. iv. c. 4: Works, vol. ix. pp. 228—237.

² See Epilogue, Bk. III Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxii. § 65, and Bramhall quoted there in note x.

³ See Epilogue, Conclus., § 13, 17; Due Way of Composing Differences

&c., § 8, note n.

⁴ See at length in Bramhall, Vind. against Baxter, c. iv.; and Serpent Salve, sect. xxv.: Works, Pt. ii. Discourses iii. and ii., vol. iii. pp. 479—485, and pp. 531—536: and authorities quoted in the notes there.

CHAP. they hold communion with us, and yet think our ordinations
XV. authorized by antichrist; how could they expect to be believed, so grossly contradicting themselves? And, therefore, though I must not take upon me either to justify or to condemn their ordinations, averring on one side that they are not according to rule, seeing on the other side that they are owned by my superiors^v; yet I must acknowledge, that there are very great reasons to hope and to presume, that God accepteth of their ordinations, though not made according to rule, in consideration of the necessity that drove them to it, and of the reformation which they were used to propagate. Whereas those, that usurp the power of the keys, and the consecrating of the eucharist, by virtue of ordinations made in despite of those bishops, from whom they have all the authority which they can challenge by their orders; what pretence is there to imagine, that there can be any such crime as schism, if this be not it? [or] that God should bless that, which is done by such gross usurpation as this is? And when all this is said, it remains free for me to say, that there is no other way to restore and to preserve unity within the Reformation, but by establishing and maintaining episcopacy in that authority which it hath always had for the determining of differences; nor [to] maintain that authority, but by confining it within the bounds, which the faith and the laws of the whole Church do limit. As for the Fanatics, which make our orders void, because the pope is antichrist and the mass idolatry, whence our bishops received and where they exercised their orders; I will only consider the case of the 79 Donatists^z, forejudged by the whole Church. They pleaded, in point of fact, that Cæcilianus was ordained by apostates. A thing which the Church was so clear in, that the African bishops offered to give up their sees if it were proved. But besides, in point of right, had it been proved, and Cæcilianus owned by the Church, because it did not appear; or because they thought the canons ought to be dispensed with for

^v e.g. Cosin (Letter to Cordel, Works, vol. iv. pp. 401, 402), and Bramhall (Serpent-Salve, sect. xxv., and Vindication of Grotius &c., c. iii., Works, Pt. ii. Disc. ii. and iii., vol. ii. pp. 475, 518), refuse to declare foreign orders null as regards the foreign reformed bodies themselves. How far they were ever

received in England, even in isolated cases in the reign of Elizabeth, see Bramhall's Consecration of Protest. Bishops Vindic., c. ix. Works, Pt. i. Disc. v. vol. iii. p. 135, note t; and Hooker, ed. Keble, vol. iii. p. 552.

^z See Just Weights and Measures, c. ii. § 8, 9.

unity's sake, those that ordained Cæcilianus having repented of their apostacy: shall we imagine, that the Church was lost by owning those, that had been apostates, and their ordinations? The Donatists are branded for heretics and schismatics, maintaining all the laws of the Church but that of unity. And shall lay-Christians, presuming to authorize lay-Christians to consecrate the eucharist, and set up Churches, be esteemed less than heretics and schismatics? Let those that pretend to unity find that forbearance, which a favourable construction of their actions signifies. But charity to the sound, obligeth to take the profession of schismatics in
 80 the worst sense: which if we do, the making of Independent congregations Churches will be the denying of one catholic Church, and the making of them heretics, that do it.

C H A P.
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CHAPTER XVI.

THAT CHANGING THE LAWS FOR THE "WEAK" IS NOT "FORBEARANCE."

BUT if it be a thing absurd in common sense to allow them their orders, much more absurd will it be to change the ecclesiastical laws of the land for their sakes; which is nothing else but to purchase their ministry at the price of our religion, which the ecclesiastical laws contain. Here we must distinguish two questions. For it may be lawful for Christian people to live by those laws, which it was not lawful for superiors in Church and state to make: a thing evident to all, that believe, that it was possible for our ancestors before the Reformation to be saved under the abuses of the Church of Rome. But our question is, whether or no the laws of superiors enjoin that, which God's law forbids inferiors to do.
 81 Otherwise, it is pernicious to all government, that inferiors should take upon them to judge the acts of superiors. But if the matter of the law be within the power that makes it, to require an exception for "tender consciences" is to say, that there is no power in the world to give any law to those tender consciences. Was there ever any heresy, any schism,

7 See above in the Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences Discussed and Answered, sect. i. § 2, and sect. vi. § 1: and

compare Just Weights and Measures, c. xxv. § 7. note y.

CHAP. any religion pretending Christianity, that did not allege Scrip-
 XVI. ture for themselves? Did ever any man allege it, that would not be thought to be touched at the heart with it? What is there for a Christian to "doubt" at, where the exception of tender consciences lies not? Or how shall we, that agree against the see of Rome, but agree not in the terms and grounds of reformation, be tried in the sense of the Scripture? Can any man imagine, that St. Paul intended to destroy his own authority of giving law to the Church, which he exercised, when he ordered the Jews and Gentiles at Rome to "forbear" one another? Or is this authority dead with the apostles? What Church then can there be alive, if there be no authority derived from the apostles to give law to it? But the authority is not questioned, so it provide for weak^{s2} consciences. Episcopacy will be owned^t, if the secular power will force it to take them for their presbyters, whose ministry they cannot give account to God of, being both authorized and exercised by laws made without and against their authority. This no Christianity can justify. Christianity maintains the estates of the world in all the right they had when they became Christians; and cannot justify itself to the world otherwise. How should the world receive it upon other terms? But if the world stand upon the same terms, having received Christianity, as afore; then must Christianity and the Church continue in the same rights, which it had before the world received it. No exception to be allowed, but as afore;—if it appear, that the faith and laws of the primitive Church be decayed:—not if it seem to private spirits, that the Scripture is not fulfilled. In the mean time, is it for the honour of the religion we profess, that "weakness" (which at the best is negative ignorance, in truth perhaps wilful ignorance) should give law to it? Is it reason, that they, who have failed to destroy both Church and kingdom, should give law to both? As if a child should govern the house, because he will be^{s3} frampold and disquieted otherwise. Surely it is that, which the emperor said to his niece; "*Putas tibi injuriam fieri nisi*

[Rom.
 xv. 1.]

^s See above in the note prefixed to the True Princ. of Comprehension; and Plea of Weakness &c., sect. iii. § 7—12.—Baxter's Life of Himself gives abundant evidence that episcopacy would have been owned by him and a large body of nonconformists, so

that it had been reduced to the lowest possible degree of presidency over presbyters, and deprived of a veto on their decisions. See also Corbet &c., as quoted above in The True Principle of Comprehension, sect. ix. note p.

imperas?” But is that the way to have peace in religion? CHAP. XVI.
 When inferiors shall be made to “tread upon the necks” of [Josh. x. 24.]
 their superiors, they will be so modest for the future as to stay there. They will be content to have their doctrine regulated by them, as the law of the kingdom requires. Or they will think fit, that the bishops be content with their revenues, and leave them to preach what they please. Surely they, that can carry the dispute of a hundred years, wherein the bishops had so visibly the better that club-law was found requisite to get the advantage, will not lay down the cudgels here. So, they that agree in conforming to the laws, differing every day in that which the law determines not, the recusants on both sides may make hay in the heat of our contentions, and profit more by such a law than by the war which destroyed this Church. But especially the atheists: 84 who have profited so well under these contentions, as to make that visible, which was but foreseen under the usurper,—that no religion would in time stand to be the religion of the kingdom^b;—they, having the privilege of the laws and not liable to any infamy, when the differences maintained make religion contemptible, shall have cause to thank all that shall have done their work by soliciting such laws.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE OPINION OF REGENERATION BY BAPTISM.

ONE point I must not pass over in silence, which hath been named for a point to be changed;—that all passages seeming to determine the “opinion of baptismal regeneration,” be altered in the liturgy and rubrics of it^c. For this point is an instance, how easily the substance of faith, necessary to salvation, may be questioned or abated or renounced by

^a “Nurum Agrippinam, post mortem mariti, liberius quiddam questam, manu apprehendit; Græcoque versu, ‘Si non dominaris,’ inquit, ‘filiola, injuriam te accipere existimas?’ Nec ullo mox sermone dignatus est.” Sueton., in Vita Tiberii, c. liii.

^b See above in c. i. notes h, i.

^c See above in the Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences Discussed and Answ., sect. iv. § 3, note i; and note prefixed to True Princ. of Comprehension. The word “opinion” comes from a quotation from John Hales in the Except to Bk. of Common Prayer, in Cardwell’s Conferences, c. vii. p. 304.

CHAP. a clause of such an act. I grant it is clearly St. Paul's
 XVII. "opinion," St. Peter's "opinion," our Lord Christ's "opinion,"
 [John iii. 5; the "opinion" of God's whole Church. Be it the "opinion" 85
 Rom. vi. 3, of those, whose "opinion" is our faith. But he, that would
 1 Cor. vi. have it no more than opinion, must teach us a new faith. No
 11, Coloss. remission of sins but by baptism: entering us into the cove-
 ii. 12, Tit. nant of grace, which the vow of baptism enacteth; entering us
 iii. 5; into the Church, into which the sacrament of baptism intro-
 1 Pet. iii. duceth. Abate the covenant which the sacrament of baptism
 21.] enacteth, and how shall a Christian be regenerate? Abate
 the mention of it in the service; and where will be the faith,
 which this Church with the whole Church hitherto pro-
 fesseth^d? Shew me any Christian that ever questioned it,
 till it was questioned what was to be reformed in the Church;
 and let it be abated. Could Pelagius have questioned it, his
 heresy had not so easily been quelled. He, that travelled
 all the Church from Britain to Jerusalem; had he found
 any Church, any received doctor of any Church, that durst
 maintain salvation due by the covenant of grace to any man
 that dies unbaptized, he had made the Church more work
 than he did^e. No baptism, no original sin; no cure for
 original sin but baptism; no salvation without the cure.
 They, that think to confute anabaptists, abating this point 86
 of faith; no marvel if they make anabaptists, when they
 make men think, that the Church hath no better reason to
 confute them with than they will use. Some perhaps, that
 are not so well taught as they should be, may think it un-
 agreeable with Christianity, that salvation should depend
 upon a bodily act, as the washing of baptism; and that in
 the power, not of him that is baptized, but of the Church,
 or of him that is to minister in behalf of the Church. But
 St. Peter hath answered this objection by distinguishing two
 things in baptism, 1 Pet. iii. 21: the one, "the washing of
 the body," which saves not; the other, "the answer that is
 made out of a good conscience" to the examination tendered
 him that is baptized, whether he will undertake Christianity
 or not; and this "saves," if St. Peter say true^f. And what

^d This passage is repeated verbatim from Thorndike's previous but until now unpublished tract, called *The Plea of Weakness &c. Discussed and An-*

swered, sect. iv. § 3.

^e See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xix. § 11.

^f See *ibid.*, c. ii. § 3-6.

account can any Christian give himself, to ground the hope of his salvation upon, but his Christianity; which the Gospel tendereth, which baptism enacteth? Or what can be necessary to salvation, if the ground of the hope thereof be not? This is that one ground, which overthroweth both those heresies, in[to] which I said all the erroneous doctrines of that confusion which we have seen do resolves. The profession, which we make at our baptism, is the condition on our part, upon which the promise of the covenant of grace becomes due on God's part. The profession so made, nothing can defeat the hope of a Christian but the transgressing of it; being transgressed, nothing can repair this hope but the restoring of it. All arts to disguise this faith, all over the Scripture, signify nothing, but the hope of salvation without living the life of Christians. I will hope, whatsoever fanatics or atheists would have^b, that there was never any intent to demand so great an apostasy from the faith to be enacted by a law of the kingdom. I will hope much more, that, had it been demanded, it would have been rejected, with that indignation which so great apostasy deserveth. But I am glad, and give God hearty thanks, that I have lived to the day, when I may and do testify to my country, and to the Church of God in it, that he, who should demand of them to renounce this point, must demand of them to unchurch themselves, and to be for the future that which the see of Rome would have us to be.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONFERENCE FOR SATISFACTION IS FORBEARANCE.

BUT is there then no effect of St. Paul's precept in our case? Can we break the unity of the Church without breaking the charity of Christians? Or can particular Christians

^a Above in c. vi.: and see *Due Way of Composing Differences &c.*, § 7, 12.

^b "whatsoever general report publishes." MS. The reference is to the frustrated scheme of Comprehension in 1662 debated between Baxter and Dr.

Wilkins, rather more than a year before the text was written. See the note prefixed to the *True Principle of Comprehension*. It will be remembered that the terms of that scheme were not made formally public at the time.

CHAP.
XVIII.[1 Cor.
vii. 20.]

be tied to "forbear one another," and Christian powers not be tied to cause both to do the same? Here is indeed the hinge, upon which the truth turns; and resolves all questions, and clears all difficulties, which must and will entangle the world in confusion upon the account of Christianity, till it be owned. Christian powers may constrain their subjects, that profess Christianity, to be Christians; and punish them if they be not. But they must protect them for their subjects, though they be not. The reason of this hath not been declared by the Reformation; though they have just cause to complain, and do (as they have cause) complain, of the see of Rome for authorizing capital penalties upon heretics¹.⁸⁹ Under that name they comprise also schismatics; and schismatics, in their language (as also in the language of all that claim the authority of the Church), signifies all that maintain communion apart; though "the cause make the crime" before God. But if St. Paul have reason, when he commands every Christian to "continue in the estate in which he was called" to be a Christian^j; then can no man's life or estate become forfeit for not being a Christian, and much less for not being orthodox but a heretic. If the life or estates of subjects should escheat to the sovereign for not being Christians, that "temporal dominion" of sovereigns must be "founded upon the grace^k" they have to be Christians. All such right St. Paul disclaims and discharges. But shall sovereign power, that is Christian, be therefore disabled to give law to subjects professing Christianity? That is our case; the whole kingdom professing Christianity, though the whole cannot so properly be said to profess the Reformation. For the reformation settled by law, we see, is refused, as well by those that separate from it for a reformation of their own, as by those that adhere to the see of Rome. Shall the sovereign then lose the right, that all Christian sovereigns have, of giving law to their subjects in point of religion, because he is a Christian? Or shall the subject, by being a Christian, stand obliged to the laws of his sovereign, commanding him to stand to the Christianity which he professeth? Suppose the Christianity commanded to be visible, before Christian

¹ See below, c. xxix.^j See above, c. x. note j.^k See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i.

§ 4, c. ii. § 32: and below, Reformation of Church of England &c., c. ix., and the "Catechism" there referred to.

powers command it; and you enable their laws to oblige their subjects. Not supposing it, you cannot say, how the laws of sovereign powers should oblige Christian subjects; seeing the papacy, as well as the Reformation, maintained by Christian sovereigns. For by the same reason, for which the subjects of those powers, that maintain the Reformation, are tied to their laws: by the same reason should the subjects of those, that maintain the papacy, be obliged to obey the laws by which they maintain it. There can be no reason for a difference, if that which they maintain be not visible before the law maintain it. I suppose it will not be thought a good plea at the day of judgment, for a subject to say, 91 that he was either protestant or papist because his sovereign was so. Now Christianity can be visible by no other means, but because it is the visible profession of the visible Church. If it become invisible by differences betwixt parties, it must be in sovereign powers to bring the parties to trial; provided that there be no trial but by the visible Church. This is the "forbearance," that may be extended by pastors, and may be required by the sovereign, in our case. For the present dissension shews, that the Reformation was well begun indeed, but not perfected. Does not the world know, that there was an Act in force for nominating commissaries to "reform the ecclesiastical laws" of the kingdom? I am not to say, why this Act took no effect. I think I have said it, when I have observed the rise of the puritan party, and the seeds of the late war sowed in the beginning of recusancy^m. But I am to say, [that] it could not have taken good effect without taking in the principle which I maintain. What could be more just and discreet, than to appoint commissaries, in equal number, of bishops, divines, civil and 92 common lawyers? But what could have had force but that, which had been done to restore and maintain the faith and laws of the primitive Church? There are very great reasons, why those, that desire to serve the Church, should be satisfied in all that this exception will allow. There can be no reason, why more should be allowed. To bring them into dispute with their pastors, is to put the authority of the

^l See Plea of Weakness &c., sect. v.
§ 2, note z.

^m See above in c. ii. notes m, n; and references there.

CHAP. XVIII. Church to compromise. To compromise any law of the kingdom to dispute of divines upon this principle, is no more, than to oblige either popish or fanatic recusants either to stand to the result or to suffer penalties competent to their disobedience; and the hazard, which the public peace runneth, when the peace of religion is disturbed. If that, which hath been pretended, be all that is intended,—that some small things are scrupled;—let the legislative power be satisfied, that the preservation of religion, and of the authority of the Church (in which the preservation of religion consisteth), is only sought. The interest of the parties to give and to receive mutual satisfaction, is so great, that, if there can be ever hope of peace by dispute, this is the time and ours the case, wherein to hope for it.

CHAPTER XIX.

93

PROBABILITY OF RECOVERING THE PRESBYTERIANS.

FOR I cannot have so hard an opinion of men, whose zeal for the advancement of discipline in the Church I have always esteemed^a, as to think them resolved to ruin the common Christianity without hope of doing their own business: seeing this to be the unavoidable consequence of holding up the difference on foot, rather than taking up with so much of their own pretensions as the state of the catholic Church will allow. Let them consider, in the first place, the recusancy of the fanatics as well as those of the Church of Rome; what hope their principles can give them, either to make their recusancy punishable by the law of the land, or to reduce them by convicting them of that sense of the Scripture, which they

^a Much of what Thorndike says about discipline with respect to holy communion, might almost have been written by Baxter: see the passages of Thorndike referred to in *Due Way of Composing Differences* &c., § 50, and *Just Weights and Measures*, c. xxiv. § 6—10.—The power of ministers, i. e. priests, for instance, to repel unworthy communicants, and to refuse Christian burial to those who died in such a state that they *ought* to have been excom-

municate, are two among the points on which the Nonconformists laid greatest stress. See above, *Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences* &c., sect. v. § 12, 13. The difference between them and Church writers lies of course in the tribunal to which such cases are to be referred: whether to the parish-priest with an appeal to the presbytery of which that priest is a member, or with an appeal to the bishop.

only allow themselves to convict them with? I set aside for the present those prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation, CHAP.
XIX.
 94 by which they pretend the pope to be antichrist and the papists idolaters. For I must argue in due place, that the recusancy of the papist cannot be punishable by law upon this account. But how will they either reduce the recusancy of the papist by those punishments, which the recusancy of the fanatics must suffer; or give the kingdom, God, and the world, a reason for the why not? which the best of them is here challenged to undertake. Then let them consider the wantonness of these times, and the wits of them, that think it good sport to call in question the foundation of Christianity upon the belief of original sin by introducing the præ-existence of souls^o: that think it but sport to make ready their studies in divinity for the pulpit by Episcopius his works^p (denying original sin both name and thing, and making the faith of the Holy Trinity unnecessary to salvation^q); or rather by the works of the Socinians, collected and united together in Holland, on purpose to prepare us for the same apostasy to Socinianism, which they are in so much danger of there^r. Let them consider, what hope they have to make the Universities good presby-
 95 terians, that have sowed the seeds of this danger in them by the dissatisfaction they had of their doctrine when they were in possession there. Then let them tell me, what we shall say to the papists, to persuade them to come to church; whenas they shall say, that they cannot be secured that their curate is no Socinian or Origenist. For the Arminian congregations in Holland having admitted the Socinians into their communion^s; and the canon of the Church making all

* See above, True Principle of Comprehension, sect. ii. note r.

^p See *ibid.*, note x.

^q See *ibid.*, notes y, z.

^r The works of Socinus, Crellius, Wolzogenius, and other Socinians, were published at "Irenopolis post an. Dom. 1656," i. e. at Amsterdam in 1668, in several folio volumes under the title of *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*, with a preface by Andr. Wissowatius. See Sandius, *Biblioth. Anti-Trinitar.*, p. 79.

^s The terms of communion offered by (not Arminius himself but) Episcopius, Curcellæus, Limborch, Le Clerc, &c., who after Arminius' death consti-

tuted the Arminian sect, may be seen above in *The True Principle of Comprehension*, sect. ii. note x. They include Socinians obviously: although Cattenburgh wrote a tract called *Specimen Controv. inter Remonstrantes et Socinum ejusque Asseclas &c.* (in *fin. Biblioth. Scriptt. Remonstrant. Amstel. 1728*), expressly to prove that the above-named Arminians did not hold Socinian doctrines themselves. So much also but no more is maintained in p. 328 of Limborch's *Life of Episcopius*. See also Soames's *Mosheim*, Bk. iv. Cent. xvii. sect. ii. Pt. ii. c. 4. § 9, sq., and notes.

CHAP. XIX. Socinians, in the eye of the Church, that communicate with Socinians^t: how shall they be secured against those, that take their doctrine from the Socinians; or from them, who communicate with Socinians? Besides, let them but remember the time, when they had the ball at their foot,—an ordinance of parliament for setting up their presbyteries^u;—and how much they gained upon the people (whom they had disordered out of all ecclesiastical government), when they came to be at what they would be at. I think they will be at so great despair of reducing the world to their intent (having nothing in the law of the land to favour it), that they will think, that they have cause to thank God of a good opportunity to bring them off from an engagement, in⁹⁶ which they are like to gain so little by hazarding the common Christianity. As for the clergy of this Church, I suppose there is none of them so little a Christian, as to repute it a loss to the party, to see their adversaries capable of that trust in the Church and those rewards of it, which they have suffered for themselves. For if the necessity of the kingdom hath required an Act of oblivion^x, much more must the necessity of religion (which cannot be attained without a cordial conspiring of those that are to manage it) enforce a mixture of interest. And that being considered, let any man tell me, how that can be made but by a third, in which all are alike interested; that is, by owning the faith and the laws of the catholic Church, whereby the papist is either reduced or left punishable as the fanatic.

CHAPTER XX.

97

THE CURE, BY REPAIRING THE REVENUE OF THE CHURCH.

BUT all this is but a cure for the symptom. Should such a conference take effect, the cause of the disease would re-

^t See *Due Way of Composing Differences &c.*, § 3, 17; and *Just Weights and Measures*, c. xxv. § 2, note a.

^u Scil. A.D. 1645, 6; see *Epilogue*, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xvi. § 5, note a:—see also above in the Let-

ter conc. the *Present State of Rel.*, § 1, 2; and *True Principle of Comprehension*, sect. ii. note g.

^x 12 Car. II. c. 11. A.D. 1660. An Act of Free and General Pardon, Indemnity, and Oblivion.

main entire. For the cause of our divisions is not these differences; which are too inconsiderable to produce so incomparable a mischief as that of schism. It rises and is fomented by those interests, which the imperfection of two laws of Henry VIII. hath created⁷. So that the Reformation is no way obliged to answer for them; only, if it refuse not to mend them, now that time hath discovered the mischiefs which they have produced. I call them two laws, not as if they were comprised in two Acts of parliament; but because they concern, one of them the endowment, the other the rights, of the Church. We all know, that, when the monasteries were given⁸ to the crown, the endowment of those 98 churches, which had been appropriated to those monasteries, was transferred by the crown into those hands, that could not officiate the cure of parishes; as the monasteries by some of their members or by their vicars had done. And though the right of the crown (which could be no more than the monasteries had) could not abate the original right of the bishop, in settling a reasonable portion upon the vicarages: yet in the hands of those, that claim under the crown, it hath appeared so strong, that such vicarages are generally impoverished; but where the cure lay upon the convent, there there now remains no endowment, no provision for the cure of souls: which falls out most in cities, and places that were most frequented with monasteries, as well as with people. What the consequence hereof hath been, it is plain enough: even a sort of mongrel clergy of lecturers; who being authorized by the bishop's orders and license, but paid by the people, to supply the office of preaching, which the benefices of the Church were not able to maintain, like a pack of dogs, that are ruled by the huntsman that feeds them and sets them a work, not by the master that provides for 99 them, no marvel that they own not the bishops for judge of their preaching whether according to the law or not. He,

⁷ Scil., on the one hand, the Acts by which the monasteries were confiscated; on the other, the Acts which constituted the king head of the Church, to the exclusion of the pope. See next chapter; and Bramhall, *Schism Guarded*, sect. i. c. ix. (*Works*, Pt. i. Disc. iv. vol. ii. pp. 452, sq.), and *Just Vindi-*

cation, c. iii. (*ibid.*, Disc. ii. vol. i. pp. 113, sq.).

⁸ See *The True Principle of Comprehension*, sect. x.; and *Plea of Weakness &c.*, sect. v. § 7—10: whence the passage which follows in the text, is in substance repeated. See also *Just Weights and Measures*, c. xxv. § 1.

CHAP.
XX.

that sees not that this was the source of the late war; of him is the proverb that says, "No man so blind as he that will not see." And the worst is, that so great a part of the gentry, as have shared with the crown in the spoils of the monasteries, think it their interest to hold up that party, which they think would justify their title in point of conscience; whereas it is found by experience, that those very preachers, that would reform the Church by force of the people, would question their tenure, as soon as they saw themselves in condition to do it. Now I intend not here to dispute, that foundations to intents of false religion (as for redeeming souls out of purgatory) are *ipso facto* forfeit to the true. God Himself hath recommended this course to the Church, in the case of the censers of Core, Dathan, and Abiram; which He challenges for His own to the use of the altar, though consecrated to the use of their schism. But the Christian emperors of the primitive Church, enacting those penalties upon the conventicles of heretics and schismatics, which we read in the last book of Theodosius his Code, the fifth title *De Hæreticis*^a, have confiscated the places where they met in nine laws, and forfeited them to the Church in five. Whereby it appears, that the primitive Church, living under those laws, did not think, that goods so consecrated do of necessity escheat to the Church^b. My present purpose obliges me only to suppose, that the tithes, —which all the world saw that they had been consecrated to God for maintaining the cures of the parishes,—these, if there be any such thing as a Church, could not be alienated from it without sacrilege^c. But I say not therefore, that they can never be held *bona fide*; which is that which makes the jealousy incurable in those, that find their estates consist much of them. And yet I undertake not to warrant generally the holding of them; only [I] think, that in some particulars it may be warrantable. For when they are come into such hands, that the support of estates depends neces-

[Num. xvi.
37—40.]

^a Cod. Theodos., lib. xvi. tit. v. De Hæreticis, legg. 3, 4, 8, 12, 21, 30, 33, 34, 36, 58 (ten in all), confiscating heretical places of worship; and legg. 43, 52, 54, 57, 65, assigning them to the Church. See Gothofred. ad loc.

^b See Bingham, V. iv. 11.

^c See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 49—52: Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xvi. § 14, sq.; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 27—29.

sarily upon them; and that by mean contracts, and originally such as had in them no ill faith: I say not I can warrant
 101 them, I think they may be warrantable. Now I know there may be an act of oblivion done by the Church, as well as by the kingdom. And the Church of Rome knew it well enough, when they reconciled this kingdom under Queen Mary without restoring these possessions^d. By the same reason, for which heretics and schismatics were always dispensed with for canonical penalties (leaving the pardon to God), that the unity of the Church might be recovered*: by the same may the Church leave all to their own consciences; not warranting their pardon from God, neither yet refusing them the communion as unpardonable. But alas! what would this act do in our case, did the whole clergy understand themselves tied in conscience by it, not so much as to mention, much less to reproach, any such tenure? So long as the mischief once done remains unprovided for by the law, which gives the title and possession; the contradiction between the canonical and popular interests can never cease. But if the kingdom consider, that it was an Act of parliament that did the wrong; they must necessarily find, that nothing but an Act
 102 of parliament can repair it^f. And if the people consider, that a parliament may transgress the trust which they repose in them (which of necessity may come to pass, unless we make the parliament infallible, and the pope not); they will easily find, that a parliament cannot repair the wrong that a former parliament hath done, but upon the charge of the people. For Church-goods, under Christianity, cease not to be the goods of the people, though the Church be trusted with managing them, being founded by God for that purposes^g. And he, that admits of the necessity of all this, will find it no considerable charge for the whole kingdom, to furnish contribution, necessary for the founding and endowing of churches, requisite for the resort and cures of all assemblies, requisite for a reformation regulated by the primitive Church. And if this be one cause of our divisions, and that the king-

^d See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 31, 32; Just Weights and Measures, c. xxv. § 1: True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. x; Plea of Weakness &c., sect. v. § 8.

* See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the

Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 31, 32.

^f See Lord Bacon as quoted in True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. x. note e.

^g See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. x. § 6: Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii. § 38, c. iv. § 41: and above in note c.

CHAP. XX. dom cannot be counted a Christian kingdom till it take a course in it; let no man marvel to see the judgments of God in our divisions, when he sees the sin of the kingdom continue. And if this were considered, the discourses, that walk up and down in all assemblies, of relieving the public charge by seizing the pitiful remainder of the Church-revenue, would appear to be, as they are, the productions of atheism, not of pity to the people's purses. 103

CHAPTER XXI.

BY LIMITING AND RESTORING ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE.

THE other law, concerning the right of the Church in the supremacy of the crown "over all persons and in all causes as well ecclesiastical as civil^b," may seem to extinguish the right of the Church over the same persons and in the same causes: which could not be called ecclesiastical, if there were no such thing as a Church (as one of the articles of our creed professes) endowed by God with a right in and over the same. And, therefore, I do not attribute the cause of our divisions to it as unjust, but as indefinite and unlimited. And I instance in the tenure of our ecclesiastical courts; which by a branch of this law are declared to be the king's courts, and the judges of them the king's judges¹. A thing necessarily following upon the resumption of the rights of the crown, usurped by the see of Rome, into the crown: but which hath turned [to] so great dissatisfaction in the establishment of religion by the law of this land, because the right of the Church in that part of their jurisdiction, which necessarily ariseth from the founding of the Church by our Lord Christ, hath not been reserved to the Church by express provision of law. Thereupon followed another law, which gave the judges of these courts the privilege of being married²; at such time, as the law of the land allowed not the clergy to

^b See Just Weights and Measures, c. xx.

¹ This is implied in 25 Hen. VIII. c. 12, For the Restraint of Appeals; and in 27 Hen. VIII. c. 20, and 32 Hen. VIII. c. 7, For the Payment of Tithes; and enacted directly, 37 Hen.

VIII. c. 17. § 2, 3. See also Ayliffe's Parergon, p. 191; and Manley's Interpreter under the title Court.

² 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17: repealed 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary, c. 8. § 22, but revived by 1 Eliz. c. 1. § 12. See Gibson, Codex, p. 984.

marry: and by consequence made them no clergymen, whom the law owned for the king's judges of these courts; exempting them thereby from the canonical obedience, which they of [the] clergy owe their bishops; and leaving their ministering of the laws in their respective jurisdiction to their own discretion, as well against as without the consent of their bishops. It is true, they subsist by patents granted by their bishops, and other ecclesiastical dignities endowed with jurisdictions. But, the law having declared them the king's judges, I refer it to judgment, whether it were any marvel, that the bishops, and other dignities with jurisdiction, should discharge themselves of their jurisdiction upon such judges as the law had qualified, rather than cross the law in taking them upon their own charge; part whereof, in ministering the power of the keys and in correcting the inferior clergy, is essential and necessary to the office, which ordination makes the clergy (bishops and presbyters) capable of. For it is resolved upon by the sages of our laws, that, such a patent being granted for term of life, the patentee is enabled to exercise the whole jurisdiction without and against the consent of him that grants it; and shall be maintained against him in so doing by the law of the land^k. I am neither to blame nor to excuse them, that have not done their utmost to redeem the office, which we are consecrated to a capacity of managing, out of that possession which the law of the land thus engageth. For it is granted, and it is to be granted, that the Church cannot pardon sin^l; as if it could pardon him that is not qualified for pardon, or keep him from pardon that is. But the Church pardons sin by bringing him to be qualified for pardon that is not, and declaring him pardoned that is. If we were fanatics, and believed no condition of pardon but only to imagine that we are pardoned; there would be no Church, no keys of the Church, to manage. If we believed (as some understand the council of Trent^m), that sin is pardoned by submitting it to the keys of the Church; and that the mortification of the flesh serves only to redeem the temporal penalty,

^k See Gibson's Codex, pp. 986, 989; Laws of the Ch., c. ix. § 27, &c.
and the Canons of 1640, can. 11.

^m See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xi. § 1—4.

^l See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the

C H A P. XXI. remaining due when the sin is pardoned : a lay-judge, having knowledge, might manage the keys of the Church as well as a priest. But because a notorious sinner becomes qualified for pardon, when the concupiscence is mortified, which his sin gratifies ; and because he undergoes his mortification, because he cannot have the communion otherwise : therefore are they only that consecrate the eucharist, to judge, whether he be qualified or not, and to give or refuse him that which they consecrate. And commutation of penance, when it supposes not the inward contrition of the heart performed, by outward mortification of the flesh, is but the betraying of that soul to damnation, whom it admits to communion not¹⁰⁷ being qualified for it. True it is, nothing hinders him, that is discharged of excommunication, to become qualified by his own private endeavours. But God would never have founded His Church upon the power of the keys, if the office thereof were only not to hinder, and not also to procure, notorious sinners to be fit for communion with the Church : and that to procure, must be the office of those, who by the foundation of the Church are to judge, who is fit and who not. If therefore the law of the land provide not, that that office of the Church may be in force to that effect, for which the power of the keys is given them that consecrate the eucharist ; is it any marvel, that the judgment and vengeance of God should lie so heavy upon the land, professing reformation, and not enabling that which it professeth to take place ? My present business therefore is now to say ; that the interests which cause our divisions are so far imputable to these laws, as without the reforming of the laws they cannot be cured. Two of these interests I name, contradictory the one to the other in their pretences. For what doth the world¹⁰⁸ complain of but of the abuse of excommunication ; daily employed to enforce the contentious jurisdiction of these courts, never employed to the correction of sin, and recalling of sinners ; which, being the office of those that receive the

* "Is nothing amiss? Can any man defend the use of excommunication as a base process to lackey up and down for duties and fees; it being a precursory judgment of the latter day?" Lord Bacon, On Church Controversies,

Works, vol. ii. p. 498. Lond. 1826. "They excommunicate for three or four things; matters concerning adultery, tithes, wills, &c., which is the civil punishment the state allows for such faults. If a bishop excommuni-

power of the keys by ordination, cannot be exercised by the laity without sacrilege. Now granting, that the usurpation of the see of Rome or the indulgence of Christian princes and states have procured or granted to the clergy a larger jurisdiction than their office required; it would have been no inconvenience, that the whole jurisdiction should be enforced by excommunication, signifying imprisonment by the law of the land, if a difference had been made between the proper jurisdiction of the Church and the accessory. For in this part of it it is an oppression to Christian subjects, that they should be barred the communion for maintaining themselves and their right by law, in matters of any right of this world; though the clergy were judges by the law of the land. But it would be no oppression to them, that the jurisdiction
 109 of the king's courts should be enforced by imprisonment; which excommunication might signify by the law of the land without signifying a bar to the communion of the eucharist, if these were duly distinguished. In the mean time, the whole endowment of the Church in a manner being irrecoverable by these courts without excommunication, the scandal of these jurisdictions becomes a popular plea to strip the clergy of their maintenance: tithes being no farther paid than it please frantic fanatics, or contentious neighbours, to do right of good will; knowing, that, excommunication being odious, imprisonment is not like easily to follow upon it. I said, that there is another interest on foot upon a pretence contradictory to this. And I mean that, which vulgar professors of the laws of the land set up to themselves out of these scandals; to reduce the whole jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts under the jurisdiction of the laws of the land, and those courts that minister the same. This interest espouseth the opinion, which voids the article of our creed that professes "one catholic Church;" and making excommunica-
 110 tion, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, founded by our Lord

cate a man for what he ought not, the judge has power to absolve, and punish the bishop. If they had that jurisdiction from God, why does not the Church excommunicate for murder, for theft? If the civil power might take away all but three things, why may they not take them away too?" Selden,

Table Talk, Excommunication, § 4. Works, vol. iii. p. 2029.—See, for the answer to the reasoning of the latter of these two passages, above in the Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 16, sq.; and Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 10, sq.

CHAP. Christ, a mere imposture, declareth it incapable of any
 XXI. sacrilege to be committed in the using of it. In the mean time, the clergy (whose interest is no ways concerned in the scandals which the ecclesiastical courts may give, further than as they are hindered by the said courts to cure their scandals by the due use of their own office) do suffer, not only the scandals which are done under colour of their patents, but even the affronts of the ecclesiastical courts themselves, receiving appeals from the censure of their bishops upon the clergy. For, a few examples serving the bishops not to employ that jurisdiction which is so easily affronted, it must be acknowledged, that the debauches of the clergy are come to that height, that, till they be reformed, reformation is not duly pretended against the see of Rome.

CHAPTER XXII.

111

THE GROUND OF THE PROPER INTEREST OF THE CHURCH.

BUT perhaps there be those, that are persuaded by the Leviathan^o, that a Church is nothing else but a Christian commonwealth; and that the civil power thereof, which is sovereign, hath full right to enjoin whatsoever it please for the Christian religion, exacting what penalties it please of recusants. There be others besides the Leviathan^p, that have maintained some branches of the same opinion; but he is the only man, that hath looked the whole question in the face with this answer. I will but relate the issue, which his own resolution hath driven him to, and leave him to judgment. For having objected to himself in his Latin book *De Cive*^q, that which is obvious to all understandings,—that then a Christian may be justly punished for his Christianity;—he answers, that it is no inconvenience that he should; because by suffering he purchases an abundant re- 112

* See the quotations from the Leviathan, above in the Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ii. § 10, note l; and other references in Just Weights and Measures, c. iv. § 2, note g.

^p Scil. Selden, Louis Du Moulin,

&c. See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. xi., xx.

^q See quotations in Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. ii. § 10, note l; and Just Weights and Measures, c. iv. § 2, note h.

ward. I know not whether any man told him, or whether himself took notice, that this was the answer of Julian the apostate, making himself sport with the complaints of the Christians;—that they were beholding to him for the kingdom of heaven, which they gained by suffering his persecutions;—but that it was not for the credit of his doctrine to bring Christian princes into the predicament of Julian the apostate. And therefore, upon second thoughts, his Leviathan^a answers: that a subject is bound to obey all that his sovereign commands in religion, whether he be Christian or not; insomuch that, if he command him to renounce Christ, he is bound to do it with his mouth, and shall be saved, believing in Him with his heart, nevertheless. This answer shews the necessary issue of this opinion; that he who holds it, if he be as bad as his word, is as necessarily an apostate as Julian the apostate. The hope of salvation, and the right of communion with the Church, lies not only in “the heart,” which “believes to righteousness,” but in “the mouth,” which “professeth to salvation.” [Rom. x. 10.]

made at our baptism, is a condition without which it cannot be had. It is the taking up of Christ’s cross, which the gospel requireth. He, that declares himself free in any case whatsoever to renounce Christ, though he hath not done it, hath declared himself free of the bond, which he entered into at his baptism; and as he is no more a Christian to God, no more should he be to the Church. If further he say^c (as the propositions, first maintained, and afterwards recanted, by his late disciple at Cambridge^d, do import), that

^a See above in Just Weights and Measures, c. iv. § 2, note i.

^b See *ibid.* § 3, note j.

^c The passage in the text relating to Scargill was added while the book was being printed: as it does not occur in the MS.

^d “The Recantation of Daniel Scargill, publicly made before the University of Cambridge in Great St. Mary’s, July the 25th, 1669,” is in the *Somers Tracts*, vol. vii. pp. 369—371. of Sir W. Scott’s edition. It begins, “Whereas I Daniel Scargill, late bachelor of arts, and Fellow of Corpus Christi College in the University of Cambridge, . . . have lately vented and publicly asserted in the said University diverse wicked,

blasphemous, and atheistical opinions, . . . professing that I gloried to be a Hobbist and an atheist;” &c. &c., “and whereas the Vice-Chancellor and heads of the said University, upon notice of these my foul enormities, upon a full examination and clear conviction of these premised offences, after suspension from my degree did expell me out of the said University” &c. &c.—The positions expressly renounced are, “particularly, 1. that all right of dominion is founded only in power, 2. that all moral righteousness is founded only in the law of the civil magistrate, 3. that the holy Scriptures are made law only by civil authority, 4. that whatsoever the civil magistrate commands is to be

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["*"Ἀθεοί
δὲ τῶ
κόσμου."*
Ephes.
ii. 12.]

there is no difference between good and bad before civil power that is sovereign enact it; then must it be said further, that he is properly an atheist. For if God govern not the world, if He reward not the good, if He punish not the bad, though man do not (pardon me God and all good Christians, if I repeat blasphemy, that it may never more be repeated); then is He not God. Particularly, if civil power can oblige a man to say or swear that which he means not, there remains not that ground for civil society, which the heathen themselves (whom nevertheless St. Paul truly calls "atheists") maintained. For what ground for civil trust, if there be no¹¹ law before civil trust to punish the falsifying of it? Let him, that considers this consequence (necessary upon all opinions, that distinguish not the matter of ecclesiastical law, consequent to the state and constitution of the Church, from the force it hath to be a law of the kingdom by the act of the kingdom); I say, let him answer in conscience, whether those laws, by which the rights of the crown, usurped by the see of Rome, are resumed into it, did proceed upon this opinion or not*. For my part, I remember very well a solemn protestation, which one of them^x makes;—that the intent was not to innovate any thing in religion by vindicating the rights of the crown:—and therefore do infer, that none of them can be understood to extinguish the rights of religion, concurrent

obeyed, notwithstanding [it be] contrary to Divine moral laws, 5. that there is a desirable glory in being, and being reputed, an atheist: which I implied when I expressly affirmed that I gloried to be a Hobbit and an atheist." And he further declares, that "lest any one should mistake or suspect this confession and unfeigned renunciation . . for an act of civil obedience or submission" in him, "performed according to" his "former principles at the command of . . superiors, in outward expression of words though contrary to" his "judgment and inward thoughts of" his "heart," he "loathes and abhors such practices as the basest and most damnable hypocrisy." — Cudworth's tract on Immutability Morality (first published by Edward Chandler, Bishop of Durham, 8vo. Lond. 1731) was written in consequence of the prevalence of such doctrines as that numbered 2. in the above extracts: and by name against Hobbes, as reviving Epicurean-

ism (Bk. i. c. i. pp. 8, 9), viz., that good and evil are so only *νόμος*, and not *φύσις*; and against one Szydlowius (and others), who in a book called *Vindiciæ Quæst. Aliquot Difficilium*, published at Franeker, had revived Ockham's position, that good and evil are the *arbitrary* will of God.

* See above, Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences &c., sect. v. § 3, note a: and Bramhall there quoted.

x "It was no part of our meaning to vary from the articles of the catholic faith in any thing, nor to vary from the Church of Christ in any other thing, declared by the Holy Scripture and the Word of God necessary to salvation: only to make an ordinance by policies necessary and convenient to repress vice and for good conservation of the realm in peace, unity, and tranquillity, from ravine and spoil, insuing much the ancient customs of this realm in that behalf." 25 Hen. VIII. c. 21. § 19. Act for Exoneration &c.

with the rights of the crown, in Church matters, which it doth not distinguish; knowing how difficult it is to distinguish between them, as not knowing, that ever the ground upon which they are to be distinguished, was delivered till now. But there is an Act of the fifth of Queen Elizabeth, by which that abatement in the sense of the supremacy of the crown in Church matters, which had been declared by her Injunctions^a from the beginning of her reign, to prevent misconstructions, was made a law of the land. This Act, because it undertaketh not to limit the supremacy by distinguishing the interest of the crown from the interest of the Church (for the difficulty of satisfying all consciences), gives the subject leave to declare the sense in which he takes that oath; reserving to himself that, which religion requires a Christian to reserve for the Church^a. Which was not the sense of them, that believed no catholic Church, no visible right of it. And by virtue of this declaration it is, that myself have undertaken to declare that limitation, which the catholic Church requireth. For how many prelates and divines of this Church (King James of excellent memory in particular^b) have done the same? But it is no other, than that which the canons of King James^c declare; when they describe this supremacy to be "the same, which the godly kings of God's ancient people," which the Roman "emperors of the primitive" times (before that corruption came in, which we protest against), did exercise. Here have you the due bounds of this supremacy settled by law upon the true ground of it. For it is manifest, that it cannot be derived from the rights of the kings of God's ancient people alone^d; because there could be no catholic Church before the calling of the Gentiles. But the empire, embracing the faith, when the Church was settled upon that faith and those laws, that are now as visible as the laws of England (from which present titles are derived) can be visible, must needs have that right, from which the right of all present sovereignties must

^a See Just Weights and Measures, c. xix. § 1, note g.

^b See *ibid.*, note e.

^c See *ibid.*, § 4.

^d Scil. in his *Apol. pro Juram. Fidel. Præmon. &c.* See Bramhall, *Schism Guarded*, sect. i. cc. 3, 4, Works, Pt. i.

Disc. iv. c. ii. pp. 392, sq., and the others named in Just Weights and Measures, c. xix. § 1, note g, § 4, note e.

^e Canons of 1603, can. 2.

^d See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 51.

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be derived; because the Church (whose interest concurrereth with the interest of them all in the same matters) is always one and the same, and ought so to be, from the first to the second coming of Christ. And that answers any difficulty that may be objected, when any law of any Roman emperor, or other Christian prince or state, seems to infringe the canons of the Church. For the protection of the crown being of such advantage as it is, both for the enlarging and maintaining of Christianity; it is enough, that the Church can continue one and the same visible Church by one and 117 the same visible laws: though the force and effect of them be hindered now and then, here and there, by some acts of secular power, which in some regards may advance the Church as much as they hinder it in others. It was necessary for the crown under Henry the Eighth, to vindicate the supremacy from the pretence of the pope's secular power, which had been on foot divers ages afore; and, therefore, not to have to do with him, that pretended to assoil the subjects of princes, whom he should excommunicate, of their allegiance, till they might own him upon terms consistent with the protection they owe their people. And it was still more necessary under Edward the Sixth, when the Reformation was enacted; which they knew well enough that the pope would not endure. But when the right of the crown in Church-matters is declared by law to be the same, which "the kings of God's ancient people" and "the first Christian emperors" did exercise, the ground of that interest and the bounds of that interest, which the Church must challenge if it will continue a Church, are declared to be the same, which the faith and the laws of the whole Church from the be- 118 ginning do allow.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF RESTORING AND REFORMING THE JURISDICTIONS OF THE CROWN
AND OF THE CHURCH IN ECCLESIASTICAL CAUSES.

AND this makes the reformation of our ecclesiastical laws as easy, as it is visibly the cure of all distempers in religion

among us. It is in brief this: that the jurisdiction, which may by this means appear to the kingdom to be invested in the Church by God's law, be by a law of the kingdom restored to the clergy; to the bishops in chief, then to the chapters of their cathedrals, and to their archdeacons (and to these, not without the assistance of the principal clergy of their respective jurisdictions); the judges of the ecclesiastical courts continuing the king's judges, as they are now by law, to manage the interest of the crown (in all the rights thereof resumed into the crown by the acts of supremacy), according to the Roman laws in those ages of Christendom, which passed before the usurpation of the see of Rome had taken place. If it be said, that it is not visible, when those usurpations took place; I shall allow all the time, which that code of the canons contains, that Pope Adrian sent to Charles the Great*: in whose time there can be no pretence of usurpation upon the temporalities of princes by the see of Rome. This code is yet read under the name of *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Romanæ*. I have commended the justice and wisdom of that commission[†], which was designed under Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, for the qualities of persons limited by it. But I do not think it possible for any commission to reform the alterations introduced by the popes' canon-law, after that time, in one king's reign, with that circumspection which is requisite. The jurisdiction, which the Church challenges by God's law, cannot be distinctly stated with more satisfaction to all interests, preserving that of religion, than by a commission so qualified. The interest of the kingdom in preserving the study of the Roman laws, hath always been thought considerable[‡]. But how shall the study of them be maintained, if the authority of them be not maintained? Or how shall that authority be maintained, but by adopting them into the law of the kingdom in matters, necessary to be provided for by law, but not provided for by the native law of the kingdom? Or what provision can there be by the native law of the kingdom for those causes, which

* See above, c. v.; and Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. vii. § 39, note g; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 25. See also Baxter quoted above in c. v., note f.

[†] Above in c. xviii.; and see Plea of Weakness &c., sect. v. § 2, note z.

[‡] See, for what follows in the text, The Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences &c., sect. v. § 2—6.

CHAP. for so many hundred years before the Reformation the popes' canon-law had sentenced by the authority of the kingdom? There is an interest of religion in matrimonial causes, in testamentary causes, in causes arising upon elections of corporate clergy, in causes of dispensation in canons, in causes of tithes, in divers sorts of causes; besides those, which the power of the keys in the discipline of the people and the correction of inferior clergy occasioneth. Let me not say, that it were barbarous for a flourishing kingdom, in a flourishing age for all other learning, to reduce the trial of them to the arbitrary verdicts of juries (who can never understand the grounds upon which the matter of fact is to be stated): when I can so clearly say, that there can be nothing more like to ¹²¹ mere tyranny than arbitrary justice; nor justice more arbitrary, than where it is manifest, that there can have been no other law provided, because the canon-law hath been hitherto used. As for those causes, which are proper to the Church, as rising from the constitution of it; how can it stand with religion, and reformation in religion, which we pretend, to try them otherwise than by those, of whom the kingdom shall be satisfied by such a commission that they are by God's law capable of authority to do it? And the interest of the crown, and of the subjects, which it is bound to protect, shall be secured; when provision is made by adopting the Roman laws for managing the rights of the crown, resumed by the act of supremacy, within those bounds, which the Roman laws maintained before the usurpation of the see of Rome. It cannot be denied, that the popes' canon-law (which the law of the land hath already adopted, so far as it contradicteth not the law of the land) provideth for many things, not provided for by the primitive canons, within the compass of the Roman laws. And it would be too much ¹²² rashness to recal that adoption, and to leave so much matter to arbitrary justice, rather than retain a provision, which the law and religion professed by the kingdom owns not the original of, though it own the matter it hath adopted. For whatsoever shall prove by time and trial to hinder the Reformation, which we pretend thus to ground and thus to bound; the faults, that shall be found by experience, must open the way of mending it, because the cure must be as

particular as the disease is. And upon these terms, it can be no dishonour to the kingdom, and to the reformation which it professeth, to use the canon-law which it adopteth; till time shew the way of amending those particulars, which time shall shew that the reformation pretended requires to be changed. For instance, we know, that since Henry VIII. it is not the custom to take any degree in canon-law^b; notwithstanding the law of the land adopteth the canon-law. And accordingly we all know, that graduates in the civil law of the Romans are privileged by the ecclesiastical law of the kingdom¹. I would fain have any of them, that would wear the face and the conscience of a good Christian and a good Englishman both, give me a reasonable account of these their tenures, waving that which I here set forth for them; whom they will think too bold with their freehold for it. For my part, who am no man's foe but my own in publishing my opinion thus freely upon this exigent, I think I do good service to them, with my country, to set forth this account, why and how the Roman laws deserve to be adopted into the laws of the kingdom; namely, that the popes' canon-law, which is already adopted, may be limited within those bounds, [which¹] the Roman laws (and, by consequence, the primitive canons of the Church, which the Roman laws acknowledge and enforce) do either prescribe or allow. I would make a further offer, of introducing the Roman laws, both into the study of the law of the land, and into authority in our courts of equity; and of reconciling thereby the cross-interests of the professions upon competence of jurisdictions. But though I must needs have that opinion myself, which I can see
124 nothing against, seeing much for it; yet I will trouble no man with an opinion, which neither my profession obliges me nor my skill enables me to make out. It shall be enough for me to observe, that they shall deserve to be

^b 27 Hen. VIII. A.D. 1535, a mandate was issued by the King to the University of Cambridge, prohibiting degrees in canon-law (Stat. Acad. Cantab., p. 137. 4to. Cant. 1785, Injunctions of Henry VIII.). The last moderator of the school of canon-law in Oxford, quitted office in 1535 (Wood, Hist. of Univ. of Oxf., vol. ii.

Pt. ii. p. 770).

¹ 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17, requires a person to be a doctor in civil law in order to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction. And see also Gibson, p. 993.

¹ Misprinted "with" in ed. 1670.—That the Roman laws recognised the primitive canons, see Selden, Ux. Ebr., lib. iii. c. 32. Op. tom. ii. p. 854.

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counted professors of the Roman laws, that are trusted to minister the canon-laws by those bounds, which the Roman laws allow. As for the concurrence of that jurisdiction, which is proper to the clergy by God's law, and that, which is resumed by the crown to be ministered by the professors of the Roman laws: I do acknowledge it cannot be ended, but by appeals; the issue whereof whither it ought to resort, when it is time to say, it will be then time to say also, how these interests are reconcilable. In the mean time, episcopacy being owned by the law of the kingdom and the law of God both^k, to be that, which the whole Church from the beginning acknowledgeth; I think I do my country and the Church of God in it no disservice, to propose a plaister large enough for the sore of it, that shall come within the bounds which I have proposed. For the chapters of cath-

^k Scil. in the Pref. to the Ordination Service.—See, for Thorndike's proposal, below, note l, and references there. The plan proposed here, and also above in the *Due Way of Composing Differences* &c., § 25—33, bears a close resemblance to that contained in King Charles II.'s Declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, of Oct. 25, 1660, which the nonconformists so bitterly complained that he did not fulfil. The important differences are, that Thorndike retains the bishop's veto, and that he confines his proposed council to the cathedral clergy. The king there declares (ap. Wilkins, Concil., tom. iv. p. 562), that "no bishop shall ordain, or exercise any part of jurisdiction which appertains to the censures of the Church, without the advice and assistance of the presbyters; and no chancellors, commissaries, or officials, as such, shall exercise any act of spiritual jurisdiction in these cases, viz. excommunication, absolution, or wherein any of the ministry are concerned, with reference to their pastoral charge: . . . nor shall the archdeacon exercise any jurisdiction without the advice and assistance of six ministers of his archdeaconry: whereof three to be nominated by the bishop, and three by the election of the major part of the presbyters within the archdeaconry." And again: "To the end that the deans and chapters may be the better fitted to afford counsel and assistance to the bishops, both in ordinations and the

other offices mentioned before, we will take care that these preferments be given to the most learned and pious presbyters of the diocese: and moreover, that an equal number (to those of the chapter) of the most learned, pious, and discreet presbyters of the same diocese, annually chosen by the major vote of all the presbyters of that diocese present at such elections, shall be always advising and assisting, together with those of the chapter, in all ordinations, and in every part of jurisdiction which appertains to the censures of the Church, and at all other solemn and important actions in the exercise of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, wherein any of the ministry are concerned," &c. &c. (ibid.) And again (ibid. pp. 562, 563): "Besides the suffragans and their presbytery, every rural dean (those deans, as heretofore, to be nominated by the bishop of the diocese) together with three or four ministers of that deanery, chosen by the major part of all the ministers within the same, shall meet once in every month, to receive such complaints as shall be presented to them by the ministers or churchwardens of the respective parishes; and also to compose all such differences" &c., "and to convince offenders and reform all such things as they find amiss:" and "such matters as they cannot compose and reform" &c., "are by them to be prepared for and presented to the bishop." Lastly, "no bishop shall exercise any arbitrary power."

dral-churches are by their birthright counsellors to the
 125 bishops, and assistants in his whole office; the archdeacon,
 his minister and principal commissary: those, by the rule
 first set on foot by the apostles, and observed always by the
 Church, of planting cathedral-churches in cities, and making
 the churches planted in cities cathedral-churches, for the
 government of all Christendom within the territories of those
 cities; this, being by his order ministerial to them, as well as
 to the bishop, when both have part in the same office. And
 here I place the hinge, upon which I hang the reconciliation
 of the presumed interest of the Presbyterians with the true
 interest of the clergy; supposing the conference proposed
 to have taken effect, and produced a request of both parties
 to the legislative power of the kingdom, to make a law of
 those particulars, upon which they are come to agreement to
 be received and to exercise their ministry. For the office of
 the clergy being separated from the interest of the crown by
 an act of the kingdom, and the professors of the Roman laws
 trusted to manage this interest in behalf of the subject (only
 126 assisting the clergy in that part of the jurisdiction proper to
 the Church, which will concern the interest of subjects, as
 members of the Church, as well as the office of the clergy):
 what shall hinder them, the Presbyterians, as well as the rest
 of the clergy, to exercise the zeal, which they have always
 professed towards the reforming of the conversation of the
 people, in assisting that discipline, as well over the inferior
 clergy as the people, which the chapters of cathedral-churches
 and the archdeacons shall (by the bishop and under the
 bishop) be trusted with? For what need all this hinder the
 prerogative of the bishop's negative vote; whenas there will
 be more to do under him, than hands will be found for, re-
 serving to him those causes which he would choose to reserve?
 For that will be found no more than requisite to preserve
 his prerogative—that nothing be done without him,—when
 nothing is done without him but that which he shall choose
 to be eased in¹. He, that knows what the hierarchy signifies,

¹ "Mr. Thorndike, as learned a man
 as many, and as resolute an asserter of
 the Divine right of episcopacy as any,
 is so far from being an advocate for the
 bishop's *sole power*, that on the con-

trary he has on all occasions most
 zealously declared against it; particu-
 larly, whoso pleases, may turn to his
 Primitive Government of Churches,
 and he will find the whole design of

CHAP. XXIII. must needs understand, that the same means, which preserved the whole Church in unity, so far and wide for place, so long for time, as unity prevailed in the Church, and Christianity with it and by it, knows that the same must be used ¹²⁷ to preserve unity in the Church of this kingdom; the question being, how to reform it so, that it may continue a member of the whole.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SOME PRINCIPAL CANONS TO BE RESTORED, IN OUR PRESENT STATE.

For let no man think, that any law can be effectual to this purpose, till the case be stated which the law is provided for. We are in the state of schism in spite of our teeth; though we are to clear ourselves of the crime of schism upon the terms settled: which cannot clear us, if it be possible that any other should clear us. King Henry the Eighth had reason to declare, that he and his kingdom should have nothing to do with the pope, that excommunicated him for his divorce; so many popes having discharged the subjects of princes excommunicate of their allegiance^m. But to make good the protestation, that he intended no further change in religion; I need not say what he did, to give suc- ¹²⁸ ceeding popes occasion to recal the folly of that pope, which excommunicated him, by a timely reconciliation. In the mean time, the way to preserve the kingdom in peace was, to have nothing to do with the see of Rome. But had he been so well advised, as to have maintained his divorce upon the

his seventh chapter is, to assert the governing power of presbyters, and reject the solitude of power in bishops." Bp. Sage, *Vindlic. of Principles of Cyprianic Age*, c. iv. § 70. vol. iii. p. 176. Edinb. 1846: going on (p. 177) to quote for similar views, the *Epilogue*, Bk. III. (Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xvi. § 2, 27), *Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St.*, (c. iii. § 44, sq., and see also *Review of it*, c. iii. § 5), *Just Weights and Measures*, (c. xxiv. § 11), and *Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c.*, as above in the text; in which last pas-

sage, he says, Thorndike "challenges no more power as due to the bishop than a *negative voice*, the prerogative that *nothing be done without him*." Finally, he quotes "Baxter himself," who, "in his *Disputations on Church Government*, p. 197, acknowledges that Thorndike was for a regulated Episcopacy." See also the proposal made by Thorndike in his *Due Way of Composing Differences &c.*, § 25—33.

^m See *Epilogue*, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 11, note e, § 38, note z.

terms which I plead for; what could the pope have said to that code of canons, which Pope Adrian the First sent to Charles the Great^a; which I would have this Church to own? For it concludes with a synod of the province of Rome under Pope Gregory the Second, which pronounces anathema to whosoever shall marry his deceased brother's wife^o. Let Julius II. Pope, that dispensed with Henry the Eighth and his marriage with the lady Katherine of Spain^p, have bethought himself how to come clear of this anathema, the authority of the see of Rome being entire. For King Henry the Eighth, or at least for his kingdom, it was and is enough, that, so long as he owned the authority of that see, he must needs be troubled in conscience at that marriage, by which he must needs incur it, preferring the former act of a council under Gregory the Second Pope, before a bull of Julius the Second Pope, dispensing in an anathema of the said council. For as the primitive canons are to be preferred in Church-law before the looseness of succeeding ages, being still further from the apostles; so the act of the council under the regular power of the pope, is to be preferred before a bull, which now passeth without the consistory as the pope's personal act, after the unlimited absolute power of the pope hath taken place. As for King Edward the Sixth, professing the Reformation, and protesting it as he did, so that the see of Rome could have no pretence of correspondence without owning it themselves; there succeeds the necessity of a state of schism upon the excommunication following, the crime of schism remaining on that side that excommunicates, for vindicating and restoring the faith and the laws of the whole Church. This being the state of our case; and the laws of the whole Church, and the faith thereof, necessary to the title, that must justify reformation without the consent of the whole: is it not manifest to all understandings, that the law, by which this state is to be governed, must be such a provision, as the laws of the whole

CHAP.
XXIV.

^a See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 25; and above, c. xxiii. note e.

^o "Si quis fratris uxorem duxerit in conjugio, anathema sit: et responderunt omnes tertio, anathema sit." Decr. Gregorii Papæ Junioris, § v.; ap.

Voelli et Justelli Biblioth. Jur. Canon. Vet., tom. i. p. 273.

^p The Brief for this purpose is dated Dec. 26, 1503: and is among the Records appended to Collier's Ch. Hist., vol. ii., no. ix.

CHAP. Church enable a part of it to make for itself in the case?
XXIV. And therefore we must affirm (as many of us as would have no share in the schism as to God, being thus secured that to the Church we are not chargeable with it), that there is nothing to hinder such a provision but the misunderstanding of them; and that we see not, what the consequence of our own profession requires. A reason that presses me so hard, that I do willingly expose myself to the displeasure of all, that shall find themselves disgusted with this freedom, only to give myself the satisfaction of publishing it, whatsoever displeasure it procure me; as being satisfied, that there is no other cure for our present distempers. For, in the first place, it must be said, that it is in vain to talk of regular government by the canons of the Church, without restoring the liberty of synods to the respective provinces. Not as if the Church needed any abatement in the Act of Henry the Eighth^a, which forbiddeth making, and perhaps advising of canons to be made, without the assent of the crown. But because the world knows it was the usurped legatine power,¹³¹ that had brought synods to nothing by usurping upon the ordinary^c. And, therefore, it is but justice in the crown, finding the right of synods (the subjects thereof) usurped by the see of Rome, to restore it to the subjects, upon whom the usurpation had been made; the supremacy of the crown being sufficiently provided for by the said Act, and the force of all acts of synods depending upon the legislative power of the kingdom^d. In the next place, it is to no purpose to talk of reformation in the Church unto regular government, without restoring the liberty of choosing bishops, and the privilege of enjoying them, to the synods, clergy and people, of each diocese^e. I say not, depriving the crown of the due

^a See above, Plea of Weakness &c., sect. v. § 2, note z; and § 6, note b. The words of the Act (25 Hen. VIII. c. 19. § 1) are, that the clergy shall not "presume" without the royal assent "to attempt, allege, claim, or put in ure," or again, "to enact, promulge, or execute," any canons or constitutions &c.

^c See Twysden's Historical Vindication, c. iii. § 19—43, c. viii. § 32—44, &c.

^d See above, Plea of Weakness &c., Disc. and Answered, sect. v. § 6, note b.

^e "If kings, that choose bishops, and patrons, that choose incumbents, should be always certainly wise and holy men, and lovers of all such, they would choose us such. But if they be not, . . . they will mostly choose such as are of their mind. . . . And if I tell king and patrons, that the clergy and communicants should have a consenting or dissenting vote, and so the door should have three locks (the consent of the ordainers, communicants, and magistrates), I cannot hope that they

interest of a negative to any person to be promoted a bishop in any instance of his promotion. God forbid it should come into my thought. But, the supremacy being so provided for, so evident is the right of the synods, clergy and people, in the making of those, of whom they consist, and by whom they are to be governed; that I need mark no other reason
 132 for the neglect of episcopacy but the neglect of it; for the neglect of cathedral-churches, but the neglect and alienation of their office under and with their bishops. This for certain; had not the see of Rome introduced so much disorder in the creating of bishops, that we have not yet cured it, we should have heard of it with both ears from their advocates. And if I may credit a person of unquestionable credit, his late Majesty was so convinced hereof, when he was at Oxford, that he offered to part with it, if a way were shewed how to do it. As for the translating of bishops; which, done as it is, of course must needs render the office unfruitful to their people^u: as no man can deny, that there ought to be a course for dispensing in the canon for public good; so cannot this pretence of public good come to effect, unless it be maintained by the office of synods, to whom the state of the Church vindicates the right of it. That which I said afore^x of appeals, belongs to this place. For what law can provide, that in causes reserved to the bishop parties shall rest content always with his sentence? Or whither^y can eccle-
 133 siastical causes resort from him but to the synod of the province? Again, what Christian kingdom could ever prevent a mixture of causes, that is, a concurrence of interest between the sovereign power and the office of the Church? Or what danger can be imaginable to this crown in doing right to the Church, having only its own subjects to deal with? Or what can be more ready to receive appeals of this nature, than a commission of judges, delegate as well by the synods as by the crown for the expedition of such causes, in which the pretence of the subject as well as the interest of religion

should regard me. But I will repeat what Mr. Thorndike saith (a man as far as most from the non-conformists), *Treatise of Forbearance*,—"It is to no purpose" &c. (as above in the text: quoting also the sentence a little lower down, beginning, "So evident is the right," &c.) Letter of Richard Baxter

to the Right Worshipful Sir E. H., dated Nov. 9. 1680: in *Append. to his Life of Himself* edited by Sylvester, p. 131.

^u See *Just Weights and Measures*, c. xxiv. § 4.

^x c. xxiii.

^y Misprinted "whether" in ed. 1670.

CHAP. XXIV. may be concerned? As for matter of faith; having admitted all that hath been decreed within the time of the six truly general councils¹, I dare say, that there is nothing that the see of Rome can charge upon the Socinians or Anabaptists or any sect of our fanatics, that is not condemned in the Arians, Pelagians, or other sects, which the whole Church hath condemned during that time. So that there can be no cause, why Christianity should not be maintained by the Reformation during this state of schism, but neglecting the true consequence of that which we ourselves profess.

CHAPTER XXV.

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TWO LAWS MORE, NECESSARY TO THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH.

THESE are the principal points in the canons of the whole Church, which the profession of reforming the Church obliges us to restore. There are two points more, the one concerning the people, the other the inferior clergy; which till they be restored, our reformation cannot be that which it pretendeth.

[1.] That all, who shall be convicted in law of capital or infamous crimes, stand excommunicate *ipso facto*; and, if execution pass, be deprived of Christian burial, unless they reconcile themselves to the Church^a;—unless the law make this good, how should the kingdom be accounted a Christian kingdom? For if scandalous crimes, that are notorious, be allowed communion with the Church, how can it be a Church? Conviction, which is the act of the law, making the crime notorious; how can Christianity be protected, and the Church not able to renounce them that renounce it by their deeds? The increase of sin, so flagrant in this nation since the war began, makes the necessity of this law flagrant. I was speaking of the Leviathan, that monster of a Christian; that with one book (allowed by the Act of

^a Above in c. v.; and True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. iii. note o.—The English council of Calchuith, A.D. 787, specially recognises the “apostolicam fidem et universalem sex synodorum per Spiritum Sanctum probatam,

sicut tradita est nobis a sancta Romana Ecclesia.” Labb., Conc., tom. vi. p. 1862. E.

^a See Just Weights and Measures, c. xxiv. § 7—11.

oblivion, because the doctrine was not damned, when the person was pardoned) hath introduced that deluge of atheism and profaneness, which we are ready to be drowned with^b. Let public justice have the convicting of the blasphemies which he hath taught, if the Church be not in case to bear the envy of such a trust. But to account for such a crime by a pecuniary mulct^c, is to sell our Christianity at the price at which it is defied. Unless infamy follow, and excommunication to bring it on; farewell Christianity, which compoundeth with apostasy. The father of the sect thinks, I believe, that he hath as good right to the communion as the rest of his Majesty's subjects^d: who, though he should profess penitence for his crime, could not be believed; having given the world warning, that he may be bound to say and to swear, that which he doth not believe^e. What course but
 136 this, to suppress the vanity of committing murder under the name of a duel? For in all commonwealths, where men's memory is not liable to infamy, sin is not out of countenance. In that which is Christian, what can be infamous, if to forfeit communion with the Church be not? As for adultery, what punishment hath this kingdom left for it? Or how shall it be counted a Christian kingdom, having none? Be the trial of it as civil interest shall require. If it pass without excommunication, though the law of the land lay no hold on it, what can clear the kingdom of the expectation of God's vengeance? By consequence hereof they, that are convicted of simony in civil justice, must remain irregular to the Church: that is, though their ordination can never be void, yet their persons must remain incapable of any trust which their clergy should make them capable of. And why should not the privilege of their clergy cease, and they remain excommunicate for such a crime?

[2.] The other law, concerning the clergy, is the con-

^b See above, cc. i., xxii.: and Plea of Weakness &c. Disc. and Ans., sect. v. § 13. The Act of Oblivion, 12 Car. II. c. 11, it need hardly be said, does not except Hobbes. See also Just Weights and Measures, c. iv. § 2, 3.

^c See above, in the note prefixed to the True Principle of Comprehension; and Plea of Weakness &c. Disc. and Ans., sect. vi. § 1.

^d See above, Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences Discussed and Answered, sect. vi. § 5, note k.

^e See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. ii. § 10, note l, c. xix. § 18, 19: and Due Way of Composing Differences, § 10, 15: and the recantation of Scargill, above in c. xxii. note u.

^f See True Principle of Comprehension, sect. ix.

CHAP. XXV. fining of every one to one diocese^g; which is but the restoring of that order, which the see of Rome had disordered, on purpose to engage in the disorders of it all¹³⁷ that they obliged by such privileges. For the privileges reserved to the crown, nobility, and bishops, whereby the abuse is but displaced, will not be considerable in comparison with the reformation which it hindereth. It seems strange to those, that find themselves interested, that two benefices with cure should be allowed in one diocese, not in several dioceses, though at less distance^h. But the law cannot be understood to allow all that it forbids notⁱ; because there may be reason, why the public good will not allow the forbidding of that, which is left to the conscience of particular persons. Were all benefices restored to that provision which the cures might require, perhaps privileges of pluralities might be extinguished^k. In the mean time, is it not

^g See Just Weights and Measures, c. xxiv. § 1; Plea of Weakness &c. Disc. and Answ., sect. v. § 6, 7.

^h For the canon of the council of Chalcedon forbidding to hold preferment in more than one diocese, see above in Just Weights and Measures, c. xxiv. § 1, note k. The English law in the time of Thorndike, which may be found in Sir S. Degge's Parson's Counsellor, Pt. i. c. iv. pp. 19, sq. 8vo. Lond. 1676, or in Gibson's Codex under the title Pluralities, was as follows:—By the 21 Hen. VIII. c. 13, it was enacted, that no person holding a benefice with cure of souls worth above £8. per annum in the King's books, should be capable of holding a second benefice with cure of souls, however near, or of whatever value, unless he were the king's or a nobleman's chaplain, or the brother or son of a nobleman or knight, or a doctor or bachelor of divinity or of law in either university: in each of which cases *two* but not more may be held by dispensation. The canons of 1603, can. 41, limit the dispensation to benefices within 30 miles distance. But nothing is said of the same or different diocese in either Act or canon.

ⁱ “Α δὲ μὴ κελεύει (δ νόμος), ἀπαγορεύει,” is Aristotle's doctrine, Eth. Nic., V. xi. 1.

^k The crying evil of pluralities at the time this tract was written, may be learned from a melancholy pamphlet entitled Ichabod, or Five Groans of

the Church: “prudently foreseeing” (so continues the title-page) “and passionately bewailing her second fall, threaten'd by these five dangerous tho' undiscerned miscarriages that caused her first, viz. 1. Undue Ordination, 2. Loose Profaneness, 3. Unconscionable Symony, 4. Careless Non-residence, 5. *Encroaching Pluralities*: humbly presented to her Supreme Head and Governor the King's most excellent Majesty, and his Great Council the Parliament” &c. 4to. Camb. 1663. —“This book,” says Calamy (Life of Baxter, vol. i. c. xii. p. 307, note), “tho' high eno' for the hierarchy, and the ceremonies, and the several parts of conformity, was yet written with a very grave and serious spirit,” and “complains, among other things, that of twelve thousand Church livings or thereabouts, three thousand and more being inappropriate, and four thousand one hundred sixty-five being sinecures or non-residents' livings, there were but a poor remainder left for a painful and an honest ministry, for the glory of God, and for the salvation of souls.” —See also Sir S. Degge, as in note h, p. 33: and a pamphlet entitled A Seasonable Treatise on the Scholars' Reasonable Addresses, that were delivered in a Petition to Parliament &c. Feb. 1677, being a Collection out of the Civil and Common-law against Pluralities and Non-residences &c. 4to. 1678; and another called A Discourse of Pluralities &c., 4to. Lond. 1680.

enough, that, whatsoever the quality be, the office of priest and deacon is relative to their respective bishops? that no man can be answerable to one bishop for a charge, in which he is answerable to another for the same? Which if it hold not in one and the same diocese, the reason of the difference is both sufficient and evident. Always the ground being laid, that the reformation of the Church is to be ruled by the canons of the primitive Church; there can be no more question in this, than is in any thing, where the primitive institution is as visible as the decay and abuse. But this will principally concern archdeacons, and the dignified clergy, which are to bear a part in the bishop's office. For how should they be charged with that, which they are not charged to execute?

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF FORBEARANCE, DUE OR NOT DUE, IN TWO INSTANCES.

I HAVE proposed a conference¹. I have determined, that all is to be tried by the agreement of the catholic Church. But if we stay till the parties agree to that, there must be no conference. What have we to overcome this difficulty with? Considering how the necessity of losing all religion presses all parties, and considering how slight the pretences of dissatisfaction at the Act of uniformity^m are: though I cannot depart from my claim, that the reformation cannot duly be made but by and to that pattern; yet I see it may be laid aside in the trial, not supposing that the will of God is declared by it. But if the advantage be not allowed, which the consent of Christendom from the beginning hath in the judgment of common reason above any opinion of this time, or any party pretending reformation; what course can they hold, that have not reasonable creatures to deal with? For how can they be counted reasonable, that prefer their own reason before the reason of Christendom? Or how shall they distinguish their private spirits from the enthusiasms of fanatics, that insist upon those interpretations and consequences of Scripture, which had any man seen before them, the Church had never been as it hath been? In fine, the case

¹ Just Weights and Measures, c. xxv. ^m 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 4. A. D.
§ 7: and above in c. xviii. 1662.

CHAP. XXVI. being stated, I see no cause to apprehend any obstinacy in the parties, to prefer any faction or partiality before reason so manifested, and so concerning the common Christianity. I will insist upon two instances.

[1.] All the world knows, that one of the abuses, which made the necessity of reformation most appear, was that of ¹⁴⁰ private masses; where the eucharist was celebrated and the people did not communicate^a. It is as well known, that the reformation according to Calvin contents itself with four communions a-year, but no assembly without preaching^b. The Church of England hath aimed at the communion every Lord's-day and holy-day; at sermons, as frequent as can be had, so as to maintain the reverence due to religion, to preaching, and to the Church^c. What question can there be in religion, that the eucharist is the principal office of religious assemblies? What pretence of reformation in restoring preaching by silencing the eucharist^d? It will be said, that there is fear of profaning so religious an office. But where is reformation, if it make not the people fit for it? The papists say, private masses are not commanded; they would have the people communicate, and encourage them to it^e. But what do they do to bring them to it? Surely more than they do, that silence the eucharist for the sermon; that are not contented, till so much preaching be commanded, that they know the eucharist must be silenced. Let them think, what abilities are requisite to ¹⁴¹ maintain so frequent preaching, that there shall be no time for the eucharist; let them think of the scandals, that must needs fall out for want of due abilities: and they will find cause, I doubt not, to prefer the whole Church before a late party, and abate the sermon to restore the eucharist; especially, seeing the law of this land must be changed to bear out what others have done, though it is manifest they never gave any reason for it. They will see cause to think, that the best preaching is that, which may fit the people for the eucharist, by understanding the covenant of baptism,

^a See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxiv. § 9, sq.; and Just Weights and Measures, cc. xiv. § 8, xv. § 7.

^b See Just Weights and Measures, c. xvi. § 10.

^c See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass.,

c. viii. § 44: and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxv. § 2.

^d See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxiv. § 9, sq., c. xxv. § 1, sq.; Just Weights and Measures, c. xiv. § 8.

^e See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxiv. § 12, note e.

and the importance of daily renewing and restoring it by communion in the eucharist. CHAP.
XXVI.

[2.] The other instance shall be the Psalms^a; that are sung in cathedral-churches, but allowed to be read where there is not company enough to sing them^t. For it is plain enough, what excuses are made, and what endeavours used, to silence this part of God's service; and to turn the Psalms, which this Church with the whole Church appointeth for devotion, into lessons of instruction only^u. Hence all the plea against the old translation with points; all the endeavours to crowd in the Psalms in rhyme, instead of the Psalter, and all use which the Church hath always made of it^x. But did not partiality and faction prevail over that reason, which all Christendom before the Reformation hath always owned; there could be no question of using the Psalter of David for an instrument to tune the devotion of Christian people by^y; transforming the

^a See Just Weights and Measures, c. xv. § 3; and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxii. § 20.

^t "The only *injunction* in the Common Prayer-book," that was retained at the review of 1661 respecting singing, is that relating to the place of the anthem in "choirs and places where they sing:" that is, says Jebb (Choral Service of Ch. of England, sect. xxii. p. 162), "in places where by custom they sing all those parts of the service which the rubric directs to be said in parish churches or places unprovided with clerks; to be sung in places where their performance is practicable." Rubrical "recommendations" remain in the present Prayer-book to sing various parts of the service, e.g. the *Te Deum*, the Apostles' Creed, the Evening Psalms, the Litany, &c. See Jebb's book just quoted; and Bisse, *Rationale on Cathedral Worship or Choir-Service*, 2nd ed. Lond. 1721.

^u See Except. ag. Book of Common Prayer, § iii.; in Cardwell's *Conferences*, c. vii. p. 305.

^x The objection to organs in churches is as old as the Zurich Letters (see a letter from Bullinger and Gualter to Bps. Grindal and Horne, dated Sept. 6, 1556, in Records to Burnet's *Hist. of Reform.*, vol. iii. Pt. ii. no. 82, and since in the complete Collection of the Zurich Letters): and among other differences that signalized the change of service at the introduction of the new

ritual in the reign of Edward VI., the singing of Psalms in metre was one (see e.g. Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, Edw. VI. Bk. i. c. xi. vol. ii. Pt. i. pp. 135, 136. Oxf. 1821, and Burnet's *Hist. of Reform.*, Pt. ii. Bk. i. vol. ii. pp. 174. &c.). Both points were urged at the Restoration. See for the latter, Except. to Bk. of Common Prayer, quoted above in Just Weights and Measures, c. xv. § 3, note f. And for the former, backed up also by an attack upon the accuracy of the Prayer-book version of the Psalms, Hickman's *Apologia pro Ministris in Anglia* (vulgo) *Nonconformistis*, anno 1662, Aug. 24, die Bartholomæo Ejectis &c. Lond. 1664, 5 (answered by Durell, *Vindic. Eccl. Angl. &c.*, c. xxvii. pp. 303 sq. Lond. 1669); and H. D.'s *Discourse of Liturgies*, c. xv. pp. 75, sq. (Lond. 1661), in answer to Bp. Gauden.

^y See Thorndike's Latin book, *De Ratione Fin. Controv.*, c. iv. pp. 61, 68, c. xiv. p. 255.—"A psalm," with the primitive Christians, "was a gift of the Spirit, every one had it not;" and they "praised the Lord in the Spirit with understanding, and did not get a form of words, of David's words which he spake after his victories and triumphs over his enemies." F. Howgil, *Glory of the True Church Discovered &c.*, p. 50. London 1661. See also references in Just Weights and Measures, c. xv. § 3, note h; and above in note s.

CHAP. XXVI. expressions of David unto our Lord Christ in the first place, and, according to the figure of Christ, to the whole Church first, and then to every particular member of it. He, that hath learnt this from the whole Church, will never think it reason to put this part of God's service to silence; whosoever they be, that desire or design it. He will rather endeavour to reduce the singing of them into parish-churches, being evidently so much easier than the singing of the Psalms in rhyme; but, howsoever, retain the reading of them by anti-phones, and not "quench the Spirit" of God, Which breatheth forth that transformation whereof I spake.

[1 Thessa.
v. 19.]

Having thus instanced, I will not propose the ground, upon which I maintain that all reformation is to proceed, for the condition of the conference which I propose. I will think it a point of that "forbearance," which St. Paul commandeth the Romans, not to insist upon those terms which the authority of the apostles doth enforce: because I see him not insist upon the authority of an apostle with them; but, having infallibly proved his ground of justification by faith alone, forbear the consequence of it; charging the Romans to hold that indifferent, whatsoever his authority so grounded declareth such, yet charging them to forbear those, that for all his authority and reasons understood it not. For I believe verily, that his reason and mine is the very same; namely, to keep both parties in the unity of one Church, a member of the whole: hoping, that, by God's blessing upon the advantages which the communication of the faithful one with another and with their clergy affordeth, those, that are now most keenly set against these little things that are excepted at in the Act of uniformity, may by that condescension, which the interest of Christianity obliges all parties to, come to understand the only principle of reformation and unity both; the authority of the catholic Church, in all things not determined by God's law, which is only the gospel under this time of Christianity. And I set before them to that purpose the example of the Jews; who, for all the "forbearance" commanded by St. Paul, having "stopped their ears" at all his "charms," with the unity of the Church have forfeited the faith, hitherto irrecoverably. For being fully persuaded, that without this principle it is not possible, either for this Church, or for any

[Pa. i. viii.
4, 5.]

part of the Reformation, long to subsist ; can I fear any less CHAP.
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than the utter loss of religion, for my dearest country, and
for the dearer Church of God in it?

CHAPTER XXVII.

HOW RECUSANTS MAY OR MAY NOT BE PUNISHED AS IDOLATERS.

It remains that I say, what penalties this position makes competent to those, that refuse the reformation thus limited : a thing easy for me to do, having declared the ground upon
145 which the refusing of Christianity is punishable ; which the Reformation hitherto hath not been able to do. The position of punishing heretics capitally is generally decried by them^a ; and yet we see Servetus and Gentilis put to death at Geneva and Bern^a, and others elsewhere^b. If because sentenced for heretics by them, that put them to death ; why should not the powers, that adhere to the Church of Rome, execute the sentence thereof upon those, whom they pronounce heretics?

^a The Proposition &c. for a Comprehension in 1667 (see note prefixed to True Principle of Comprehension, and Plea of Weakness and Tender Consciences &c., sect. vi. note x) expressly lays down the doctrine, that temporal penalties of all kinds for religion are unjustifiable. So did Cromwell and the Independents. But the Presbyterians in their own day of power denounced toleration with as fierce a vehemence as any ever did in any part or time of the Church, and alleged that heretics should be even put to death by the civil magistrate. See Edwards' *Gangræna passim* ; and the proceedings of the Westminster Assembly, in Neal's *Puritans*, vol. iii. pp. 258—261 ; and above, Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 6, note q. See also the Letter of the Presbyterian Ministers in the city of London, presented January 1, 1645, to the reverend Assembly of Divines sitting at Westminster &c. against Toleration (reprinted with some animadversions thereon, Lond. 1668) : and Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xx. § 24, sq.

^a Michael Servetus or Servete was a Spanish physician, burnt at Geneva, Oct. 1553, by Calvin's means, for heresy respecting the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. See Mosheim's *Life of*

him, or his *Ecl. Hist.*, Bk. iv. Cent. xvi. sect. iii. Pt. ii. c. vii. § 4, sq.—Valentine Gentilis, a Neapolitan, was beheaded at Berne in 1566, also for heresy respecting the same doctrine. See Mosheim, *Ecl. Hist.*, *ibid.*, § 6 ; and Bayle's *Dict. art. Gentilis*.—Mosheim mentions also one Matthew Grimaldus, who only escaped capital punishment at Geneva in 1566, for similar heresy, by a timely death ; and several other persons banished from Geneva about the same period for errors akin to those of Servetus.

^b e.g. One Bartholomew Legate was burned as an Arian in Smithfield in 1612, and shortly afterwards (in April 1613) one Edmund Wightman at Lichfield for similar heresy ; and a third person was condemned, but his sentence was commuted into perpetual imprisonment (Fuller, *Ch. Hist.*, Bk. x. pp. 63, 64). And Joan Bocher and George Van Paris were burned by Cranmer under Edward VI. in 1549 for heresies respecting the Incarnation and the Divinity of our Lord respectively. One Lebzynsky, a Polish knight, was punished capitally at Warsaw in 1689 for denying a God and Providence : see Mosheim, *Ecl. Hist.*, Bk. iv. Cent. xvii. sect. i. § 23.

CHAP. XXVII. If because so sentenced by the primitive Church, in which we both agree; why own we not the primitive Church in the rest as well as in that? If because they that gave the sentence are competent judges in religion; what remains, but that contrary sentences be executed by the sword, and religion be no otherwise judged? But supposing religion and the Church and the sense of the Scripture visible, so far as the preserving of unity requires; Christian powers must both protect subjects in their civil as well as natural being, though not true Christians, and yet punish them for not being true Christians. Only if they pretend freedom from allegiance by Christianity (and we know it is false Christianity that so pretends^c), there will be also fit time to declare, why they may be capitally punished. But those, who declare the pope antichrist and the papists idolaters in the exercise of their religion, have not declared, what penalty is competent to their idolatry. And yet, till that be cleared, we are in the clouds. This difficulty I find myself able to look in the face, without ever disputing, whether the papists by their religion are bound to commit idolatry or not. The law of Moses indeed seems to shew, that by the law of nature idolaters may be put to death for their idolatry^d. For there is no appearance, that the law of God would have enjoined that, which the law of nature allows not. But the case is otherwise under Christianity than under the law of Moses. The people of Israel held the land of promise upon condition not to suffer any other God to be worshipped within the bounds of it but the true God, That gave it them upon those terms. Therefore they committed a forfeit, whensoever they suffered idolatry in it. But the gospel was preached to the Roman empire, consisting of two religions, of Jews and Gen- 147 tiles; maintaining the state of the world upon the same terms which it found, saving that, which if they embraced the faith they must voluntarily change. When therefore the sovereign power of the empire came to profess the faith (and thereupon an obligation to maintain and propagate it by all means, which the right of sovereign power furnishes); they could not answer God for the right use of their power, using any

* See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 11, 38; and True Prin. of Comprehension,

sect. i.

* See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 7, 8; and Review of it, c. v. § 1-6.

other means than the interest of Christianity allows. They might have confiscated estates, where they might have taken away lives: but that would have made the meekness, which Christianity pretendeth, to appear that hypocrisy of our sects; who are always humble, always for toleration, till they get the power into their own hands. To shut up the temples of idols, and to forbid sacrifices, was no more than to suppress that sacrilege, which the light and law of nature discovereth. If any of the imperial laws make it death to sacrifice, it is to be understood upon presumption, that those sacrifices were inquiries into the life of the prince, or of their enemies. To constrain them to be Christians by penalties, had been to make them counterfeit Christians. Besides, the nations that bordered upon the empire were all idolaters; and Christianity pretended to convert them, as well as the empire. If the emperors had punished their subjects, being Gentiles, for being idolaters; must not the neighbour nations have persecuted the Christians, their subjects, for being Christians? The reason of the difference between the Law and the gospel, in this behalf, is that, which St. Augustin giveth; why the law of Moses voids the marriages of Jews with Gentiles, whereas St. Paul advises those that turned Christians, being married to idolaters, to continue in wedlock with them, desiring it^a. St. Augustin's reason^b is this; that the Law, tendering only temporal promises expressly (which Gentiles as well as Jews might and did enjoy in this world), thought it too hard a temptation to trust a Jew in wedlock with a Gentile, by whom he might be in danger to be seduced to prosperous idolatry. Whereas Christianity, upon the advantage of the world to come, assured by the preaching of our Lord and His apostles, challengeth all other religions, as unable to resist it, when it is performed as well as professed; so that to suffer idolaters in conversing with Christians, was but the allowing of opportunity for the converting of idolaters. I think I have cause to make this an argument *ad hominem*, that our secta-

[1 Cor. vii.
10—16.]

^a See above in note z.

^b A law of Constantine in Cod. Theodos., lib. xvi. tit. x. (De Paganis Sacrificiis et Templis) leg. 4, prohibits sacrifices under penalty of death. See Gothofred's note for the meaning of the law, agreeing with Thorndike. How

far the emperors proceeded against heretics, see Twysden's Vindication, c. viii. § 5, 6: and see also above, c. xx. note a.

^c See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xiii. § 12.

^d Quoted *ibid*.

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ries themselves cannot nor do require the penalty of idolatry by Moses' law upon papists. They, that remember the time when the late queen mother of royal memory came over, do know, what infusions the pulpits then made into the minds of the people of the curse of God hanging upon the nation for his Majesty's marriage. The pretence was wholly upon the law of Moses; which, as I have shewed, is not to the purpose among Christians. But indeed those prognostications were no other, than the prophecies of the devil's oracles among the Gentiles; foretelling the mischiefs, which they intended or desired to do themselves. This being a sufficient reason, why the same pretence is not now on foot, because it cannot be plausible after so dear experience of the mischief it tends to; I think I am to take advantage of it, in behalf of truth and justice, that no party can pretend the penalty of Moses' law to lie in our ¹⁵⁰ case; supposing, not granting, the papists to be idolaters according to Moses' law. And is not the case the same between the Reformation and the see of Rome? At least it is so, if the Reformation be that which it pretendeth. For then the advantage must needs be so visible, that to allow conversation between the professions that are at such distance, is but to allow the means of bringing all popish recusants to church; when the Reformation is that, which it pretendeth. I grant that it falls out to be otherwise in our experience. For they, that are converted to the see of Rome at this time, are converted by this miscarriage, that they venture themselves into dispute with those which they are not able to deal with. But the miscarriage is accidental,—because of the divisions within ourselves;—arising from hence, that our Reformation owneth not the bounds which it requireth. For by this means the clergy of this Church is in contempt with their flock; and private Christians venture themselves into dispute with recusants (that is, with their priests), without trusting their pastors, or acquainting them with what they do. Which if they ¹⁵¹ did do in due time, such occasions would be opportunities of reducing recusants to church. Besides, to pursue the idolatry of the see of Rome (supposing, not granting, that so it is), what would it be but to draw the sword on both sides to try the quarrel of religion with? And therefore sovereign powers

cannot give God account, that they use the right He gives them over papists their subjects, pursuing them to the penalty of Moses' law as idolaters. There is another reason for the same, that appears now and then in the disputes of them, that maintain the religion of the see of Rome to be idolatry. For they have many times found themselves obliged to grant, that their idolatry is another kind of idolatry than that which is prohibited and punished with death by the law of Moses¹. And if so, it must be another kind of penalty, that belongs to it. Now I suppose St. Paul says true, that "covetousness is idolatry," and that there be those that make "their belly their God." And whosoever understands the difference between the Old and the New Testament, will allow, that St. Hierome understood it; who, in his Commentaries upon the prophets², makes all, that they (the prophets) say against the idolatry of the ten tribes, to belong to the heresies and schisms of Christians, and all heretics and schismatics to be idolaters in the mystical sense of the Old Testament under the New. Which is no more than our Lord says of the Samaritans,—that they "worshipped" they "knew not what;"—at such time when it was well enough known, that the Samaritans were no idolaters, worshipping the only true God of Israel. For certainly, though all superstition be not idolatry, yet all idolatry is superstition; because the chief of superstitions is idolatry. All superstitions stand upon the same ground as idolatry, and aim at the same mark. Man is sensible by that conscience, which the light of nature creates, that one true God is to be worshipped; and that as Himself shall require, not as His creature is willing to allow. And being therefore sensible, that concupiscence allows Him not that service, which conscience requires, they are willing to pay Him in coin of their own stamping; usurping the prerogative of His sovereignty, even in that, whereby they pretend to pay their allegiance. Is there any other source of idolatry but this? For is it not reasonable to think, that

[Colosa.
iii. 5; and
Ephes. v.
6.][Phil. iii.
19.][John iv.
22.]

¹ See e. g. Jeremy Taylor, *Liberty of Prophesying*, sect. xx. § 16, sq.; Works, vol. v. pp. 598, 599.—In H. More's *Mystery of Iniquity*, Pt. i. Bk. i. cc. 5—16, is an elaborate argument on the contrary side; and so also in his *Antidote against Idolatry* (Works, pp. 771, sq.), in the Appendix to which (§ 27,

ibid., p. 816) is an answer to Thorndike by name. See also *Review of Rt. of Ch.* in Chr. St., c. v. § 1, sq.

² See Thorndike's Latin book *De Ratione Fin. Controv. &c.*, c. xiv. pp. 272, 273: and *Epilogue*, Bk. I. Of the *Pr. of Chr. Tr.*, c. xxiii. § 19.

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[John iv.
24.]

men can satisfy themselves, and put off the gods they have made themselves, with that which the jealous God, the true God, will not be served with? And therefore religion teaches, that idolatry is the worship of the devil¹; not only because he teaches it, but because he holds the opinion of a god by corresponding with idolaters in their idolatries. And what is all superstition, but redeeming the service of God "in spirit and truth" by the service of our bodies or estates; which may be done, when the inward man is not subject to God? Such are the invocation of saints, the worshipping of their relics and images, the pilgrimages and indulgences commended or commanded by the see of Rome; and such they may be owned to be by him, that dare not undertake them to be that idolatry that was punishable with death by the law of Moses. And, being such, it will be punishable in all, who for an undue respect to the see of Rome will not have their fellow-subjects freed from superstitious customs; nor obey the laws of their country, that gave them this freedom.¹⁵⁴ But if this be the due reason, for which it is punishable; the same reason will render them punishable, who think they serve God by running into conventicles^m in despite of the laws of God and their country. For what is that but a pretence of paying the debt of religion, which Christianity makes due to God, by worshipping an idol of their own setting up? That is, as I said afore, by worshipping God according to an imagination of their own erecting; and not according to that, which the common Christianity requires. And thus I am come to the conclusion which I intended, without disputing, whether or no the papists by their religion do exercise that idolatry, which is punishable by death in Moses' law. For if [a] capital penalty lie not in our case; if it be agreed upon,

¹ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxvi. § 19.

^m See above, c. i. note g, and note prefixed to True Princ. of Comprehension, p. 307. The Act of 22 Car. II. c. 1, A.D. 1670, rendered frequenting conventicles a punishable offence after May 10 of that year: a conventicle being a meeting, "under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the Church of England, . . at which there shall be five persons or more assembled together over and be-

sides those of the same household, if it be in a house" &c.; otherwise, "where any five persons or more are so assembled:" in both cases adults above 16 being alone reckoned. This law, however, could hardly have passed when Thorne-dike was writing the tract here printed. — 13 and 14 Charles II. (A.D. 1662) c. 1, prohibited *Quaker* conventicles of more than five adults; and 16 Charles II. (A.D. 1664) c. 4, renewing the 35 Eliz. c. 1, prohibited conventicles of all sectaries under heavy penalties, the act to continue for three years.

that they are punishable upon the same ground, for which the other sort of recusants are punishable: then is the way clear before me, to proceed to declare, what penalties both sorts of recusants are to be or may be punished with; supposing our Reformation confined within those bounds, which the faith and the laws of the catholic Church either determine or allow.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

ALL THAT TAKE ARMS AGAINST THE SOVEREIGN TO REFORM RELIGION,
MAY BE LIABLE TO CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

BUT if the papists cannot be liable to capital punishment as idolaters, neither can they be liable to it as limbs of antichrist. The name of antichrist is a challenge of sovereign power, because the name of Christ is so; signifying a prince and a prophet, raised and settled by God's immediate word, which is the sovereign title. For antichrist can signify nothing but a counterfeit Christ, one that pretends to be Christ and is not; our Lord Christ being the Messias, which the fathers and prophets from the beginning expected. But the sovereignty of Christ is declared by Himself to be a mere spiritual sovereignty; which all the Jews, even the apostles before our Lord's death, expected to be a temporal kingdom. And therefore, whosoever it is that groundeth sovereignty upon Christianity, though he be not antichrist for that, yet is he the enemy of all Christian states for it. And so are the subjects of all Christian states, that think themselves free of their allegiance to princes or states excommunicated by the pope. And upon this account, I deny not, that papists may become liable to capital punishment, or to banishment with confiscation; which seems to be of the two the greater punishment. But this, neither common to all papists, nor proper to papists alone. For that this is not the faith of all papists, I need no more than the distance between the secular priests and the Jesuits here to prove. And that it is not proper to

[John
xviii. 36.]
[Matt. xx.
21; Mark
x. 37;
Luke xviii.
34; Acts
i. 6.]

* See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 37—40, with references there: and Just Weights and Measures, c. i. § 2—4.

• Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 18, note i; Just Weights

and Measures, c. iii. § 6; note z, c. xx. § 4, note o: and True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. i. note l: and see also Father Walsh's History of the Irish Remonstrance, and his other tracts.

CHAP. XXVIII. papists alone, I need no more than the Scottish Covenant, and the troubles of the three kingdoms upon it^p, to prove. And, therefore, it is a thing absolutely necessary to make those penalties just which the laws inflict upon the papists, that they distinguish between the cause of religion, common to all, and the cause of them, that make it a point of religion to violate their allegiance to a sovereign deposed by the pope. Nay, it will be necessary, in point of justice, to impose the 157 same penalties upon all of all religions, that may think themselves discharged of their allegiance upon any account of religion whatsoever. It is manifest, that they, who take arms against their sovereign to reform religion, do ground themselves upon the title of religion, and think themselves tied by their Christianity to do it: as they, who take arms against their prince, deposed by the pope, think themselves tied in Christianity to execute his sentence. Those, whom the people follow in reforming religion against the will of their sovereign; those they make as much judges in reforming religion, as the other do the pope. And all, that refuse to secure their sovereign by oath, that they will neither lead nor follow any man in reforming religion without his authority, deserve to be out of the protection of that "sword," which he "weareth not in vain." They fall into the case of the Jews, expecting the Messiah; for when they imagine that He is come, they will think themselves dispensed with by their religion for any bond of allegiance. But Christian princes and states are not wont, so far as I know, to think 158 themselves secured by the oath of Jews. Let this be a difference, which they make between Jews and Christians, to take the oath of their Christian subjects for security of their allegiance: because true Christianity obliges all good Christians to bear allegiance to their sovereigns, not to be dispensed with upon any account of Christianity; notwithstanding we see, that there are those, that count themselves the best Christians, that do think themselves dispensed with in their allegiance upon divers and several accounts of their Christianity. But let this kingdom, having had trial of contrary pretences, think itself bound to declare the same penal-

[Rom.
xiii. 4.]

^p See above in The True Principle of Comprehension, sect. i.

ties against the same crimes ; and able to impose the utmost penalties upon all, that shall refuse to secure their sovereign by oath of their allegiance. And since the allowance, which the law makes in understanding the oath of supremacy¹, evidences, that it may be understood in a sense offensive in point of religion ; let it be thought time to antiquate the old and to enact a new form, that may tie all subjects as subjects, without pretence of offending any religion ; by condemning all religions, that make difficulty to undertake it, for irreligious.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

WHAT PENALTIES THE PROTECTION OF RELIGION REQUIRES.

Now I am to say, how far Christian powers are to punish heretics and schismatics. For it is too late for me to say, that they may punish their conventicles ; having declared the reason why they may do it¹, and being now only to draw the consequence of that reason, how far they are to do or may do it. Here I must first marvel at our Independents ; some of whom have disputed in very good earnest, that it is not lawful for civil powers to impose penalties upon religion². Whereas the world knows, that there never was any such religion in the world as that of Independents, before the planting of New England : and that since, those that framed Independent Congregations there, upon a covenant, whereby they renounce "one catholic Church" and "one baptism for remission of sins³," have not only banished Antinomians, and put Quakers to death⁴, but have imposed a penalty of five shillings a Lord's-day upon all that come not to hear their sermons⁵. For though this penalty is not strictly exacted at present, yet it lies at present : whereby the greater part of his Majesty's subjects in that plantation are not only hin-

¹ See Just Weights and Measures, c. xx. § 1.

² Above in c. xxvii.

³ Scil. John Goodwin, and others : see above Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 18, 20, notes z, a, and Review of it, c. v. § 1, note g.

⁴ See Epilogue, Conclusion, § 13 ; True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. ii.

note d ; Plea of Weakness &c., sect. vi. § 6, notes l, n.

⁵ See Mather's Eccles. Hist. of New England, Bk. vii. cc. iii., iv. pp. 14, sq. : Sewel, Hist. of Quakers, &c. &c. The sharpest persecution the Quakers endured was at the hands of the Independents in New England.

⁶ See Sewel, *ibid.*, Bk. iv. pp. 173, 193.

CHAP. dered from exercising the religion enjoined by the laws of
XXIX. this kingdom, but also their children die unbaptized, themselves live and die without the communion of the eucharist, and in fine their souls are murdered by this tyranny of their misbelieving fellow-subjects. Whether all this by their patent or by usurpation, I leave to those, that may redress it, to judge. But if the protection of religion and of the Church lie in maintaining those rights, which the sovereign power finds the Church possess of, when it undertakes the profession of Christianity; and all the right of the Church (which it hath by the mere consent of those that voluntarily undertake Christianity) resolves into excommunication: then is not the Church protected in the rights of it by Christian powers, unless their laws enable the excommunication of the Church to lay hold on all their subjects. Nor can any inconvenience follow hereupon: because the excommunication of the Church, when it is protected by the civil power, can never proceed but upon causes which the law allows. Now there are two sorts of excommunicate persons, according to the premisses: one are they, that excommunicate themselves; the other they, that are excommunicated by the Church. For though they excommunicate themselves, yet, because they are to be "avoided" by the flock, from whence they depart when they excommunicate themselves, they are to be held as if they were excommunicate by the Church. Now if they, who thus excommunicate themselves, should be under no penalty of civil power for so doing; I would fain know, what that protection, which Christian powers must needs own to the Christianity which themselves profess, can avail it. For if the Church excommunicate those, that perform not the Christianity which they profess; and the excommunicate be free to run into the conventicles of those, that excommunicate themselves: who will care for performing the Christianity which he professeth? Or how shall the Church and religion subsist, when no man need to care for performing the Christianity which he professeth? This is the danger, which is come so near to bring this Church to nothing at this time. On the one side, all papists excommunicate themselves; on the other side, all that run into conventicles. The papists we all know are under penalties grievous enough, if we speak of that

[Titus iii.
10, 11.]

part which doth not decline their allegiance. As for those that do, I have already set the consideration of them aside⁷. And yet there is this apology for the severity of those laws: that they do take off the penalty of perpetual imprisonment, which by the ancient laws of the kingdom, introduced under the papacy, lies against all that are excommunicate^a; and therefore is to lie against all that excommunicate themselves. If there be a reason, why such severe laws should be in force against them; can any, that wears the face of a man, say, why the other sort of recusants should be free from all penalties? I think the world is sensible hereof, in the suspension of the penal laws against the recusants: which under his late Majesty was charged with such violent jealousies^a; and now passes without discontent^b, because there is neither conscience nor shame to levy those penalties upon them and none upon the conventicles^c. In the mean time, atheism, profaneness, blasphemy, apostasy, heresy, shelter themselves under the communion of the Church, which the laws protect; and will needs be of that religion, which they may profess and need not perform. And how long this Church can continue this Church upon these terms, let those judge, whom it concerns. My business is only this; that, if those that excommunicate themselves be under no penalty, those that are excommunicate by the Church need not care, that they are excommunicate. And so the Church is not protected, because the excommunication of the Church is not in force; that is, it is no penalty to be excommunicate, to all that can

⁷ Above in c. xxviii. init.

^a See Gibson's Codex, tit. xlv. c. 6.

^a See e.g. Nalson, vol. i. pp. 569, 570, under the year 1640: and the Petition of Parliament against Recusants, 1 Car. I. 1625, in Rushworth, vol. i. p. 181.

^b The Act against conventicles had expired in 1669, and was not renewed until 1670. See above in c. xxvii. note m.—Charles II. also made several attempts to relax the penal laws by his own authority: e.g. Dec. 26, 1662 (see Echard, Hist. of Engl., vol. iii. pp. 91, 96), by a declaration allowing non-conformists to preach (Baxter, Hist. of his own Life, Pt. ii. p. 430). In March 1672 he "again declared not only his judgment but resolution for leave to non-conformists" to preach, and actually gave "them

licenses; but many Churchmen opposed it and called it schism, . . . and the Parliament were against it; and caused the King to reverse his licenses" (Baxter, *ibid.*, Appendix, numb. viii. p. 121, and see *ibid.*, Pt. iii. p. 99, and Calamy's Life of Baxter, c. xiii. pp. 334—336). The last-named occasion was of course subsequent to Thorndike's tract.—See also above in the note prefixed to the True Princ. of Comprehension, p. 307.

^c The Act mentioned above, c. xxvii. note m, could not have passed when this was written: although passed A.D. 1670. But the present tract, although 1670 is in the title-page of the original edition, was written during 1669: see above in c. xxii., the note respecting Scargill's condemnation at Cambridge.

CHAP. think it is none : and, therefore, unless it draw a penalty of 164
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this world after it, that all may have occasion to avoid the penalty of the world to come, by avoiding the penalty of this world ; the Church is not protected. It may be thought, that the Church is protected nevertheless by the privilege of receiving the tithes of those that decline it, and of the trust it manages, of dispensing Church-goods. And this is indeed part of the penalty, by which they redeem their recusancy, inasmuch as they are put to maintain the religion which they [reject^d] ; Church-goods, though they be public goods, yet being originally affected to the maintenance of that Church which the law protecteth. But that, being a penalty of their own choice, satisfies not the protection of the religion which the kingdom professeth ; until the law make it a disgrace, and a degree of infamy, to stand excommunicate, whether by themselves or by the Church. And seeing all discipline, even that of the clergy, ends in excommunication ; to maintain the revenue, and let go discipline, would be to sell religion for the revenue of the Church. For what would this be but a tempting of the debauched into the service of the Church, when there is no discipline to restrain their debauches ? The complaints of this time shew this to be a persecution, which 165 the sects of the time bring upon the Church. For discipline is released for fear to stir, and for hope to gain sectaries : and the fault is laid upon the clergy, that suffer in the releasing of discipline. But Christian powers are bound, not only not to persecute the Church themselves, but not to suffer sects to persecute it. And to avoid trouble by releasing discipline, may be the way to find it in the means of avoiding it. Certainly, till excommunication (which is the utmost resort of all discipline) be in force, we cannot say we have a Church, but only because we have laws by which it ought to be in force, and because we hope to have laws by which it will be in force. Men may amuse themselves with the instance of the United Provinces^e ; which, they say, flourish in trade and riches by maintaining all religions. But

^d Misprinted "invent" in ed. 1670.

^e See e.g. a book printed in 1685, on occasion of the Duke of Buckingham's pamphlet for toleration, entitled, "Considerations moving to Toleration" &c., p. 5 : and in answer to it, another book printed in 1686, under

the title of "The Vanity of All Pretences for Tolleration, wherein . . . the popular arguments drawn from the practice of the United Netherlands are stated at large and shown to be weak, fallacious, and insufficient."

the question is of religion, not of trade nor riches. If it could be said, that their religion is improved with their trade, the example were considerable. But they, that would restore and improve the religion that flourished in England 166 thirty years ago, must not take up with the base alloy of that, which is seen in the United Provinces. Nor is this a reproach to them, but a truth of God's word; that religion and trade cannot be both at once at the height^f. Besides, there is a religion of the state in the United Provinces: and other religions are tolerated there, because they were in being before the state was settled, or contributed to the settling of it upon expectation of being tolerated in their religions when it should be settled. But when the United Provinces were in danger to break in pieces upon a dispute in religion, in the year 1618; and when the point of religion was decided by the point of that sword, which enabled the States General to give law to the states of Holland^g: let him, that now may see more aprons than cloaks come from their Arminian congregations, tell me, whether the point were decided by a penalty, or not. But let him tell me also, whether it had not been better to have decided it no further than the catholic Church had decided it; than to endanger the Reformation (as now it is in danger, by admitting the Socinians into communion 167 with the Arminians^h), in case the penalty should prove insufficient. As for the discourses, that threaten the transporting of estates upon penalties for religionⁱ; and that would encourage strangers to plant and improve trade here^k: who

^f "A merchant shall hardly keep himself from doing wrong; and an huckster shall not be freed from sin." *Ecclesiasticus*, xxvi. 29.—"As a nail sticketh fast between the joinings of the stones, so doth sin stick close between buying and selling." *Ibid.* xxvii. 2.

^g For the commotions that preceded and followed the synod of Dort, see Burnet, *Hist. of His Own Time*, Bk. ii. vol. i. pp. 548, sq.; and authorities quoted in Mosheim, Bk. iv. Cent. xvii. Sect. ii. Pt. ii. c. 4. § 8, 9.

^h See above, c. xix. note a.

ⁱ e.g. "To purge the nation of this people" (the nonconformists), "may be to purge out more of its vitals than the strength of this state can bear. To suppress those that are reckoned among the chief in trading, and whose com-

merce is so general, may beget a general diffidence and insecurity in traders, and may help to drive away trade itself, and send it to an emulous and encroaching nation" (viz. the Dutch, as it would seem). *Disc. of Rel. of England*, sect. xii. p. 26. See also Owen, *Peace Offering &c.*, pp. 33, 34.—When the Act against conventicles was harshly executed in London in 1669, "many of the trading men of the city began to talk of removing with their stocks over to Holland." Burnet, *Hist. of His Own Time*, Bk. ii. vol. i. p. 471.

^k "An Act for universal toleration ... would bring people that are persecuted in our neighbour nations about their religion, to England," &c. *Considerations &c.*, as in note e above.

CHAP. XXIX. knows not, that the conventicles now usurped were first erected by the late war, and therefore must be presumed to cherish the pretence of it? And how easy is it for those, that enact penalties for religion, to provide, that it be for no man's ease to declare himself an enemy to his country? Nor let any man think, that strangers are affected in religion, as those at home are; who pretend, by religion, to give law to their country. The dissensions on foot among us may well discourage them from planting among us, to improve trade with us. The improving of the Reformation, and the settling of it, would be but an encouragement to them to pass by those frivolous pretences, which carry us to these frantic distances. In the mean time, be it considered, that Independency, which was not *in rerum natura* at the planting of New England, being once settled there by the pretence which their patent or patents gave, became so fruitful, that within twenty years they were able to cut off their prince. For all that love truth must acknowledge, that they were Independents that did that horrible act. And then consider, how you would hope to have it restrained; if St. Paul's precept of "avoiding" sectaries, that excommunicate themselves, be not in force by canonical penalties upon them, that are to "avoid," and by temporal penalties upon them, that are to be "avoided." For, conversing together otherwise than for trade and commerce, experience shews, that infection is unavoidable. And therefore the protection, which the kingdom owes the religion which it professeth, necessarily requires, not only that it be maintained in that plantation, but that it be maintained at the charge of the schismatics in it. For as that is the proper penalty for them to redeem their recusancy with; so it is the justice, which they owe their fellow-subjects, whom they have hitherto kept in that Egyptian bondage. And this reason will extend the same obligation to all other plantations and residences of English; to wit, that, if they be suffered to live in another religion there, account may be taken of them here, that they be not admitted to communion here without renouncing that which they lived in there; that they be not suffered there, without maintaining the religion professed here. It extends also to French, and Dutch, and all foreign Churches, that for trade

[Titus iii.
10, 11.]

or otherwise may be allowed to plant here. For either they hold communion with this Church, or not. If not, it must be penal, both for those of this Church to communicate with them, and for them to admit those of this Church. If so; yet, so long as there is cause of jealousy, there must be provision, that neither Church be declined upon any pretence of such jealousy. I will here add one thing, before I make an end; because it may be demanded, how the law of the land may make excommunication turn to disgrace, and to some degree of infamy. The answer is; let the law of the land provide, that no man may have Christian burial (that is, be buried in consecrate ground and with the office of the Church), but he whom his curate knows to have received the communion within the year; and I believe the most part of them, that excommunicate themselves, will return of
 170 themselves. But then it must be provided, and the bishop must be enabled by law, to discharge that curate of office and benefice, that shall falsify his trust in that point. Now give me leave to demand, whether the Church be under protection, or under persecution; if the curate be not enabled by law to refuse Christian burial to those, of whose salvation he can give no account, because they withdraw themselves from his cure.

CHAP.
XXIX.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE CONDITION OF RECONCILING RECUSANTS.

BUT this is not all; there is one point yet behind. For whensoever the Church excommunicates for notorious and scandalous sin, to restore him that is so excommunicate to communion would be to murder his soul and Christianity, both at once; not supposing some proportionable presumption of amendment in him that is restored. This therefore must hold, as the reason of it holds, in those that excommunicate themselves; in the reconciling of heretics and
 171 schismatics to the Church. And this, the practice of the whole Church of God from the beginning shews them, that are willing to understand the reason of it, before they tread that authority under foot which the common Christianity

CHAP. obliges all to follow. Shew me any heresy or schism ever
XXX. restored to the Church without renouncing the same; and I will confess, that the Church itself turned heretic or schismatic from the same date. Only there is a difference to be put between heresy and schism, and other personal crimes. For I see no reason, why we should not call other crimes personal, in opposition to heresy and schism; because we call it not heresy or schism, till separation be made. A false belief in fundamentals is heresy before God, a resolution to divide the Church is schism before God; both destructive to salvation, before separation be made. But separation is the disease we pretend to cure, without prejudicing the health of God's Church. And therefore, should separation be made to maintain a profession, that simony, for example, or sacrilege, or any other deadly crime, is no sin, the party so formed ¹⁷² would be *ipso facto* a heresy. Personal crimes then must be restored to communion upon presumption of personal conversion from the same. But heresies and schisms, becoming bodies by professing an engagement, may be re-united to the Church in body, renouncing the separation in which they stood engaged. For there is reasonable presumption, that the leaders would not renounce, if they did not repent them of it. As for the people, that only follows and leads not, it is most true and just to maintain, that heresy and schism is a bar to salvation; though we allow hope of salvation to the simple, that follow malicious leaders out of invincible ignorance. It is therefore no blemish to the Church to receive them, as they departed, in company of their leaders. For their salvation is provided for, when the bar is removed. The experience of our case makes this considerable. At his Majesty's return it was enacted, that such usurpers, as were possessed of dead places, should hold, without inquiring whether ordained or not¹. Whereby it might seem to them, that

¹ i.e. whether truly or episcopally ordained or not.—The 12 Charles II. (A.D. 1660) c. 17. § 1. enacts, that, "forasmuch as the confirming of some ecclesiastical persons and ministers in possession, and restoring of others," &c., "will much conduce to the peace and welfare of this Church and kingdom," therefore "every ecclesiastical person or minister, being ordained by any ecclesiastical persons before the 26th December last past, being of the age of

24 years, and having not renounced his ordination, who hath been formerly since Jan. 1, 1642, presented," &c. to "any ecclesiastical benefice" &c., "which hath become void, either by death, voluntary resignation or surrender, or other avoidance," &c., "shall be, and is hereby declared, adjudged, and enacted to have been, be, and continue the real and lawful incumbent, parson, rector, vicar, and possessor of the said ecclesiastical benefices," &c.

173 found no fault with their own title, that the law of the kingdom owned their ordinations to be good. But without cause. CHAP. XXX.
 For, the kingdom being then under that force, which was not as yet removed (a thing manifest enough, the Church not being yet restored), the retaining of them (which I am neither to justify nor to blame) was nothing but the enduring of that force upon part rather than call in question the whole. But hereupon they, that had got this colour for their possession, were not like to disown that ordination, which the law of the land had seemed thus far to own. So the way was paved for the schism on foot by refusing the Act of uniformity, when they were employed without reconciling themselves to the Church by foregoing their schism. Some may think, that I abate more than this for their sakes, when I allow them satisfaction by conference^m; yea, and laws to be changed for their satisfaction, if just cause may appearⁿ. But it is no more than I would allow popish recusants, to justify the penalties, that will be always necessary, because they prefer the authority of the see of Rome (forbidding all
 174 treaty of religion without it) before the common Christianity, requiring reformation in the Christianity of the kingdom. For do not they deserve those penalties, who refuse to assist their country in a work so concerning the common salvation upon just terms? This I am sure, supposing satisfaction, there can be no difficulty in departing from usurped ordinations, and from the schism grounded upon the same. And therefore it is only the solemnity of renouncing, that is abated, and the irregularity, that is pardoned; and that^o, by the example of the first great council in the case of the Meletians: and that, because they renounce not the catholic Church, but acknowledge a national Church; which they cannot acknowledge upon due grounds, but they must acknowledge the catholic Church. And therefore I say not the same of the Independents; who are banded into a profession destructive to it, upon a covenant. For that cove-

^m Above, c. xviii.

ⁿ Above, cc. xviii., xix., xxiii.: and see also c. xvi.

^o See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. x. § 41; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 32, note o: Just Weights and Measures, c. vi. § 9,

note d: and above, c. xiv. notes o, x.

^p See above, Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 7, 16: Just Weights and Measures, c. ix. § 1: Plea of Weakness &c., sect. vi. § 6: and above, c. xxix. note t.

CHAP. nant is it, that must be expressly and formally renounced,
XXX. before they can be capable of communion with the Church ;
 and much more of orders. To grant them communion otherwise, is to make the Church guilty of their schism, which it alloweth : and so, to give popish recusants a just cause to 175
 refuse communion with it. As for other sects, of Antinomians, Anabaptists, and the like ; when any man knows, upon what grounds they excommunicate themselves, and how far they are banded into sects, it will then be no difficult thing to say, how they are to be reconciled, so as their schisms and heresies may be duly renounced. A thing, which must be considered in those, that were Presbyterians before they broke into conventicles. For since that came to pass, who shall warrant, that they have been guided by none but such as have Presbyterian orders ? or that they stand now to that religion, which the Rebellion once made law to the kingdom ? Which if they do not, who shall warrant, or how shall the Church be satisfied, that they do depart from their schisms, with their leaders ? And indeed the Independents, though they be banded into a sect by a covenant, yet, if once they be disbanded, who shall answer for them, that they will follow their leaders ? And all this by virtue of the sacrilege, whereby they all betray the authority of the Church, and with it the Christian faith, to the will of their 176
 people, to debauch them into the same schism with themselves. Which if it be considered, perhaps it will appear, that the "forbearance" which I have granted, can for this reason extend no further than to the persons of those, that deserted their churches rather than submit to the Act of uniformity. Nor shall it trouble me, if my opinion be found to come to no more. For the opinions of private persons are to content themselves with declaring what may be ; leaving them, that are concerned, to judge what is. But as for the way of reconciling those, which shall be converted to the Church ; in that, the apostolical wisdom of the primitive catholic Church is of necessity to take place. For schism or heresy being the bar to the effect of baptism, which is the gift of the Holy Ghost, and the renouncing of it being the removing of that bar ; it follows, that all that shall return

[Rom. xv.
1.]

1 See Letter conc. Present State of Relig., § 1, notes c—f, and § 5.

are to be reconciled by confirmation, as always they were reconciled to the primitive catholic Church. This were easier done, could it be presumed that all would follow their leaders.

177 But if that cannot be presumed, if they must be reconciled one by one, yet is that no more than the work of an episcopal visitation from parish to parish: a thing practised and usual in the Church, after the building of parish-churches, in the worst of those times, in which the canons which I have commended^r took place. But now, as for Quakers, we are no more to reckon them among Christians, than the Gnostics and Manichees of old, than the Mahumetans at present. For they do openly own the dictate of their own spirits to be as much the word of God as the Scriptures^s. And that is as much as serves to create all such new sects, as, acknowledging the Scriptures so far as they please, introduce the pretences of their own revelations where they think fit. For when the private spirit is equalled with God's word, the last dictate, as in men's last wills, must of necessity take place. Only this difference; that, whereas Gnostics, Manichees, Mahumetans, followed or do follow their leaders' spirit, Quakers follow every one their own: and therefore are the more contemptible, and the more reducible, whensoever a course shall be established. Certainly, did

178 they see, that they cannot be reconciled but as so many renegades, they would bethink themselves, before they went on in their madness. Especially, did the law set before them, that this their position is not reconcileable to civil trust; always obliging them to the most desperate acts of treason and violence to their country, that they can imagine their own spirit to dictate. Upon which account it cannot be beyond the merit of their madness, that they are made "*servi pœnæ*"^t by law, as the Roman laws call it; that is, that they are transported to work in the plantations^u. For they, that take

^r Above in c. xxiii. note e.

^s See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxii. § 26, 27, c. xxv. § 9, sq.; Letter conc. Present State of Relig., § 4; Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 12; Just Weights and Measures, c. ix. § 1: and above, c. i.

^t "*Servi pœnæ efficiuntur qui in metallum damnantur, et qui bestiis*

subjiiciuntur." Justinian., Instit., lib. i. tit. xii. § 3.

^u The penalty for joining in a conventicle, by 16 Car. II. c. 4. (A.D. 1664), was, for the third offence, transportation to any foreign plantation, except Virginia or New-England, for seven years. And see above, c. xxvii. note m.

CHAP.
XXX.

upon them to impose upon their country, that the offices of common civility are acts of idolatry^v; what is not to be expected from their madness, who, as the case is, dare pretend, that it ought to be law to all Christians? But since the law is to provide for such people, it is manifest, that it is to provide, that they may not fail of the trust which the Church and kingdom enters into with those whom they receive to communion, but that they must fail of the civil trust of subjects; that is, that their testimonies be not receivable in law, that they be disabled to sue at law, that they be disabled to 179 make wills, or to get by wills, or anything else within the effect of civil trust. And this must also be the penalty of the Leviathan^z, and all that have or may follow him either into apostasy or atheism. For they, who declare themselves at freedom to forswear the Christian faith^y, can never be held by any bond of civil trust. It must also be the penalty of all sects, that may relapse, after they may have been reconciled: at least in that proportion, which that part of the faith, which their respective sect denieth, holds to the whole profession of Christianity; which apostasy and atheism destroy at once. For it may be a question, why the kingdom should be counted a Christian kingdom, if the laws of it set not some mark of infamy or disgrace upon the enemies of Christianity, according to the rate of their enmity; which only the enforcing of excommunication by the laws can do.

^v "When the Lord sent me forth into the world, He forbade me to put off my hat to any." G. Fox, Journal, p. 24. fol. Lond. 1694; and see also *ibid.*, pp. 624—626.—"The putting off the hat" is "the same honour," that is "given to God, .. in relation to the outward ceremony." Sewel, *Hist. of Quakers*, Bk. i. p. 19.—And see

Leslie's *Defence of Snake in the Grass*, Pt. ii. sect. vi. Works, vol. v. pp. 329, sq.

^z That Hobbes was seriously afraid of being prosecuted for his heresies, see above in *Plea of Weakness &c. Disc. and Anaw.*, sect. vi. § 5, note k.

^y See above, cc. vi., xxii.

THE
REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
BETTER THAN THAT OF
THE COUNCIL OF TRENT:
OR
A SHORT RESOLUTION OF THE CONTROVERSIES
BETWEEN
THE CHURCHES OF ENGLAND AND ROME.

REFORMATION OF CHURCH OF ENGLAND*

&c.

CHAPTER I.

[ALL INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE, ALL REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH,
TO BE CONFINED WITHIN THE CONSENT OF THE WHOLE CHURCH.]

THERE are two principles, from which all the sects that divide this Church are derived, and into which they resolve: the one, that there is no condition for the covenant of grace; the other, that there is no such thing as a catholic Church. The one contradicteth the article of our creed, that professeth "one baptism for the remission of sins:" the other, that of "one holy catholic Church." It were easy to shew, that all our divisions are derived from the one or the other of these errors: and that they would vanish, if the true sense of those two articles were received^b. But I had rather say that, which I hope will appear by this discourse:—that all the controversies, which divide between the Reformation and the Church of Rome, would be determined, if we could agree about the due sense of these two points, about the due consequence of these two articles. For having said, that all interpretation of Scrip-

CHAP.
I.
[Belief in our baptismal covenant, and in the catholic Church, the due way to the composing of divisions in the Church.]

* This tract is now first published. The MS. has been preserved, with other MSS. of Thorndike's, in the Chapter Library of Westminster. It was written after the publication of his Latin book *De Jure ac Ratione Finiendi Controversias*, folio, Lond. 1670, which is mentioned several times in it: shortly after the publication of Arnauld and Claude's books respecting the Holy Eucharist (1664—1669; see chapter xxvi.): and shortly before the publication of Sir John Marsham's book on *Egyptian Chronology*, in 1672 (see chapter xv.): in the July of which year also Thorndike died: therefore between the years 1670 and 1672. The writer speaks of himself as an old man, reconsidering his published opinions with a view to amend or retract or re-assert them (see chapter vii. in

fin.).—His principal object in writing the tract appears to have been, to clear himself of the imputation of popery cast upon him (see chapter i.)—The title prefixed to it, the numbering and the headings of the chapters, and the contents, are added by the present Editor. For the words of the title, see chapters v. and xxx. The conclusion and peroration of the tract are wanting; and probably were never written. But the tract itself (so far as it is written) appears to have been prepared for publication, and has been corrected throughout the MS. by Thorndike himself, in whose handwriting it is.

^b See *Due Way of Composing Differences* &c., § 7, 12; *Just Weights and Measures*, c. ix. § 1; *Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties* &c., c. vii.

C H A P. I. ture, all reformation of the Church, is to be confined within those bounds, which the consent of the whole Church determines^c; I am thought to have said this to gratify the Church of Rome^d. And I shall be glad, if I have gratified the Church of Rome in it. For when Solon made his law, that in civil dissensions all should take the one or the other side^e, he thought, that the peaceable would help to reconcile them that were not. And in schism (which is the same in the Church as civil war in a state) it were to be wished, that the parties would think themselves gratified when the truth is said. But I had more modesty than to think, that any of my reasons would move them to abate of their pretences; seeing their advantage by our being divided among ourselves. I was fully satisfied, that the truth is as I have said. And if I cannot gratify ourselves by saying it, because we are not disposed to receive it; certainly all men must believe, that I do think we would find ourselves gratified by that which I propose, if we would receive it. I cannot imagine, how to gratify them more, that cannot tell how to compose their own divisions, than to shew them, what is necessary to the composing of all divisions in the Church; though at the hazard of being thought to gratify our adversaries in shewing it.

[Powers of the visible Church.]

§ 2. I must here suppose that, which I think I have proved, as well in Latin as in English^f;—that the visible Church

^c Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 2—4; Just Weights and Measures, c. iii., &c.; Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. iii.

^d "Heylin in Laud's Life, and Thorndike in three late books" (scil. Due Way of Composing Differences, 12mo. 1660, Just Weights and Measures, 4to. 1662, Discourse of Forbearance or Penalties &c., small 8vo. 1670), "do plainly tell the world, that one business to be done is, to open the door of the Church of England so wide by reconciling means, that the papists might be the easilier brought in to us, and may find nothing to hinder the moderate sort from coming to our assemblies (by the pope's consent), and so all notes of distinction may so far cease." Baxter, Life of Himself ed. by Sylvester, Pt. iii. § 86. p. 38 (written after Nov. 16, 1670). Baxter adds

however, that "some of the papists are as high to the bishops as the bishops are to" the nonconformists, and so "the concord wished by the milder Romanists" could not take effect.

^e "Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων αὐτοῦ νόμων, ἴδιος μὲν μάλιστα καὶ παράδοξος ὁ κελεύων ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν ἐν στάσει μηδετέρας μερίδος γενόμενον. Βούλεται δ', ὡς εἶπε, μὴ ἀπαθῶς μηδ' ἀναισθήτως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ κοινόν, ἐν ἀσφαλεὶ θέμενον τὰ οἰκεία, καὶ τῷ μὴ συναλγεῖν μηδὲ συννοσεῖν τῇ πατρίδι καλλωπιζόμενον" ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν τοῖς τὰ βελτίω καὶ δικαιοτέρα πράττουσι προσθέμενον, συγκινδυνεύειν καὶ βοηθεῖν μάλλον ἢ περιμένειν ἀκινδύνως τὰ τῶν κρατούντων." Plutarch., in Vita Solonis, tom. i. pp. 194, 195. ed. Bryan.

^f Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. vi.—ix.: De Ratione ac Jure Finiendi Controversias Ecclesiæ, cc. vii. pp. 112, sq., folio, Lond. 1670.

consists in the visible communion of the faithful, in the visible offices of God's service: being founded by God upon the sovereign rights, first, of propagating successors to the apostles in the government of the Church, and in the ministries which it requires; secondly, of giving law to this government; thirdly, of excommunicating them that refuse such law; lastly, of disposing goods consecrated to God, under the trust of His Church, to the end for which they were consecrated.

§ 3. Having met with no contradiction^g, I must take all this for proved: and much more; to wit, that, these powers having been canonically exercised by a hierarchy of bishops, according to the extent of their sees (the greatest and first being that of Rome), during the time of six general councils^h, the same measure of canonical power in governing the whole Church is propagated and ought to be maintained in the bishops of the respective sees, the authority whereof is visibly propagated from the apostles. [Canonically exercised up to the sixth general council.]

§ 4. Here, I confess, I involve a point not yet proved, when I own the regular government of the Church as far as the sixth council, and no further than thatⁱ. [But no further.] But I think I have just reason for it. First, because there never was any general council of east and west both, canonically held, after this. For those, which the see of Rome calls the seventh and the eighth, had neither any representatives of the Churches on this side the Alps at them, nor any consent did they yield to receive them^k; and therefore must be thought to have gained that name by the power of the see of Rome usurped afterwards. For as for those, that were held afterwards under the papacy, it is manifest, that they gained that name by the faction that held them. Secondly, because we have in our hands a book called *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Romanæ*^l, containing all the

See the summary of Thorndike's arguments on the subject, in Barrow's tract on the Unity of the Church, Works, vol. i. pp. 306, sq., who argues against them there.

^g Barrow's tract above referred to, was a posthumous publication, and was first published in 1680.

^h See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xviii. § 1, sq.; c. xx. § 17. sq.; and Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. v.

ⁱ See above in The True Principle of Comprehension, sect. iii.; and Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. v.

^k See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 54—56; and True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. iii. notes o, q; and below in note o.

^l See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Church, c. xx. § 25; Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxiii. note e.

CHAP. I. canons which that see held in the force of law at the concluding of it, not long after the sixth council^m, whereas, in the east, those canons which had been enacted at Constantinople to supply the fifth and sixth councils, that had made none, could never obtain of the see of Rome so much as to be tolerated in the west, or in force in the east, as they were nevertheless in spite of their teethⁿ. Here is the fair beginning of a foul schism, still on foot, between the eastern and western Church; which the Reformation, having no interest in, ought to claim the inheritance of both, and to regulate itself by the one as much as by the other, transgressing that canonical trust which the pre-eminences thereof enforce, as the Reformation supposes the see of Rome to have done. And therefore the same is to be said of those few canons^o, which the seventh and eighth general councils (so called by the see of Rome) have enacted. For these are all, that the Greek Church hath^p. And thus it appears what I mean, when I claim, that all interpretation of Scripture as concerning the faith, all reformation of the Church as concerning the government of the Church, is to be confined within the consent of the whole Church, expressed in the decrees of those councils and the canons in force during that time.

CHAPTER II.

[INTEREST OF THE CIVIL POWER IN ECCLESIASTICAL MATTERS.]

[Due ground for national Churches.] BUT I have further set forth the ground of the interest of sovereign power in ecclesiastical matters, out of the apostles; enacting for a ground of Christianity, that it alters nothing in the state of the world, but maintains all in those rights, which they stand possessed of when they become Christians^q.

^m The latest canons in that Codex are of Pope Gregory II., A.D. 721: the date of the (sixth general) council of Constantinople was A.D. 680.

ⁿ For the canons passed in the council (A.D. 692) in Trullo, or Quinisext, so called as supplying canons to the 5th and 6th councils where no canons were passed, see Beveridge, *Synodicon*, vol. i. pp. 150, sq.; and *Epilogue*, Bk. III.

Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 36, 37.

^o Scil. of Nice II. (A.D. 787), canons xxii.: and of Constantinople (A.D. 870), canons xxvii.; see Labb., *Conc.*, tom. vii. pp. 594, sq., and tom. viii. pp. 1126, sq.

^p See *True Princ. of Comprehension*, sect. iii. note o.

^q See references in *Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c.*, c. ix. note j.

For sovereign powers having the right of giving law to their subjects, and Christianity obliging them to all that may advance it (which the making of the faith and law of the Church, law to their subjects, will certainly and evidently do); they not only may but are bound to enact laws, that may advance the Christianity of their subjects. The matter of ecclesiastical law is determined to their hands by the constitution of the Church. For as all ecclesiastical law is to be confined within the canons of the whole Church; whereof all sovereign powers are by their birthright protectors, for their own interest, and the interest of their subjects, as Christians: so are they bound to protect the Church in the office of giving law to the Church, which they had from God when no sovereign was yet Christian, by making the laws which they give to the Church, laws to their subjects; unless they either cross the laws of the whole Church, which all Christian sovereigns are bound to protect before new laws were made; or the interest of their crowns, which Christianity maintains by the doctrine of the apostles. I know Independents and other fanatics acknowledge no national Church^r: that is, no right in their sovereign to give law in religion to his subjects. But thereby they deny one article of the creed, "One catholic Church." I know Presbyterians acknowledge that, which they deny, by virtue of the Old Testament and the right of the synagogue under the same^s. Whereas indeed the Church had no being till the synagogue was dissolved. And therefore the Old Testament cannot be drawn into this consequence, otherwise than as the correspondence between the land of promise and the kingdom of heaven estates the rights of God's ancient people upon the Christian Church. There could be no such thing as a national Church, if there were not first a catholic Church. For who can imagine, that a sovereign can by his laws secure the consciences of his subjects in matter of Christianity common to both, were he not, and they both, first secured by the Church?

^r Just Weights and Measures, Preface to Reader, note a; Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xii.

^s See Prynne's *Sword of Christian Magistracy Supported*, pp. 2—14, 21,

sq., 4to. Lond. 1647: and above, Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. i. § 8, 9. c. ii. § 14; Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xv. § 12, sq.

CHAP.
III.

CHAPTER III.

[OF PENALTIES UPON HERESY.]

[Heresy
as to God,
not punish-
able by
civil pe-
nalty.]

I WILL instance in the punishment of heretics, to shew the force of this principle. The world knows, how much, and how justly, the Reformation is concerned in the burning of heretics: not known in the Church for a thousand years after Christ¹. And yet Servetus and Gentilis were burnt at Geneva and Bern². What can this be imputed to, but that the ground and therefore the measure of civil punishment for heresy was not understood? Let the doctrine of the apostles be understood;—that no man, when he becomes a Christian, gets any right upon the life and estate of another man by his Christianity; nor the sovereign any right to secure the consciences of his subjects, even in matter of Christianity:—and it will easily appear, that the crime of heresy as to God, is not punishable by civil penalty. It is punished sufficiently by the heretics and schismatics themselves, cutting themselves off from the Church³.

[But only
so far as
it is an
offence
against
the civil
power.]

§ 2. As to the commonwealth, it remains punishable by all penalty under death and banishment and confiscation of goods, as the disobeying of the law and the danger of that disobedience to the public may require⁴. And therefore, if the heresy contain any thing prejudicial to civil government (which the doctrine of the apostles shews to be inconsistent with Christianity), it is punishable even to the

¹ The first heretics made liable to death by the state for heresy were, according to Gothofred (in Cod. Theodos., lib. xvi. tit. 5, quoted by Bingham, XVI. vi. 6), the Encratites, Manichees, and one or two other insignificant sects, by a law of Theodosius, A.D. 382; which however was rarely put into execution. Compare, however, Ayliffe's Parergon, tit. Heresy, who alleges Justinian to be the first who punished heresy with death. And see Jer. Taylor, Lib. of Proph., sect. xiv. § 6, sq. Works, vol. v. pp. 528, 529; and Thorndike's own Latin book, De Rat. Fin. Controv., c. xxxiv. pp. 679—684. Priscillian and his adherents are usually cited as the earliest instance of heretics put to death by the civil power, scil. A.D. 385 (Mo-

sheim, Bk. II. Cent. iv. Pt. ii. c. v. § 21). The first heretics *burned* for heresy seem to be certain Paulician Albigenses about A.D. 1022 (Maitland's Facts and Documents, Mosheim, Bk. III. Cent. xi. Pt. ii. c. v. § 3, Gieseler, 3rd Period, Div. ii. Pt. iii. § 46, note 3, Hardwick's Hist. of Medieval Ch., Period ii. c. vii. p. 203): and that by the instrumentality of the Church, whereas S. Ambrose, S. Martin, and others, protested loudly against putting to death Priscillian. *One* bishop protested in 1022 (Hardwick, *ibid.*, p. 304, note 2).

² See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxvii. init.

³ See *ibid.*, c. xxix.

⁴ See *ibid.*, cc. xxvii.—xxix.

rate of high treason ; as civil power finds it dangerous to the state⁷. This is the obligation, that all Christian powers have, to enact the religion which they profess (being first obliged only to that which the catholic Church professeth), by rewards and penalties, valuable to recal heretics and schismatics. Neither are the blasphemies of Jews, Turks, and heretics, otherwise punishable, than as they affront the protection they have from Christian powers.

CHAP.
III.

CHAPTER IV.

[HOW FAR HERESY AND SCHISM ARE PREJUDICIAL TO SALVATION.]

ALL this serves not my turn, till we observe, that the condition of the gospel is presupposed to the state and being of the Church. The laws of the Church, on the contrary, are all of them effects and productions of the authority of it^a. Whence it follows, that there is nothing necessary to be believed for the salvation of all Christians, but the condition of the covenant of grace and that which belongs to it. The reason is evident ; supposing, that whosoever takes the yoke of Christ upon him by being baptized into the catholic Church, is *ipso facto* in the state of grace. For who dare say, that the terms of salvation can be any other now, than those that first were preached by our Lord and His apostles ? As for the laws of the Church, and the decrees thereof in matter of faith, being productions of the authority vested in the successors of the apostles, it is not possible, that any man should be damned for not believing them to be true or justly and duly enacted, further than they appear to be so by the Scriptures expounded within the consent of the whole Church ; such as I conceive all to be, that are enacted for heresies and schisms during the time prefixed, of the six general councils^b. But they may be justly damned for breaking the unity of the Church, and refusing communion, for any thing enacted

[What heresy and schism are prejudicial to salvation.]

⁷ See *ibid.*, c. xxvii. ; True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. xi. ; Plea of Weakness &c., sect. vi.

^a See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. iv. § 4, 5 ; and Just Weights

and Measures, c. vi. § 3.

^b See True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. iii. ; and Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties, c. v.

CHAP.
IV.

during that time. Heresy therefore is the dividing of the Church upon denying something necessary to the salvation of all to be believed; schism upon refusing some law of the Church. For I consider not here that heresy, which a man believes and professes not.

[The schism between the Greek and Latin Church, and that occasioned by the Reformation, need not be so.]

§ 2. Whereupon I infer, that there may be a schism in the Church upon such terms, that salvation may be had upon both sides: such as hath been for these divers hundred years between the Greek and Latin Church^b. For though no war can be just on both sides, yet it is commonly unjust on both sides. And so schism, being a civil war in the Church, (though, as it signifies the crime of dividing the Church, it is always mortal, yet) because it may signify only the state of division, may endure the salvation of them that cause it not. And such would I have that schism to be, which the Reformation hath occasioned: the cause whereof must resolve into all the controversies, in which it protests against the see of Rome. And therefore it must be judged, not only by the truth, but by the weight of all those causes:—how near the abuses, that we protest against, concern the condition of salvation, or the means to attain it by the office [of the] Church. For nobody can fail of salvation but by his own act, either refusing the condition which the gospel tenders, or undertaking but not performing it. The laws of the Church, being the means to perform it, hinder not salvation, if they hinder not the performance of it; but would further it, if they did further the performance of it, as they should do.

CHAPTER V.

[THE INTENT OF THE PRESENT DISCOURSE.]

[Better means of salvation by living according to the

THE intent of this discourse is to bring this to trial, by a short resolution of those controversies, out of that which I have said already^c (which I remit the reader to), and what I shall say further here. For that which hath been said, and

^b See Just Weights and Measures, c. vi. § 10; Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. vi.

^c Scil. in the Epilogue, and in Just Weights and Measures.

not contradicted, so far as I know, I shall take for granted. By this trial I hope to make it appear, that, notwithstanding the persecution this Church endures, as well from the sects as from the mass (not being able to refuse Christian burial to those that receive not the communion in it^d), yet there is better means of salvation by living according to it, than by the mass;—for to the sectaries I can allow none:—but, were the civil and ecclesiastical power resolved to perfect the reformation begun according to the grounds here laid, that then it would be able to reduce both the mass and the sects into the communion of it.

C H A P.
V.
Church of
England,
than by
any other
religious
body.]

CHAPTER VI.

[DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHURCH AND
STATE ARISING FROM VARIETY OF OPINIONS IN RELIGION.]

In the mean time I am to meet with a prejudice, which all worldlings will conceive;—that neither reason of state nor reason of conscience can oblige sovereign powers to take a course, the effect and success whereof no age of the Church since the sixth council can shew:—the difficulty being so great by variety of opinions, that, were they resolved to regulate their reformation by the catholic Church, it were not possible to unite in the point of reformation which the state of this time would require. Whereas the pope, they know, has bowels: and will receive them upon such terms for their rights as he can have, if he see he cannot have those he would have; and, in fine, will secure them against their subjects' violence, if they will give him up their consciences.

§ 2. But it is to me as strange, that any sovereign, professing the Reformation, should think there can be any policy for him but in perfecting that which he professeth; as for any, professing Christianity, but in performing that which he professeth. For if he think his subjects to be as they profess, it

[Variety of
opinions
among
those of
the Re-
formation,]

[no reason
against
establish-
ing it by
the civil
law,]

^d See Just Weights and Measures, Weakness &c. Discussed and Answered, sect. v. § 13; Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxv.

CHAP. VI. is not possible he should think, that they will not do their best for a sovereign, whom they think to be as themselves. If they think him not so, he knows they profess, that their Christianity ties them to obey him. But is it possible for him, that believes not Christianity, to believe that his subjects will be tied by it? As for the bond of conscience; as there is no reason why Christians find not that comfort in their profession which it preacheth, but because they live not up to it, so can there be no reason why Christian powers find not that satisfaction in their subjects, professing the Reformation, but because they make them not so good Christians, as, if the Reformation were perfected, they might be made.

[except where the state of a government will be endangered thereby.]

§ 3. One exception there is to the establishing of the Reformation by civil law; which, being according to God's word, would advance Christianity:—when the state of a government will be endangered by enacting that, which Christianity requireth. Whether this be our case or not, God and the world must judge. Nothing else can secure any sovereign either in point of state or of conscience.

[Danger to civil government from the see of Rome.]

§ 4. As for the see of Rome; I shall hope to shew, that there be two means*, whereby the usurpations thereof prevailed, upon the emperors first, and by consequence upon other princes and states;—the not understanding their own rights, and holding to the bounds of them; and their own sacrilegious usurpations upon the office of the Church and the goods of it:—and then leave it to them to consider, how tractable soever the see of Rome may be during the time of division, how tractable it will be, prevailing by conquest upon the claim and title now on foot, and not by transaction; every sovereignty insisting upon their own claims, and the claims of their subjects, especially the clergy.

CHAPTER VII.

[THE POPE NOT ANTICHRIST NOR THE PAPISTS NECESSARILY IDOLATERS.]

[The plea of the pope being anti-

BUT before I go further, I am to remove one difficulty out of the way; which is so great, that I am not to go a foot

* See the last chapter of this tract.

further unless I can remove it. For if the pope be antichrist and the papists idolaters^f, in vain is it to talk of any terms of reformation which they can be obliged to embrace. And if I were of that opinion, I would never allege any thing else to any papist, why he ought to turn protestant; never propose any other argument to any missionary against their seducing good Christians his Majesty's subjects. But because I think it is alleged rather by way of hyperbole, to inflame the abuses and usurpations of the see of Rome as high as can be, which are of themselves odious enough; I reckon it a part of my discharge to him, that examines why I seek a plea for the Reformation, that justifies not itself till the Reformation itself be reformed, to refute it. For I may very well be thought to prevaricate, if, having so short and so peremptory a plea to allege, as that the pope is antichrist and the papists idolaters, which gives the Reformation a conquest entire, I should introduce a composition instead of a victory. But so it is, that, if there be any faith which God accepts for righteousness, if there be any Church founded by God in the visible communion of His service, were the pope a thousand times antichrist and the papists idolaters, we should be as much to seek for the truth of those controversies, in which we stand divided; and, by consequence, for the point of reformation, which stands upon that truth. And, therefore, let me only be excused, when I seek to void this point in the first place: because, if it do not serve, necessity ought to make my plea acceptable, though truth did not.

§ 2. I must truly say, it is the only point of consequence [The only point of consequence, to which exception has been taken, in the writer's previous works.] in which exception hath been made to my writings^g: and I count myself so much the more engaged to speak to it before I die^h, that no man may think I have changed my opinion, because I keep silence. For I confess, that if any thing come to my mind, that I could wish I had not said, I write this

^f See Just Weights and Measures, cc. i. § 2—4, ii. § 1—4, and references in the notes there.

^g See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxvii. note l.—More's Antidote to Idolatry was published in 1669; and alludes to Thorndike, Pref. § 2. The Appendix to the Antidote, which names him, appeared first in

1673.—Stillington's Disc. concerning the Idolatry of the Ch. of Rome, 2nd edit. Lond. 1672, may possibly allude to Thorndike, Pref. sign. B. 4.

^h Thorndike died in July 1672 at an advanced age. This tract was written between 1670 and the time of his death.

CHAP.
VII.

christ and
the papists
idolaters,
why here
answered.]

CHAP. VII. the rather that I may have opportunity to recal it, in case it seem worth the while.

CHAPTER VIII.

[WHAT THE SCRIPTURES CONTAIN RESPECTING ANTICHRIST.]

[Texts of our Lord respecting antichrist.] If we go no further than those scriptures, wherein our Lord and His apostles have named or deciphered antichrist, perhaps we may conclude our enquiry within a narrow compass.

[Matt. xxiv. 24, 25.] § 2. "There shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders, insomuch that, if it were possible, they would deceive the very elect; behold I have told you before:"—saith our Lord, Matt. xxiv. 24, 25: having said just afore,—“Then if a man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ or there, believe it not.” For how could He have said plainer, what the name of antichrist importeth, than by forbidding to believe any man that shall say, “Here is Christ or there?” So antichrist is nothing but a false Christ; a pretended Christ, that sets up himself for the true Christ, in opposition to Him Whom we know to be the true Christ¹.

[Luké xxi. 8.] § 3. In St. Luke it is much more evident, xxi. 8:—“Take heed that ye be not deceived; for many shall come in My name, saying, I am Christ, and the time draweth near; therefore go ye not after them.” Here, it is plain, He forbiddeth them to follow such as should pretend to be the Christ.

[John v. 43.] § 4. For my part, I think He means the same², John v. 43: when He saith,—“I am come in My Father's name, and ye receive Me not; if another come in his own name, him will ye receive.” For it is hard to say, that any man shall pretend to be antichrist, and not pretend to be sent of God, the Father of our Lord Christ: because, if Christ come from

¹ See Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 30—52: Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxiii.; Conclusion, § 37: Just Weights and Measures, c. i. § 4: Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxviii.

² “Propria auctoritate” is the whole of Grotius's explanation (ad loc.), instancing Barchochab. So also in his Appendix De Antichristo, Op. tom. iii. p. 490.

God, and antichrist pretend to be Christ, he must pretend to come from God; that is, he must come in God's name. But the difficulty ceases, if we understand our Lord to say, that "He came in His Father's name," because He pretends to be the same God that His Father is; and that antichrist shall "come in his own name," not because he shall pretend to be Christ and yet not to be sent by God, but because, being mere man, he shall pretend to be Christ, the true Christ being the true God. For though our Lord Christ declared His Godhead but sparingly before His ascension and the commission which He gave His apostles, Matt. xxviii. 18—20; yet did He admit the worship due to the only true God, of His own true disciples: as even the Socinians maintain against their own sectaries*. Perhaps the answer will be clearer, if we say, that antichrist shall "come in his own name," because he comes not in the name of our Lord Christ. For since our Lord Christ is "come in His Father's name," thenceforth, whosoever comes in God's name, must come in His name. And therefore antichrist, how much soever he pretend to come in God's name, yet indeed "comes in his own name;" because he comes not in the name of our Lord Jesus, Who is indeed the Christ. And this how well it agrees with the pope, it is plain enough.

§ 5. In like manner, when our Lord saith (John x. 8), "All [John x 8] that ever came before Me are thieves and robbers;" His intent is not to touch His forerunners the prophets, but those, that had seemed to challenge the name of that Christ, Whom the Jews then expected¹. For that such there had been, is beyond dispute, by that which we read, Acts v. 36, 37.

§ 6. This being all that our Lord had said of antichrist: [Texts of the apostles respecting antichrist.] that which the apostles may seem to have expressed of him, I [claim] to be no more than that which we read in St. John's Epistles, 1. iv. 3;—"Every spirit, that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God; and this is

* See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xiv. § 3, 4.

¹ "Theudas, Judas Gaulonites, et si qui his similes impostores." Grot. ad loc.

"mean," apparently, but illegible in MS.—See Grot. ad loc.: "Prophetia ejus qui in ipsa prophetia Jesum pro

Christo non agnoscit, quia eam non adfert in Nomine Jesu, non est Θεός-πνεύματος; quin contra talis prophetia viam struit magno isti et eximio antichristo: in Illo εν σαρκι δηλωθέντι causa est cur illi impostores negent Jesum Nazarenum esse Christum."

CHAP. VIII. that spirit of antichrist, whereof you have heard that it should come, and even now already is [it] in the world:"—that is, those that pretend to the Spirit, not acknowledging our Lord Jesus come in the flesh to be the Christ, they speak by the same spirit that sendeth and shall send false Christs. For so, [Epist.] 2. [v.] 7:—"For many deceivers are entered into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh; this is a deceiver and an antichrist." An antichrist, if he pretend himself to be the Christ, as he pretends that Jesus, Who is come in the flesh, is not: a deceiver, by the spirit of antichrist, if he pretend not that^a.

[Antichrist is a pretended Christ.]

§ 7. This is all, that I conceive to be expressly said by our Lord and His apostles of antichrist, and of the pretence which that name importeth. The rest seems to be under dispute, whether it concern antichrist or not. And all this seems to centre in this notion: that antichrist, and the pretence that name importeth, can be imputed to none but him, that pretendeth to be that which Christ is, instead of the true Christ, our Lord Jesus. An example we have in the name of antipope; which is a name of disgrace, signifying, in such times when there was a true pope and a false pope, him, that, in the opinion of him that so spake, was the false pope.

CHAPTER IX.

[OF THE SCRIPTURES APPLIED BY THE FATHERS TO ANTICHRIST.]

[The fathers not of authority in the interpretation of prophecy.]
[2 Thessa. ii. 8.]

THERE is another sort of scriptures, by which the fathers understand^o, that antichrist shall come in the end of the world, and seduce the Jews to take him for the true God, till Christ come to judgment and "destroy him with the breath of His mouth." The authority of the fathers lies in testifying the tradition of faith, always held by the Church,

^a "Sensus est, 'Qui talia docet, is est impostor; quod si et semet dicat Messiam aut populi vindicem, is est antichristus.'" Grot., ad Joh. Epist. 2. v. 7.

^o Scil. S. Irenæus, Adv. Hær., lib. v. cc. 25, 30 (pp. 438, 439, 450. ed.

Grabe); S. Cyril. Hieroa., Catech. xv. § 7 (Op. pp. 212, 213); S. Hieron., Comment. in Dan., Op. tom. iii. pp. 1128, 1132; and other fathers, cited by Feuardentius, ad Irenæum, lib. v. c. 30.—See Just Weights and Measures, c. xxi. § 15.

and of the canons and customs of the Church; not in the sense of prophecies. And therefore I make no bones not to follow them, in a point which must be determined by the true interpretation of Scripture: though I shall not determine against them, but leave the reader to his own judgment^p.

§ 2. Daniel prophesies, that the persecution of Antiochus shall continue two thousand three hundred days, viii. 4; counting from the profaning of the temple at Antiochus his first coming, to the dedicating of it again by Judas Maccabæus: that the daily sacrifice should cease for three years and a half, vii. 25, xii. 7; or, more precisely, for a thousand two hundred and ninety days: that Antiochus should perish at the end of a thousand three hundred and thirty-five days, xii. 8. When St. John in the Apocalypse prophesies three years and a half for the treading down of the holy city and the prophesying of the two witnesses, xi. 3; that the woman shall lie hid in the wilderness so long, xii. 14; that the beast shall persecute so long, xiii. 5: there is no doubt, but that he signifies the purpose of God to bring the like persecution upon the Church, as Antiochus had done upon the synagogue. Whereupon they conclude, that antichrist shall rule three years and a half^q. And St. Hierome upon Dan. viii. 14, and elsewhere, says, that the Christians understand those texts of Antiochus in the type, of antichrist in the truth^r. But the "desolation" is twice prophesied by Daniel: first, under Antiochus, viii. 13; then, at the destruction of Jerusalem, ix. 26^s; as our Lord expounds it, Mark xiii. 14, Luke xxi. 20. I know indeed that there is a singular opinion^t, that both are meant, first in the type of Antiochus, then in the truth of the fall of the temple and city. But besides that no chronology will ever allow this opinion: if it be considered, that the dif-

[Daniel's prophecy is of Antiochus Epiphanes and of the Romans, not of antichrist.]

^p See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxii.

^q See note o, and Hammond as quoted below in § 4, note x.

^r "Hunc locum plerique nostrorum ad antichristum referunt; et quod sub Antiocho in typo factum est, sub illo in veritate dicunt esse complendum." S. Hieron., Ad Dan. viii. 14; Op. tom. iii. p. 1106: and see Id., *ibid.*, ad c. xi. pp. 1127, sq. See also Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxiii. § 19, notes s, t.

^s So Grotius on the two passages, Dan. viii. 13, ix. 26.

^t The reference has not been traced. Both Pererius and A Lapide (*ad loc.*) mention, and refute, an interpretation of Dan. ix. 26, referring it to Antiochus. See also Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xiii. § 48—49.—Sir Isaac Newton (*Observ. on Daniel*, c. ix. pp. 123, 124), after Thorndike's time, interpreted both passages not of Antiochus but of the Romans.

CHAP. IX. fference of the type and the truth lies only between the Law and the gospel (as I have shewed at large in my Latin book^a) ; it will easily appear, that our Lord is rejected, and the truth of Christianity overthrown, by this extravagance. Now at the destruction of Jerusalem our Lord prophesies of antichrist or antichrists, and He prophesies of the Romans: as it appears, when the words of our Lord ("When you see the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place," Matt. xxiv. 15, Mark xiii. 14,) are rendered by St. Luke, xxi. 20,—"When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies." And therefore it is not antichrist, but the Romans, that holds correspondence with Antiochus.

[Of whom St. John speaks, 1 Epist. ii. 18.]

§ 3. Only there is this to say, that the prophecy of our Lord of the destruction of Jerusalem in the type, is a prophecy of the destruction of the world in the truth: which argues, that, as there did come antichrist or antichrists before the destruction of Jerusalem, so a great antichrist shall come before the destruction of the world. And so shall St. John be fulfilled, 1. ii. 18:—"Little children, it is the last time; and as ye have heard that antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists; whereby ye know that it is the last time." If this were written before the destruction of Jerusalem, it signifies the same that our Lord signifies. If afore the last war of the Jews with Adrian, it must be meant of Ben Cozba, that was antichrist^b; and others there might be, whom we know not. But, however, if in "the last times" to Jerusalem, then why not in "the last times" to the world?

[Whether Jerusalem shall be restored in the last times, only probable.]

§ 4. Certainly St. Paul, Rom. xi. 25, 26, 31, says, that "blindness is happened in part to the Jews, till the fulness of the Gentiles be come in; and so all Israel shall be saved:" and, "that they through your mercy may obtain mercy." And our Lord, Luke xxi. 24;—"Jerusalem shall be trodden

^a De Ratione Finiendi Controversias, fol. Lond. 1670, cc. ii.—iv. pp. 14—76 sq.

^b For Barchochab, see Grotius, Comment. de Antichristo, ad Joan. Epist. 2, Op. tom. iii. p. 463, who has there collected the authorities respecting him. See also Epilogue, Conclusion, § 38, note 1; and Selden, De Synod. Vet. Ebraeor., lib. ii. c. 7. § 6, Op. tom. i. p. 1349. His name was taken from

Numb. xxiv. 17, and means "Son of the Star;" but the Jews by a play on the word (like Beelzebub, Beelzebub, Jerubbaal, Jerubbeseth, &c.) called him Barchozibab, or Ben Cozba, i. e. Son of Falsehood: see Selden, De Baal Zebub, Syntagma ii. c. vi. Op. tom. ii. p. 376; and Lightfoot, Parergon concerning the Fall of Jerusalem, sect. i., v., Works, vol. i. pp. 362, 366.

down of the Gentiles, till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." But he that says "until," says not, that it shall not be trodden down, after that "the times of the Gentiles" shall "be fulfilled." So it is only probable, that the Jews shall be converted, and Jerusalem restored, after those times. Nay, it is contradicted, as I suppose, by that doctor, to whom this Church is so much obliged, H. Hammond*. And therefore I will leave it under judgment between him and the fathers.

§ 5. For if we make St. Paul's words, 2 Thess. ii. 8,—**"Whom God shall consume with the spirit of His mouth, and destroy with the brightness of His presence",**"—to be meant of anti-christ: we must grant, that antichrist shall seduce the Jews to believe him to be the true God, which rejected Christ because they would not believe Him to be the true God; a thing very strange, though to God not impossible, that he shall subdue the Christians by them, and in fine, being destroyed by the appearance of Christ coming to judgment, make way for the conversion of the Jews.

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[St. Paul, in 2 Thess. ii. 8, probably does not speak of anti-christ.]

§ 6. As for the thousand years' reign, in confidence [The millenariae.]

* "Now for the word *ἄχρι*, 'until,' where it is said, 'Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until these seasons of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled,' the explaining of that will be the further clearing of the whole matter. The 'treading down of Jerusalem' by the Gentiles is not particularly their victory over it by Titus, but their consequent possessing of it, even till Adrian's rebuilding a part of it, and calling it by his own name *Ælia*, and inhabiting it with Gentiles, which seems to be described Rev. xi. 2, by the 'outer court of the temple being given to the Gentiles,' and so cast out of the measuring. Upon the doing of this it followed, that as all the Jews (remaining such in opposition to the Christians) were utterly banish'd the city, and a swine's head set at the gates, to banish even their eyes from it, so the believing Christian Jews returned thither again from their dispersions, and inhabited it again, and joined, and made one congregation, one Church, with the Gentiles, which had there by that time received the faith also, and till then continued a distinct Church from the Jews. . . . By which it appears, how punctually this prediction, in our notion, was fulfilled, that Jerusalem should be inhabited by the Gentiles, all the Jews in a manner excluded,

till the time that the Gospel had been freely preached unto the Gentiles, and by them, in some eminent manner, been received, and then it should be reinhabited with Jews again, viz. the Christian Jews, who, being wrought on by emulation of the Gentiles, were now many of them brought to receive the faith." Hammond, on S. Luke xxi. 24.—Hammond's paraphrase of Rev. xi. 2, is as follows:—"But I was appointed to leave or cast out, that is, not thus to measure or inclose, the court of the Gentiles, called the outer court, noting that the Roman emperor should take that in, and build upon it and about it a new city, not onely for Jews but Gentiles to live in; and so that Jerusalem, formerly called the faithful and holy city, should now, being thus rebuilt, be called by another name, and profaned with idol-worship, a temple being erected to Jupiter upon Mount Sion, and so continue for the same proportion of time (that is, three years and a half) that it had in Daniel's prophecy been profaned by Antiochus (Dan. vii. 25)."

† See Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 38—46.—Both Grotius and Hammond interpret the verse of Simon Magus; but the latter also of the Gnostics as types of the great anti-christ.

CHAP. whereof Venner rose^a (according to a catechism, which I
 IX. saw printed by them long before, that power belongs to the
 godly^a; only that their guardians [the] Stuarts^b would not
 make them livery of it, and therefore they were to rise); I
 will say no more, than I have said in my Latin book^c, and
 in my Review to the Right of the Church^d:—that St. John
 declares plainly against the six thousand years, because his
 [Apoc. xx. 2—7.] “thousand” fits neither the Hebrew nor Greek account of
 the age of the world, then on foot. For some of late^e would
 have had the world to have stood just four thousand years,
 when our Lord came. But they cannot say, that St. John’s
 “thousand years” began, when a thousand years after Christ’s
 coming were spent: so that the six thousand should come
 out, when St. John’s “thousand years” should end. And the
 fathers^f, [that expected the coming of Christ to judgment
 when five thousand five hundred and nine years (which the
 Greek Bibles^g make at the coming of our Lord) should be
 made up six thousand, are long since^h defeated by the event.

CHAPTER X.

[THESE SCRIPTURES CONCERN NOT THE POPE.]

[Erroneous suppositions used to prove the pope antichrist by these scriptures.] BUT if these scriptures concern not antichrist, they concern not the pope; and the pope will never prove antichrist by those scriptures, which speak of neither of both. Two suppositions they use^h to prove the pope antichrist by these

^a Thorndike writes the word “rise.” See, for Venner, *Just Weights and Measures*, c. xxii. § 10, note t.

^b Baillie (*Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time*, c. iv. p. 86, c. xi. pp. 224, sq. Lond. 1646) cites from Archer, Burrows, and other Anabaptists, abundant proof of this being their doctrine. One of them ventured to fix upon A.D. 1650, or at the furthest 1695, as the first year of the earthly millennium. See also Baillie’s *Second Part of the Dissuasive*, c. iii. pp. 79, 80.

^c “Guardians and Stuarts,” apparently, in the MS.: possibly, “Guardians and stewards.”

^d *De Rat. Fin. Controv. &c.*, c. xv. pp. 280, sq.

^e c. v. § 47—50.

^f So e.g. Ussher, *Annales Veteris Testamenti*: see the *Monitum Lectori*

prefixed to the work, *Works*, vol. viii. p. 7.—Scaliger (*De Emend. Temp.*, lib. vi. p. 515) fixes on A.M. 3948, for the Birth of Christ.

^g See *Epilogue*, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxiii. § 32; and *Mede*, *Works*, Bk. v. c. iii. § 2. p. 1092.

^h See Hales, *Chronology*, vol. i. p. 3: from Scaliger.

ⁱ Most of the arguments here used to refute these “suppositions,” are taken from Grotius, *De Antichristo* (Op. tom. iii. p. 495); who alleges there, that “quod vult Borborita, dies propheticæ pro annis intelligi, mera est σκοταδία;” and so elsewhere also. On the other hand Mede has a special argument to “demonstrate,” that “days are put for years, and months for months of years,” and that the “antichristian or apostatical times are more than three

scriptures, which, if they prove false, I will spend never a CHAP. word upon the rest. The one, that the three years and a X. half, which four several times are prophesied in the Apo- [Apoc. xi. 2, 3; xii. 6; xiii. 5.] calypse for the persecution of the Church, signify so many years as there are days in three years and a half. For otherwise it is acknowledged, that there is not time for the pope to rule the beast which shall persecute. The second, that all of them concern the same persecutions, times, and persons.

§ 2. The ground upon which they presume that "days" signify "years" in that prophecy, is taken from the sentence of God upon the Israelites¹; condemning them to travail forty years in the wilderness, because they had scorned the land of promise, which their spies had been forty days in surveying, Numb. xiv. 34. And again Ezekiel¹ is commanded by God to lie three hundred and ninety days upon his left side, to signify the iniquity of Israel, which God had borne for so many years; and forty days on his right side, to signify the iniquity of Judah, which God had borne for so many years: a day for a year, Ezek. iv. 6. And therefore "days" are prophetic years, and three years and a half are to signify so many years as there are days in three years and a half. But was not Daniel a prophet? And does not Daniel prophesy of a thousand two hundred and ninety days, of a thousand three hundred and thirty-five days, of two thousand three hundred days, and, in fine, of three years and a half? And are those days any more than days, those years any more than years, in the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, according to several terms of it^k? How then are days prophetic years? but that men do not take notice, that they make themselves prophets, when they bid us take a day for a year where they

[Days do not necessarily signify years in the prophets.]

[Dan. vii. 25; viii. 14; xii. 7, 11, 12.]

years and a half" (Works, Bk. iii. Remains on Passages of Apocalypse, c. ix. pp. 742, sq.): and again (Revelatio Christi sive de Numeris Danielis, ibid., pp. 882, sq.), in answer to Broughton and Junius. More also in his Mystery of Godliness, Bk. v. c. 15 (Works, pp. 119, sq. ed. 1708—the book was first publ. in 1660), has a chapter in defence of Mede and against Grotius on this subject. Thorndike refers to Mede and More. Both "suppositions" may be seen at length in More's "Synopsis Prophetica or Second Part of the Enquiry into the Mystery of Iniquity, containing a compendious prospect into

those Prophecies of the Holy Scripture wherein the reign of Antichrist, or the notorious lapse or degeneracy of the Church in all those points comprised in the Idea of Antichristianism, is prefigured or foretold," Works, pp. 517, sq. (first published in 1664).

¹ "We plainly see that God Himself has de facto in several places of the Scripture made days the compendious representatives of years. As Numb. xiv. 34, . . . and Ezek. iv. 6." More, as in last note, p. 120.

^j See last note.

^k See Grotius, ad Dan. viii. 13: and De Antichristo as in note h above.

C H A P. X. please? Surely, when God says, that the Israelites travailed forty years in the wilderness, as their spies viewed the land in forty days; that Ezekiel was to lie three hundred and ninety days on his left side, forty days on his right side, because Israel had been three hundred and ninety years in rebellion, Judah forty: it may be said, that days signify years, because God declares the thing, not because the words would so signify, did not God declare it. When man says, a thousand two hundred and sixty days in the Apocalypse signify so many years, God not declaring it; he makes himself either God, or God's prophet. And, therefore, seeing it is manifest, that God, when He prophesied three years of persecution for the Church, declared that He intended it according to the times of the synagogue under Antiochus; it is necessary to take both for three years and a half, as the word of God signifies, not for so many years as three years and a half contain days, which man's fancy imagines.

CHAPTER XI.

[OF THE TRUE INTENT OF THESE SCRIPTURES.]

[Exposition of the visions in the Apocalypse, cc. v. —xiv., as referring to vengeance upon the persecutors of Christianity, first in the literal Jerusalem, and then throughout the whole empire.]

THIS argument is negative, destroying the wrong sense; that which follows is positive, opening the true intent of the whole prophecy;—to foretel the vengeance which God determined to execute upon the persecutors of Christianity, first in Jewry, and afterwards over the whole empire. At the opening of the fifth seal, the souls of martyrs, complaining that this vengeance is delayed, are clothed in white robes, and bid to expect the accomplishment of their number: [Apoc. vi.] 9, 11. In the seventh chapter, at the beginning, four angels, standing at the four corners of the land of Jewry, ready to take this vengeance there, are respite till the servants of God be sealed in their foreheads, vii. 3: just as, before the destruction of Jerusalem by Nabuchadonozor, Ezekiel (ix. 4) is commanded to "go through the city of Jerusalem, and set a mark on the foreheads of all that mourned for the abominations that were done in it." When the angel had sealed a hundred and forty-four thousand, twelve thousand out of every tribe, there appears before the throne of God an innumerable number of the martyrs, that were clothed in white afore, "with palms in their hands, of all nations and

languages," praising God: [Apoc.] vii. 9, 10, 14, 15. Compare herewith the fourteenth, where he sees "a Lamb standing on Mount Sion, and with him a hundred and forty-four thousand that had the name of His Father written in their foreheads," and then hears the voice of harpers harping on their harps; and the song that they sung, "could no man learn but the hundred and forty-four thousand:" whereby it appears, that his meaning is, that those who were sealed were the confessors of Judæa, that could sing the same song with the martyrs of all nations. And therefore, when the angel, that stood by the altar with a golden censer, offers the prayers of the saints (those which the martyrs offered before) with incense, and then casts the coals of the altar upon the earth, viii. 3—5; the meaning must be, that the vengeance published by seven angels with seven trumpets, into which the seventh seal of the book (described v. 1, sq.) opens, is that which falls upon the Jews and their land for persecuting the Christians. A thing still more evident by the vision of xiv. 14, sq.; where the temple and the altar, and the winepress that is trod without the city and overflows all the land, suffers no other meaning than that which should befall the land of Israel and the city of the Jews. The intent for which these things are foretold, is discovered ix. 20: where God finds, that the rest of men, which were not slain by the trumpets, repented not of their idols; that is, the Gentiles repented not upon the example of the Jews, and the vengeance they suffered in the destruction of Jerusalem, of their persecuting the Christians for their idols' sake. But when the angel declares, that "the mystery of God shall be fulfilled" at the sounding of the seventh trumpet, x. 7; and when, at the sounding thereof, voices are heard in heaven, saying, "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ, and He shall reign for ever and ever," xi. 15: this is plainly the meaning,—that by the judgments of the seven vials, into which the seventh trumpet resolves (as the seventh seal did into seven trumpets), the Roman empire should be converted to Christianity. And this is the reason, why, after the vision of the harpers, xiv. 6, the angel, that is seen flying "in the midst of heaven with the eternal gospel," preaches to all people to turn from idolatry, and worship the true God, the

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time of Whose judgment was then come. It is manifest that the same is signified chap. xi. 8, where it is said of the two witnesses,—“Their bodies shall lie in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified.” Do they not crucify themselves, think you, that oblige themselves to maintain that our Lord was crucified at Rome? Whereas it is manifest, that Jerusalem, after the refusing of the gospel, was become, in the spiritual sense of the Old Testament, “Sodom and Egypt.”

[Ælia was called Jerusalem.]

§ 2. But it may be said, that Jerusalem was not standing, when St. John prophesied, or for the time of which he prophesied. Though it were not, yet there was another city now raised by Adrian the emperor, which, though the Romans called Ælia after his name, yet, standing in a manner upon the ruins of the old, might well be called Jerusalem; as always, as well after as before, it was, both by Jews and Christians¹.

[The two witnesses were the Jewish and Gentile Churches in Jerusalem.]

§ 3. And he, that sees how many expositors have crucified themselves in expounding this chapter of the pope^m, will thank them that have interpreted these two witnesses (xi. 3—5), and the measuring of the temple that went afore, of two Churches, one of Christians that had been Jews, the other of Christians converted from Gentiles, then subsisting in that city^a. For war being raised by the Jews under Ben Cozba^a

¹ “Πόλις ἁγία dici solebat Hierosolyma. . . Idem nomen datur nunc Æliæ, quia in iisdem locis erat reposta, et apud Judæos vetus nomen retinebat.” Grot. ad Apoc. xi. 2.—See for Ælia, Stephan. Byz., De Urbibus, sub voce; Dion Cassius, Hist. Rom., lib. lxix. p. 793, B.—Jerusalem outlived Ælia, just as Acre has outlived Ptolemais.

^a So e. g. Mede, and More: as quoted above, c. x. § 1, note h. See especially the latter’s *Mystery of Godliness*, Bk. v. c. 16. Works, p. 132.

^a “Cum Ælia condi cæpit ex multitudine eo deducta, duo Christianorum genera extiterunt ex Judæis orta et alienigenis: qui cum diversa lingua loquerentur, Judæi Hebraica, alienigenæ Græca, ut maxime communi, qua etiam Paulus ad Romanos scribens usus est, necessario et duos fecere conventus sive Ecclesias. Quia autem universitates omnes mysticam quandam personam faciunt, ideo sæpe solent sub personæ unius nominibus describi, ut populus Romanus apud Floram, po-

pulus Judæus sub fœminæ vocabulo apud prophetas, interdum et sub filii nomine, ut Osee xi., Jerem. xxxi. 20. Hic duo illi conventus vocantur ‘testes duo,’ quia illustre Deo testimonium præbebant. Et quia facti ex Judæis Christiani opponebant se aliorum Judæorum vitia, sicut olim Moyses fecerat, ideo Mosi comparantur. Et quia vocati ex Gentibus idololatriam oppugnabant, ideo Eliæ comparantur, qui idololatriam et olim destruxerat. Dicuntur autem duo illi testes *προφητεύσαι*, quia prophetarum more Dei mandata explicabant omnibus, accedente et prophetiæ dono. Tempus autem hic expressum terminatur, ut diximus, in principio motûs Judaici qui fuit sub Adriano.” Grot. ad Apoc. xi. 3, and De Antichristo &c.—Hammond (ad loc.) adopts the exposition of Grotius. More of course assails it. For “the measuring of the Temple,” see Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xxxiii. § 6, Grotius ad Apoc. xi. 1, and Hammond as quoted above in c. ix. § 4, note x.
• See above, c. ix. § 3, note v.

against the Romans, masters of the city, it must needs follow, CHAP.
XI. that the two witnesses should be persecuted by the Romans, as not discerning the difference between them and the Jews: and, the difference being discerned, historical truth sheweth, that the Christians were allowed to dwell there, and flourish in propagating Christianity; whereas the Jews were not suffered so much as to see the city, and to weep over the graves of their ancestors^p, according to the prophecy there, xi. 11—13.

§ 4. I confess there is a great difficulty against all this; for then the woes, that are published by the six trumpets, must be meant of the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus (as you see Dr. Hammond^q and Grotius^r have interpreted it): whereas the constant tradition of antiquity bears, that St. John was banished into Patmos, where he prophesied all the Apocalypse under Domitian^s; and so we must make him prophesy of things past. For that which Grotius brings out of Epi-

[How this is to be reconciled with the date of the Apocalypse.]

^p "That the 'remnant' here (Apoc. xi. 13), i. e. all the Jews in Jerusalem that were not now destroyed, did convert and believe in Christ, appears by that which is ordinarily known in story, that Adrian at this time by edict banished all the Jews out of it, i. e. all that remained such, or were not converted to Christianity, and set up the picture of a swine at the gates, to keep any of them from thoughts of entering again, and even to banish their eyes from thence (see Aristo Pellæus in Eusebius, 'Τὸ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐξ ἑκείνου καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα γῆς πᾶσαν ἐπιβαλεῖν εἰσργεῖται νόμον δόγματι καὶ τάξεσιν Ἀδριανοῦ ὡς ἂν μὴδ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου θεωροῖεν,' ... and Tertullian, Apolog., c. xxi., 'Quibus nec advenarum jure terram patriam saltem vestigio salutare conceditur,' ... and so Adv. Jud. c. xiii.); meanwhile the Christians freely returning thither from their dispersions, and inhabiting quietly there. 'Christianis tantum permessa civitas,' saith Orosius, ... i. e. no Jews were there permitted that received not Christianity." Hammond, ad Apoc. xi. 13: and see Grotius, ad Apoc. xi. 15.

^q "This calamity lighting on the Jews in Adrian's time was in a manner as bloody as that other under Titus, and though it came some time after the former, yet was not long deferred. That under Titus was the second woe, described c. ix. 12, 15, to the end of c. x.; and this under Adrian, the third, set down from the beginning of this

chapter, and caused by the sedition of Barchochebah, v. 7." Hammond, Paraphrase of Apoc. xi. 14.

^r "Ἀγόρευαν τῷ ἑκτῷ ἀγγέλῳ, Λύσον τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους," κ.τ.λ.—"Hi quatuor angeli sunt duces et custodes Vespasiani, Titi, Muciani, et Tiberii Alexandri, quorum ingentes exercitus ad Euphratem usque pertinebant: et cum cū consilium iis fuisset Hierosolyma obsidere, res tamen Divino consilio dilata fuit in tempus ipsi destinatum. Vespasianus prætextum moræ sumebat" &c. Grot. ad Apoc. ix. 14: going on to explain the second and third wars as Hammond in the last note, as may be seen in his notes on Apoc. xi. 14.

^s "The eviction of which truth" (viz. that St. John wrote the Apocalypse in Patmos at the latter end of Domitian's reign) "I have thus copiously and industriously wrought out, because it does not only lay flat to the ground all the interpretations of Grotius in these 13th and 17th chapters" (of the Apocalypse), "but also all his expositions of the seven seals and seven trumpets, and consequently of the whole book of the Apocalypse. For he interprets the seals and trumpets of things that happened many years before his prophecy; which makes the Apocalypse as good sense as if it were a foretelling of things that were past," &c. More, Mystery of Iniquity, Pt. ii. Bk. ii. c. 2. § 14; Works, p. 622.

CHAP. XI. phanius^t,—that he was first confined to Patmos by Claudius,

—seems not well to agree with history: as you may see by Blondel's French book of the Sybils^u. To this there are two answers. Let the reader choose which he pleases. For it may reasonably be said, that St. John, intending to foretell the vengeance, that should be taken of the Roman empire for persecuting Christianity notwithstanding the terrible example of Jerusalem before their eyes, found it requisite to repeat the pattern (to wit, that which had befallen the Jews), in the six trumpets, the seventh whereof was to open into seven vials, poured out upon the heathen emperor: especially, the last act of that tragedy being yet to come, in the final destruction of the nation under Adrian; which you have seen laid first in the xi. and xiv. chapters^z. The second is, that the vision of the six trumpets may as well be understood of the final destruction of the nation under Adrian, as of the destruction of the temple and city under Titus^v. For, in the ninth chapter, the locusts may as well be understood of the Jews' forces under Ben Cozba, as of the Zelots in the time of the siege under Titus; as Grotius^w, and (as I take it) Dr. Hammond^a also, hath expounded it. And for the angels that are loosed at Euphrates, which is the second part of that chapter; the case is all the same, whether you understand it of the Syriac legions of the Romans, that usually quartered at Euphrates, under Titus, or under Adrian^b. It is true, the story under

[Apoc. ix. 3.],

[Apoc. ix. 14.],

^t "Dixi Johannem in Pathmo fuisse, ibique visis Dei illustrari cœpisse jam Claudio imperante. An de me id dixi sine teste? Imo magno teste Epiphonio, historiarum diligentissimo inquisitore." Grot., De Antichristo, Op. tom. iii. p. 492.—The passages he refers to in Epiphanius, are as follows:—*Διὸ ὅσπερον ἀναγκάσει τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τὸν Ἰωάννην παραιτούμενον εὐ-αγγελίσασθαι, δι' ἐλάβειαν καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνην, ἐπὶ τῇ γηραλίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἡλικίᾳ, μετὰ ἑτη ἐνεήκοντα τῆς αὐτοῦ ζωῆς, μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου ἐπάνοδον, τὴν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου γενομένην Καίσαρος* (Adv. Hær., lib. ii. tom. i. Hær. li. Alogi, § 12, Op. tom. i. pp. 433. D, 434. A): and again, *Ἀυτοῦ δὲ* (scil. S. John) *προφητεύσαντος ἐν χρόνοις Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος ἀναστά-τω, ὅτε εἰς τὴν Πάτμον νῆσον ὑπήρ-ξεν* (ibid., § 33, p. 456. A).

^u Blondel, Des Sybilles &c., liv. ii.

cc. 2, 3, refutes at length the statements of Epiphanius as quoted in the last note, and of Grotius, successively, as to the date of the Apocalypse. Epiphanius is obliged by his supposition to take S. John's letter to the Church at Thyatira to be addressed to a Church thereafter to be founded, but not yet actually existing, besides other difficulties urged by Blondel.

^w See Hammond and Grotius as quoted above, notes q. r.

^v See ibid.

^z Grotius ad Apoc. ix. 3, expounds the locusts of the "pessima factio Zolotarum."

^a "Those devouring wasters the Zelots." Hammond, Paraphrase on Apoc. ix. 7: of the locusts.

^b "It is said by Josephus, . . . that the Syrian legions of the Roman army lay as far as Euphrates; and Philo in his embassy mentions στρατόπεδα πρὸς

Adrian is not so well known as that under Titus; because the histories of Adrian's time are lost, and inform us not. But the prophecy is more clear in this sense, than the meaning of most prophecies of the Old Testament is, for the event of them in history.

§ 5. Truly the first seal of the book, that is opened vi. 1, discovers our Lord coming forth at the preaching of His gospel; the sixth seems to describe His second coming to judgment. But the Jews have observed in the prophecies of the Old Testament, that the coming of God to judgment is used to set forth the great alterations which the judgments they foretell should introduce. And therefore I think it not strange, that, when St. Paul says (2 Thess. ii. 8), "And then shall that wicked one be revealed, whom God shall consume with the Spirit of His mouth, and destroy with the brightness of His coming," he should speak of the change of the empire under Constantine: when heathenism was put down, and Christianity set up; and the philosophers and priests, the false prophets, which defended the heathen gods against the Christians, and incited the emperors to persecute Christianity, were taken from thenceforth for magicians and conjurers, holding familiarity with the devil and his evil spirits; as indeed they did, and were. I will say no more of this than I have said in the Review aforementioned. My business is not now to expound the Apocalypse, but to fix the bounds within which it is to be understood.

§ 6. The twelfth chapter introduceth the occasion of persecuting Christianity within the empire, which the eleventh had only begun to mention concerning the Jewish Christians under Adrian; where it saith, "And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast, that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit, shall make war against them, and shall overcome them and kill them:" xi. 7. For this does but anticipate the vision of the beast rising out of the sea, xiii. 1; signifying the Roman empire, that persecuted Christianity. And hereupon follows the fall of Babylon, foretold xiv. 8, always signifying Rome afterwards in this prophecy.

Εὐφράτης, the armies reaching to Euphrates." Hammond, on Apoc. ix. 14, speaking of the vision of the four angels; and see also Grotius on the same

place, as quoted above in note r.

c Review of Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. v. § 38—48.

CHAP.
XII.

CHAPTER XII.

[THE PAPISTS NOT NECESSARILY IDOLATERS BY THEIR RELIGION :
AND WHAT IDOLATRY IS.][St. John
prophesies
of idolaters,
therefore
not of the
papists.]

My last argument is the second part of my position:— that the persecutors, whereof St. John prophesieth, were idolaters; the papists necessarily, by the religion they profess, are not^d. This is indeed made the argument, why the pope should be antichrist, here foretold. But it would have become those, that undertake this, to say first what idolatry is; if they would not fight with shadows. For when they say, that all religious worship of the creature is idolatry; it is manifest, that the prime object of religious worship, which is both the formal and material object, both the thing that is worshipped and the reason why it is worshipped, is only God. But it is as manifest, that a creature (for instance, a saint upon earth) may be honoured for religion's sake and no idolatry committed. And to call this civil worship^e, is to do violence to common sense; which owns no civil relation for the ground of this honour or worship. Besides, there are three religions on foot besides Heathenism; Judaism, Mahumetism, and Christianity. And do not the Jews worship the book of their Law, the Mahumetans their Alcoran, in their mosques and synagogues; and yet think themselves as far from idolatry, as they that make the pope antichrist for it? Indeed, when I name other religions beside Christianity, I do it with an abatement, understanding only false religions. And so I do of the religion of the papists: either in worshipping the cross of Christ, His images, and the elements of the eucharist; or in worshipping the saints, their relics and images.

[Papists
not idolaters.]

§ 2. But I say not therefore, that they are idolaters: for then they should be apostates to heathenism, no Christians, incapable of salvation, no Church; which those, that grant them to be, and would have them idolaters, contradict them—

^d Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 57; and Conclusion, § 42: Just Weights and Measures, c. i. § 1—6; c. ii. § 4.—And see More,

Antidote to Idolatry, c. i. Works, p. 774, and elsewhere.

^e See Bellarmine as quoted in Epilogue, Bk. III. *ibid.* § 12. note n.

selves. But I would distinguish between that, which is religion for the nature of it, and that, which is morally religious, as commanded by that Christianity which God commandeth. And I would reserve myself another place^f, to say, why I count not the worship of the cross, images, relics, and the eucharist, religious in this sense, which the Church of Rome requires; though I count it not idolatry.

CHAP.
XII.

§ 3. In the mean time, neither do I yield to them, that say, [All worship of God by means of a creature, not idolatry.] all worship of God by the means of a creature is idolatry. For I see, that all men worship God by the images that they know Him by, in their own senses. Nor does it avail to say, that they worship not those images, and God by them, as they intend: for without doubt they do; and that most evidently, when their worship is irreligious. All heresy and schism is the worship of men's own imaginations: as St. Hierome shews in expounding the prophets; always making the spiritual sense of all, that they speak against the worship of Jeroboam's calves, to rest in the heretics and schismatics of the Christian Church^g. And we have a sermon of Lancelot, late Lord Bishop of Winchester, against worshipping our own imaginations^h. Nay, our Lord Christ says of the Samaritans, "Ye worship ye know not what, we know what we worship" (John iv. 22); when it is well known, the Samaritans worshipped the same true God as the Jews, but as heretics and schismatics. And this indeed is spiritual idolatry, forbidden by the mystical sense of the second commandment; but nothing to our purpose, concerning carnal idolatry.

§ 4. And, therefore, not to refute anybody but to declare the truth, I say, that idolatry is the worship of the creature for God; and that this cannot be done, till a man takes the creature to be God; nor that, till he think there are or may be more gods than oneⁱ. Only, when I say a creature, I mean, that, if a thing may be imagined to be a creature and yet be none, it may also be imagined to be a god and yet [be] none: and so it is made an idol, and to worship it is idolatry. And

[What is
idolatry.]

^f Below in c. xlii.

^g See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxvii. note k.

^h Sermon on 2nd Commandment, preached Jan. 9, 1592; being the second of Certain Sermons preached at sundry times upon several occasions;

in Bp. Andrewes' Sermons, vol. v. pp. 54, sq. 8vo. Oxf. 1843.

ⁱ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., cc. xxvi., xxxi.: Just Weights and Measures, c. i. § 6: and below, c. xlii. § 7, note v.

CHAP. XII. so it is said in the Psalm, xcvi. 5, "All the gods of the nations are idols;" that is, imaginary gods, or images of imaginary gods. And xcvi. 7: "Confounded be all they that worship graven images, that boast themselves of idols;" or, as in the other translation, "that delight in vain gods:" for this will extend to the images of things, that never were, and may be worshipped. And since this definition cannot fit anything the papists do, marvel not that I suffer not the breach to seem irreconcilable upon a false cause, the truth whereof must open the point of reformation to ourselves.

CHAPTER XIII.

[WORSHIP OF THE EUCHARIST, AND OF THE CROSS AND IMAGES OF CHRIST, AND REVERENCE PAID TO IMAGES OF SAINTS, NOT NECESSARILY IDOLATRY; ALTHOUGH UNJUSTIFIABLE.]

[Worship of the eucharist, and the like, not idolatry, because its object is Christ.]

THE reason is plain, then, why idolatry is not committed in worshipping the elements of the eucharist, the cross and images of Christ;—because the worship of them is the worship of the true God, which is our Lord Christ;—according to the saying of St. Basil, arguing, that our Lord Christ being the image of God is to be worshipped as God, "because the honour of the image endeth in the prototype¹." For the reason is the same in the elements of the eucharist and the cross of Christ. The ground of this reason is taken from the received opinion of divines: that the inward action of inclination and the outward action of execution are both one and the same sin; several actions indeed as to their nature, but morally one and the same. For the intention of the mind, necessarily looking upon our Lord Christ, whensoever any sign of worship is tendered to those things, necessarily makes our Lord Christ the object of it; the cross, or the image, or the elements of the eucharist, only determining the circumstance of time and place and manner, in which the mind is stirred to perform it.

[Distinctions made by the

§ 2. I know, that the Greeks themselves, when they decreed the worship of images in the seventh council, do pro-

¹ Quoted in Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 46, note h.

fess the worship, which they tender to the image or cross, not to be the same, which they tender to the principal; but an inferior reverence, suitable to it^k. I know our school doctors and disputers of controversies, affecting to hold them on the highest terms and furthest from the heretics, will needs go beyond the council^l (some^m say, because they know not the acts of it); and have the worship of them to be specifically the same with the worship of the principal, only secondarily and accidentallyⁿ. As if they were ambitious to bring the people as near idolatry as is possible, because the heretics would be as far from it.

CHAP.
XIII.
second
Nicene
Council,
and by the
school-
doctors.]

§ 3. But, contradicting themselves, they avoid being idolaters. For it is not possible, that the worship of God should be tendered secondarily or accidentally; because it is not possible to be God secondarily or accidentally, as the Gentiles imagined secondary gods. And since this profession is of the substance of Christianity, they, that hold Christianity and say this, must be said to hold contradictions. As for that inferior honour, which the council introduces, it proves only a mistake in divinity; as hath been declared^o. It is no more than this, that they make the cross and images of Christ, and so the elements of the eucharist, the object of that worship, which is given our Lord Christ before them; being only the circumstance or occasion, determining the time and place of tendering it. And so, proportionably, my meaning is of the saints, and of their images and relics.

[Both
saved from
idolatry,
by mis-
taking, or
by contra-
dicting
them-
selves.]

§ 4. I do not now justify the worship tendered to the elements of the eucharist^p; no more than I justify transubstantiation^q, which it is tendered to signify. Only I say, that they, who believe not transubstantiation, taking the presence of the elements for a circumstance occasioning the worship of our Lord Christ the true God, shall not be idolaters in tendering it.

[Worship
of the eu-
charist
need not
be idolatry,
even al-
though
not be-
lieving
transub-
stantia-
tion.]

§ 5. I say not, that the Church did well in tendering the cross to the people on Good Friday to be worshipped^r. But I do not therefore grant, that it makes them idolaters, that

[Worship
of the cross
not idola-]

^k See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 42—46.

^l See *ibid.* § 47—49.

^m See *ibid.* § 55.

ⁿ See *ibid.* § 47, notes j, k.

^o See *ibid.*, § 44, 45; Just Weights and Measures, c. xix. § 4.

^p See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 1—10.

^q See *ibid.*, c. ii. § 1—7.

^r See *ibid.*, § 48: and Bramhall, *Answ. to La Millet, Works, Pt. i. Disc. i. vol. i. p. 46. note z.*

CHAP. do it: any more than Helena the mother of Constantine,
XIII.

try, al-
though not
to be de-
fended.]

whom St. Ambrose excuses, that, out of joy that she had found it, she worshipped it^s; not meaning the wood, as did the Gentiles, but our Lord. This, I suppose, was the beginning of this custom. I say not, that Christians did well to set up the images of our Lord to be worshipped. As I believe Constantine did set them up instead of the images of the heathen gods in the standards of his armies^t; that so bringing the soldiers to pay those devotions to our Lord Christ, which formerly they paid to their idol gods, he might by that means bring them to Christianity. But I say not, therefore, that he continued them idolaters.

[Origin of
the prac-
tice of wor-
shipping
images.]

§ 6. I doubt not but idolatry was committed to the images of heathen emperors; and that, when the Christians found no danger of it left, they advanced the images, not only of our Lord Christ, but of His saints, which even the emperors revered. I make no question, but it will appear to all, that shall study the histories of the Church for truth and not for partiality; that the reverence first given to the images of our Lord, and the saints, came first from that reverence which the Gentile Romans paid to the images of their emperors, if they would not stand suspected *crimine majestatis*^u: for Christians were flattered with an appearance of religion, and the honour of Christianity, in honouring them as the heathen did their emperors, by whom they were honoured. Now they did not necessarily honour their emperors for gods; though as many as would did. And, Christ being reputed the only true God, and the saints His favourites, they thought

^s De obitu Theodos. Oratio, § 43—48; Op. tom. ii. pp. 1210. A—1211. D.

^t The *crux* certainly became the standard of Constantine's armies (see the account of the labarum in Eusebius, De Vit. Constant., lib. ii. cc. 6, 7, p. 417): and mention is made repeatedly by Eusebius of images of Constantine himself in his own palace, representing him as bearing a cross. But of images of our Lord there is not a word. See Chemnitz, Hist. Conc. Trid., P. iv. § de Imag., pp. 15, 28, 29.

^u Compare e. g. S. Ambrose, In Psalm. cxviii. Expositio, Sermon. x. § 25, 26 (Op. tom. i. p. 1095. D, E): "Qui enim coronat imaginem imperatoris, utique illum honorat cujus ima-

ginem coronavit: et qui statuum contemserit imperatoris, imperatori utique cujus statuum conspulerit, fecisse videtur injuriam: Gentiles lignum adorant, quia Dei imaginem putant," &c.: "vides ergo quia inter multas Christi imagines" (scil. the poor) "ambulamus." Such honour was offered to the statues of even Christian emperors until prohibited by the younger Theodosius (Cod. tit. iv. lege unica, quoted by Benedictine editors on S. Ambrose). A passage from S. Athanasius to the same effect with that of S. Ambrose is cited by Chemnitz (Exam. Decret. Conc. Trid., P. iii. De Imagin., p. 26. b).—See also Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, art. Diocletien, tom. iv. p. 60.

it for the honour of the Christian religion, that so it should be practised and done. Whether for the best then, or not, this is not the place. But I yield them not, therefore, to be idolaters; that took it not up till the fear of idolatry was vanished, as they thought.

C H A P.
XIII.

§ 7. In fine, it is not possible to commit idolatry to that, which a man takes not for God. He must think it so, before he can honour it for such. Honour is the esteem of the mind. The figures of it are according to it. It is therefore necessary, that there should be *πολυθεΐα*, an opinion that there are more gods than one, before there can be idolatry^v. And therefore one reason is plain, why the worship they give to the saints, to their relics, and to their images, cannot be idolatry;—because it is not the worship of God, but of His creatures. For it is a frivolous thing to object, that they make them gods by giving them omniscience^w; supposing, that they hear all the prayers that can be made to them. They are not such fools as to think, that they hear of themselves^x; but by God, revealing them^y. Neither are they infinite in number or matter; but such as the creature may know, continuing finite. It is more to the purpose, that it may truly be said, that they ask of the saints, and chiefly of the blessed Virgin, those things which God only can give^z. For, taking their prayers in the strict sense of the words, they are idolaters^a. And this they get by their zeal against the heretics; which carries them to be idolaters, if they be not excused by contradicting themselves. But when there is an evasion—that they pray to the saints to give those blessings, which they would have them procure of God by their prayers^b;—the profession of the Church, making them creatures, obliges to take them in that sense, which though unproper it may endure. How well they do in allowing such scandalous forms and encouraging them, is another case.

^v "That the professing one only true God does not necessarily quit a people from the guilt or capacity of being idolaters," is the first thesis of Bk. i. c. 13. of More's *Mystery of Iniquity*, Pt. I. (Works, p. 417). And see also *ibid.*, c. 10. § 6. pp. 410, 411.

^w "Invocation implies an communicated Divine excellency" (scil. in the way of "omnipresence or omniprescience") "in the saints or angels;

and so communicates that right to them that appertains only to God, and is that injury against God that is called idolatry." More, *Antidote against Idolatry*, c. ii. § 12 (Works, p. 777).

^x See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Church, c. xxix. § 36.

^y See *ibid.* § 35, 36, notes f, i.

^z See *ibid.*, c. xxxi. § 24, 33.

^a See *ibid.* § 27.

^b See *ibid.* § 22, 29, 30, 34.

CHAP.
XIV.

CHAPTER XIV.

[OF MEDIATION AND INTERCESSION OF SAINTS.]

[St. Paul's "doctrine of dæmons" not intended of the worship of saints.] THE like is to be said of the terms of mediators and intercessors; which they allow them, being the prerogative of our Lord^c: especially remembering, that the heathen and their philosophers allowed the like to the most part of their gods, to mediate between the Highest and mankind. Hereupon men of good learning have been persuaded^d, that St. Paul prophesied of these abuses, as "doctrines of dæmons," [1] Tim. iv. 1; that is, concerning middle gods, mediating between God and man, such as the Gentiles took their "dæmons" to be. But it is to be observed, that the Gentiles' religion taught them not the difference between good and bad spirits, and so the word *δαίμων* passed with them in a good sense; but not so with Jews and Christians^e: nor can be so taken in St. Paul, calling "*διδασκαλίας δαιμόνων*," not doctrines concerning "dæmons," but "doctrines introduced by devils;" as it appears, that the heresies then on foot condemned marriage and forbade meats, as not coming from God^f.

[Gentiles were idolaters in worshipping devils: Christians who believe the catholic faith, cannot be so.] § 2. As for the Gentiles and their divines the philosophers, is it any marvel they should contradict themselves, knowing God and not glorifying Him for God; as St. Paul says, Rom. i. 21? It becomes them to honour devils for gods, who can never be cleared of familiarity with devils. Besides, knowing one true God, but serving all their country served, they were nevertheless idolaters. But Christians, professing one God for the ground of their faith, and praying to saints to mediate and intercede for them with Him, cannot be taken to mean more than their profession will allow, which may stand within the finite nature of creatures. For though the mediation and intercession of our Lord Christ be grounded upon His Godhead, yet mediation and intercession in general are terms common to the creature. And indeed we cannot speak of God but in such terms. Honour, worship, service, glory, all are common to God and to the creature; and must be dis-

^c See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 19.

^d Scil. Mede. So Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xii. § 10, note h.

—More follows Mede: and so have later interpreters.

^e See Epilogue, *ibid.*, note k.

^f See *ibid.*

tinguished by making that infinite which we would make proper to God. Christianity makes the mediation and intercession of Christ to be such. They, that make the intercession and mediation of saints and angels to be grounded upon that of Christ, and to consist in praying for us, cannot be idolaters but by renouncing themselves.

CHAP.
XIV.

CHAPTER XV.

[OF IDOLATRY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT; AND THE MEANING OF
THE SECOND COMMANDMENT.]

It is but a slight objection that opposes all this^s. When Aaron had made the calf, the people said, "These are thy gods, O Israel, that brought thee out of the land of Egypt;" and, "To-morrow is a feast unto the Lord," naming the "incommunicable name" of God, Ex. xxxii. 4, 5: therefore idolatry is the worship of the true God by a sign or image. But consider the beginning of the chapter. When they saw that Moses stayed in the mount, they assembled, and said to Aaron, "Make us gods to go before us, for this Moses, that brought us out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him;" we have no more access to Moses his God, and therefore make us other gods: of whom they say, "These are the gods," and not He that Moses tells us; and therefore give him the name of the true God. We know a "mixed multitude came up with them out of Egypt" ([Ex.] xii. 38); who set them on murmuring another time, Num. xi. 4. We know it is the likeness of an Egyptian god which they made. And so St. Hierome and other of the fathers take it^h. Who can doubt, but that thus they came to fall away to their gods?

§ 2. Especially, seeing Jeroboam make his calves, and say, "Behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt" ([1] Kings xii. 28); as who should say, those, and not He that is worshipped at Jerusalem. For we know what relation he had to Egypt. We see Sheshak, the king of Egypt, overrun the country a little after. And if this Sheshak prove

^s See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxvi. § 8, sq.

^h S. Hieron., in Oree Proph. c. v.; Op. tom. iii. p. 1263. So also Philo Judæus (De Mose, lib. iii. Op. tom. ii. p. 159), the Jerusalem Targum, Lactantius, and of moderns, Kircher, Bo-

chart, Grotius (ad Matt. v. 45), quoted by Spencer, De Legg. Hebr., lib. i. c. i. sect. I. vol. i. p. 21: and Visorius in answer to Moncæius (see Epilogue as in last note, § 11, note t). More of course agrees with Moncæius.

CHAP. Sesostris, as Sir J. Marsham in his *Egyptian Chronology*¹
 XV. (which we hope will shortly be public) contends; there will be so much reason, why he should set up the gods of Egypt, as will not reasonably be refused.

[of Micah.] § 3. The same is to be said of Micah and his mother, and her money consecrated to "the Lord," and the graven image and molten image made of it, and the blessing that he expected thereupon "from the Lord;" Jud. xvii. 1, 2, 13. High places were allowed at this time, because the ark was not fixed. The danger is evident, of forsaking God for strange gods, when every man did what he would for His service. He that forsook the Lord was a strange man, if he had not the heart to call the god he chose by the name of the God of their fathers. For the Book of Wisdom tells us, xiv. 21, that the Gentiles "gave the incommunicable name of God" to beasts and to birds.

["to stocks and stones."]

[They worshipped the true God as an idol, by worshipping Him with false gods: as Alexander Severus, and the Philistines, did.]

§ 4. And, therefore, I do no more marvel at the respect which the kings of the ten tribes shewed the true God and His prophets; nor doubt any more whether they and Micah were downright idolaters, as once I did. For it is no more than Alexander Severus did, when he kept the image of Christ "*in larario*¹:" or than Adrian did, when he built temples for the Christians without images^k; meaning, as his epistle to Servianus¹ intimateth, to comprehend and reconcile Gentiles, Jews, and Christians, in the worship of one God. But he understood not, that he, who worships a false god with the true, makes the true an idol. And therefore neither Jews nor Christians can be reconciled to Gentiles. In the meantime, when "Jehoahaz besought the Lord, and the Lord hearkened unto him," 2 Kings xiii. 4; it is no more than Alexander Severus did, when he worshipped our Lord Christ and Abraham, as he did Orpheus and other Gentile gods: that is, he worshipped the true God as an idol. For it followeth, "They departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat." And he, that worships an idol and the true God both, makes an idol of the true God. So "the Philistines were afraid at the coming of the ark into the camp of the Israelites; for they said, God is

[2 Kings xiii. 6.]

¹ Chronicus Canon Ægyptiacus Ebraicus Græcus et Disquisitiones D. Johannis Marshami, pp. 22, 358. fol. Lond. 1672. Sheshak certainly was not Sesostris.

¹ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxvi. § 25, note i.

^k Ibid., notes g, h.

¹ "Unus illis Deus est. Hunc Christiani, Hunc Judæi, Hunc omnes venerantur et gentes." Epist. Adrian. Imp. Serviano Cos., ap. Vopiscum, in Vita Saturnini, inter Hist. Aug. Scriptt., tom. ii. pp. 725, 726. Lug. Bat. 1671.

come into the camp; and they said, . . . Woe unto us; who shall deliver us out of the hand of these mighty gods? these are the gods that smote the Egyptians with all the plagues in the wilderness; be strong, and quit yourselves like men, O ye Philistines, that ye be not slaves to the Hebrews, as they have been to you :” [1] Sam. iv. 7—9. But would any Philistine, that had believed the God of Israel to be the only true God, present in their camp, have had courage to defeat Him by the help of Dagon his image? No, though He did vengeance upon the gods of the Egyptians when time was, yet they found no reason why Dagon should not have his turn now. They found no reason, because they thought no better of Him than of Dagon and of the Egyptian gods. So, had they worshipped both, with the same worship they had worshipped both.

§ 5. As for the meaning of the second commandment, it will be clear, if we translate the word $\epsilonἰδωλον$, as the most ancient Greek translation hath done^m. For that word, though it signify indifferently in the sense of the Gentiles any image, yet with Jews and Christians it never signified but the image of an imaginary godhead. And therefore, when it further forbids the images of fowls, fishes, and beasts, it regards the Egyptians, which had then taken such creatures for their gods. Neither is the making of images generally any otherwise forbidden by this second commandment than as they are idols. If it be further forbidden by the synagogue or by the Church, to keep men further from idolatry; as before the prevailing of Christianity there might be cause to do it: it was not the transgressing of that prohibition, that could bind over to idolatry. And this is manifest by the opinion of all those fathers that reckon but three precepts in the first tableⁿ. For it is manifest, that they reckon the first two for one, because they think it is nothing but idolatry, that is prohibited by both. And because it is manifest, that those fathers, who do never charge these with any mistake for so thinking, do not differ with them in the nature of

[What idolatry is forbidden by the first and second commandments.]

^m See Just Weights and Measures, c. xxiii. § 4; and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxvi. § 46; c. xxxi. § 36. The LXX. render the word by $\epsilonἰδωλον$, Exod. xx. 4, Deut. v. 8. See Jer. Taylor, Duct. Dubit., Bk. ii. c. ii. rule 6, § 30; Works, vol. ix.

pp. 439, 440.

ⁿ See S. Clem. Alex., S. Athanasius, S. Augustin, S. Jerom, S. Bernard, Bede, and others, cited by Jer. Taylor, Ductor Dubit., Bk. ii. c. ii. rule 6. § 1, 2; Works, vol. ix. pp. 412, 413.

CHAP. XV. idolatry; it is by the same reason manifest, that they all agree in this meaning of both precepts. The first, therefore, forbiddeth the inward act of idolatry in the esteem of the mind; the second, the outward, tendered by some sign of it.

CHAPTER XVI.

[OF THE CONDITION OF THE COVENANT OF GRACE, AND THE MEANING OF JUSTIFYING FAITH.]

[Justifying faith, what it involves.] Now, as to the condition of the covenant of grace, it can be nothing else than justifying faith. Let men dispute as long as they please of regeneration, justification, sanctification, and adoption. That he, who is justified, is in the state of grace by the covenant of grace, is beyond dispute; and, by consequence, regenerate, sanctified, and adopted. And therefore I grant, that the Reformation hath great interest to insist upon justification by faith, to secure the right of believers in a comfortable assurance of the state of grace and salvation, by faithful endeavour to be attained. Not as if the Church of Rome did deny it; but because there is an effectual course taken, as they govern the Church, that few or none shall attain it. The truth hereof shall appear in due place.

[What is its true nature, and the importance of it.] § 2. In the mean time care is to be had, that the nature of justifying faith be so understood, that it be neither grounded upon Socinian confidence of man's free will, nor fanatic dictates of God's Spirit. I am not here to dispute over so large a business again: which I have set forth in brief in my *Just Weights and Measures*^o, at large in my *Epilogue*^p. Here I shall think it a master-piece to make good this observation^q:—that the true notion of justifying faith determines all the controversies between the Reformation and the Church of Rome concerning a particular Christian as such; and that neither side necessarily transgresses the Catholic faith, when they refuse to explain themselves by it; and that those, who refuse this, necessarily fall either to the Socinians or to the Fanatics.

[It lies between the] § 3. It is well known, that the doctrine of the school,

^o cc. ix.—xi.

^p Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr. cc. i.—ix., and c. xxx. § 10, sq.

^q *Epilogue*, *ibid.*, c. xxx. § 10, sq.;

and Conclusion, § 66: *Just Weights and Measures*, c. ix. § 4, c. x. § 1—3, c. xi. § 1, c. xxi. § 6.

which the council of Trent canonizes, makes justifying faith to be only the belief of the Christian faith that it is true^r. There is another opinion, most received in the Reformation, as I suppose; that makes it to consist in trust and confidence of the grace of God to the faithful in and through Christ Jesus^s. The one of these goes before justification, the other follows upon it. Between these two is the notion of Christianity; that is, the profession of Christian religion made sincerely to the Church, in behalf of God, at receiving the sacrament of baptism. This is that, which if we make to be the faith which alone justifieth according to St. Paul, we come to an end of all controversies relating to that point. So that, in the first signification, faith is said to justify by a metonymy of the cause, because it is the beginning of it: in the second, of the effect, because it follows upon it: properly and formally, only in this proper notion of faith^t. And so are all texts of Scripture concerning this question to be expounded.

CHAP.
XVI.
opposite
opinions of
the council
of Trent
and of some
of the Re-
formation.]

§ 4. One thing I propose here to be considered; that,—[Both Old and New Testaments con-
whereas our Lord by the gospel introduceth, not only matters of faith, only to be believed, but also precepts of life and manners, to be observed by His disciples,—the condition of our baptism requireth not only to believe all the matter of faith, which the gospel declareth, but also to believe, that, living as the gospel requireth, we shall attain the world to come. For it is only the gospel, preached by our Lord and His apostles, that assures us, and requires us to believe, that we have eternal life, observing the terms of it. So that we need not dispute, whether or no the precepts of the gospel be the same with the precepts of the Law; there being no appearance, whether the same or not the same, that they were proposed for the condition of everlasting life by the letter of the Law. For, as it is granted, that they were so by the spiritual sense of the Law, so those, that understood them to be so, were justified by that faith from the beginning of the world: according to the doctrine of the apostles, disputing that the fathers were justified by faith, not by works; that is, not as Jews but as Christians, not by the Law but by the gospel, as the whole dispute importeth. And this true intent of the
concentre
in the true
notion of
justifying
faith.]

^r See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxx. § 17—22.

^s See *ibid.* § 11—15.

^t See *ibid.*, c. vii. § 1.

CHAP. XVI. Law, set forth by the apostles, concentrates the sense of the Old and New Testament in this one notion of justifying faith; and leads him, that follows the grain of the apostles' doctrine, from end to end of the Bible.

CHAPTER XVII.

[THE TRUE NOTION OF JUSTIFYING FAITH CHECKS BOTH THE
SOCINIANS AND THE FANATICS.]

[The true notion of justifying faith requires both the satisfaction and the grace of Christ:] Now consider, how this notion checks both the heresies which I named^a. For, the condition of bearing Christ's cross being tied to the profession of Christianity, it must be a deliberate act of man's will, and such an act as draweth after it all the acts of his life that shall follow, that must make his profession acceptable to the reward of life everlasting. But this act must require the grace of God by Christ; otherwise His coming had been to no purpose. And therefore the necessity of this grace must be grounded upon the fall of Adam; introducing the bondage of sin, though not destroying the freedom of the will in accepting of the condition of release. Therefore the grace of God by Christ must consist, first, in purchasing the terms of man's release at God's hands; that is, in the satisfaction tendered God by the sacrifice of Christ's cross; whereupon He condescends to declare by the gospel the terms of our peace: secondly, in promising the help of His grace to perform the condition thereof, which justifying faith signifieth.

[and therefore checks the Socinians:] § 2. Now the Socinians, denying the satisfaction of Christ and by consequence original sin, do seem to be carried by consequence to deny the Godhead of Christ^b; as finding no need of it to purchase the covenant of grace: and, further, the Holy Trinity; Which by these degrees they seem to come to refuse. Indeed they admit justifying faith to consist in such a choice as I have described^c; but they consider neither the profession of it to be made by the sacrament of baptism, nor the Church which God appointeth to be the depositary of this profession on His behalf: a

^a See Just Weights and Measures, of Gr., c. i. § 5, 6, 9; cc. xii., sq. cc. ix., x.

^b See *ibid.*, c. i. § 6, notes o, p;

^c See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. c. x. § 3.

thing to be considered of young divines in this Church, who, being sensible of the free will of man in this choice, are to consider, that the free grace of Christ is silenced by silencing the sacrament of baptism, and the Church both; out of which it is not effectual to salvation and grace. C H A P.
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§ 3. On the other side, they, that make justifying faith to consist in believing that some men are absolutely predestinate to life⁷, without consideration of the covenant of grace and the condition thereof accepted and performed, do make it too late to require it of them, whom they have before estated in an undefeasible title to all that can be claimed by it. They tie God to make them do all it requires of them, without their own will; the effect whereof is promised afore. And, therefore, the covenant of grace, and the sacrament of baptism, and the Church with whom the profession thereof is deposited, are words signifying nothing, by both these errors, upon which I said that all our sects are grounded. [and the
Fanatics.]

§ 4. Now within these two extreme opinions of justifying faith, that of the School, which the council of Trent^a canonizeth, making it to consist in believing the truth of Christianity, and that of the Protestants^a, in trust and confidence of God's mercy to the faithful in and through Christ, both of them maintain, or may maintain, both the condition of the covenant of grace, and baptism in the catholic Church. But as the one makes justifying faith to go before baptism, the other to come after it; neither of both includes it, either in the condition of the covenant of grace, or in the nature of justifying faith: so that, though both be clear of those heresies which the extreme opinions of the Socinians and the Fanatics run into, yet neither is able to shew them the source of their errors; as the truth, including baptism, is. [Inadequacy of the intermediate opinions of the council of Trent and of the Protestants.]

⁷ See *ibid.*, c. vii. § 7, note h.

^a See *ibid.*, c. xxx. § 17, note u.

^a See *ibid.* § 11—16.

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XVIII.

CHAPTER XVIII.

[OF PREDESTINATION AND FREE WILL.]

[The faith not necessarily concerned in the reconciling of predestination and free will.]

As for the question concerning the agreement of predestination and grace with the free will of man, and the covenant of grace, in which the condition of salvation consists: I suppose, that I have shewed^b, that it depends upon the most intricate dispute that philosophers and divines of what religion soever have at any time debated; to wit, concerning the foreknowledge and providence of God, and the consistence thereof with freedom in the actions of the will and contingency in the works of it. For seeing the particular cannot be cleared without the general, neither can the actions of grace be freed from the difficulty incident to all actions, till the general be resolved. And therefore I am far from thinking, that the faith can be concerned in the terms of agreement; provided that neither the necessity of grace nor the freedom of the will be infringed.

[Two ways proposed for reconciling them.]

§ 2. I suppose also, that there are but two ways to be proposed for the reconciling of the contingency, which free will infers, with the certainty of foreknowledge, and the efficacy of providence: the one, by the predetermination of the will of man, before it determine itself, by God's will; and the motion of it, before it move itself, by His activity: the other, by His foreknowing, what the free will of the creature will do in any case, in which providence shall place it.

[That of predetermination really although not formally a heresy.]

§ 3. Now I do not doubt, that the opinion of predetermination is utterly destructive to man's free will; and, by consequence, to the covenant of grace, the condition whereof consists in an act of it. Nevertheless, because the freedom of the creature is supposed by all, that hold it, to have no other ground, than God's determining of it, before it determine itself, to do that freely which in time it shall do; I do not call it a heresy destructive to the Christian faith: though I believe it, in truth and really, destructive not only to the Christian faith, but to all religion and civility, neces-

^b Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., cc. xxi.—xxvi.: Just Weights and Measures, cc. xii., xiii.

sarily supposing that freedom in man, which by establishing it destroyeth; so that no man, without contradicting himself, can maintain it. For, the difficulty of the case not being cleared by the Scriptures, whereby God dealeth with man as men use to do with one another, there will not be reason to make the renouncing of it a condition of communion with the Church.

§ 4. The like I would say of the other opinion, that holdeth absolute predestination to glory; and, by consequence, destroyeth the covenant of grace, by tying Almighty God to make good the condition of it without and before any consideration of man's will, complying with the tender which God preventeth him with. For it may well be taken for invincible ignorance, that cannot overcome so great a difficulty, as the reconciling of God's grace with man's freedom in the salvation of a sinner containeth. And therefore it is no marvel, that the renouncing of it should be no part of the Christian faith, no condition of communion with the Church.

§ 5. On the contrary, God's foreknowledge of contingencies, that would come to pass, if He on His part should be pleased to place men in such circumstances as are possible, saves the freedom of man's will, by supposing it to be considered in His foreknowledge, and His will to proceed upon consideration of it. This therefore I doubt not to be the truth: because it proceeds upon all the scriptures, which speak of God's resolutions, taken up in consideration of men's dispositions; and so preserveth man's free will, which his creation establisheth. The difficulty against it is, that it makes not out itself, nor the certainty of God's foreknowledge of contingencies not determined; which may continue a difficulty without prejudice to the faith. But this hindereth not God's absolute predestination of the helps of grace, which by this foreknowledge He sees will be effectual to salvation to some and not to others; there being nothing to hinder, why He might not have appointed such as would have been effectual to all, had He found it fit, in His incomprehensible wisdom, so to have appointed. And by this only means the position of the catholic Church against Pelagius is maintained; that grace prevents all good works, and that there is no merit of grace. For if once we grant that God

C H A P,
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[So also
that of ab-
solute pre-
destination
to glory.]

[God's
foreknow-
ledge of
conting-
encies
agrees with
Scripture
and saves
the faith.]

CHAP. XVIII. can be obliged by any works, that can spring from nature; to grant the helps of that grace, which only the death of Christ could purchase; there will be no reason left, why the same works should not oblige God to send our Lord Christ, by Whose coming these helps have been obtained and not otherwise.

CHAPTER XIX.

[THE FAITH SUFFICIENTLY GUARDED BY THE FIRST SIX GENERAL COUNCILS]

[Faith of the first six synods sufficient.]

It will be worth the while to stop here, and consider, how necessary it is for the preservation of the faith to own the six synods, and all that hath been decreed in the Church during the time of them concerning the faith; and, on the other side, how sufficient it will be to condemn all heresies, that the Church is in danger of at this time^c.

[Question of grace and free will, how far determined by the council's of Arles and Orange.]

§ 2. For it is well enough known, that, when Pelagius was condemned by the Church, there were very many remained unsatisfied in the difficulties, that I have mentioned, concerning the reconciling of free will and grace: insomuch that they went aside on both ways; some inclining to think, that some endeavours of man's will may and are to go before the helps of Christ's grace, so that the reason why God grants His grace may be given from those endeavours. But others, ascribing all to God's predestination, stuck not to acknowledge, that the evil as well as the good that is done is determined by it; and that men are predestinate to damnation, as well as to salvation, by God's everlasting decrees, not considering any works of men that might move Him so to decree^d. These are certainly nothing else but branches of the two extreme opinions: whereof the one infringeth the grace of God by Christ; the other, the condition of the covenant of grace, and the freedom of man in undertaking and performing it. But neither do we find, that they did divide the communion of the Church into parties, though known by the names of Semipelagians

^c See True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. iii.; Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties, &c., cc. v., xxiv.

^d See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xix. § 23, c. xxvi. § 21—23.

and Predestinians*; neither that the Church ever marked the opinions with the brand of heresies, though there were those that pressed for it. It is true there was a synod held at Arles in France, where one Lucidus a priest was obliged to recant divers positions, articles of the Predestinians†. The acts of it are not extant. For there was afterwards held another synod at Orange, wherein divers articles were decreed concerning the efficacy of grace and the preventing of all human merit‡. And this synod, having in it the authority of the see of Rome, concurring to it, may very well seem to have silenced the former, so that the acts of it are not now extant^h. But the synodical epistle of it is: containing the articles recanted by Lucidus, and subscribed by most of the fathers as their act; which, being never recalled, are to be taken as in full forceⁱ. Especially, seeing the council of Orange in the last article of it, condemning predestination either to sin or to death^k, seemeth to have satisfied them, who to avoid that inconvenience infringed the necessity of preventing grace. For those decrees served to silence the dispute for divers ages of the Church.

§ 3. At the present we know, that the very same disputes are still on foot, as well in the Reformation, as in the communion of the see of Rome; but much more dangerously in the Reformation. For they, who find themselves confined by such visible bounds as the articles of Orange, which for the time silenced the dispute and gave peace to the Church, are not like to break out from authority, the faith being so well secured. But the synod of Dort having shewed no more skill, than it had authority, in distinguishing the disputes of divines from the necessity of faith: those, that were discharged the service of the Church there for balking it, taking no notice of those bounds, have not been afraid to receive sundry articles of Pelagius his heresy, which the Socinians had grafted upon^l; and, making the faith of the Holy Trinity no part of their creed^m, to

* See *ibid.*, c. xxvi. § 21, 25: *Just Weights and Measures*, c. xiii. § 4: *True Princ. of Comprehens.*, sect. v.

† See *Epilogue. ibid.* § 22, 25.

‡ See *ibid.* § 24—26.

^h See *ibid.*

ⁱ See *ibid.*

^k Quoted, *ibid.* § 26, note u.

^l See *Just Weights and Measures*, c. x. § 4; *True Princ. of Comprehens.*, sect. ii. xi.; *Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties*, c. xix.

^m *True Princ. of Comprehension*, sect. ii. note y, sect. xi. note v.

CHAPTER XIX. make themselves Socinians to the Church by communicating with Socinians^a. Whereas the greatest gain the Church hath by the Socinians, seems to consist in evidencing the purchase of the covenant of grace for mankind in general, before any man can have interest in it; and that by the Blood of Christ, which His Incarnation and Godhead rendering valuable to God, restoreth the faith of the Holy Trinity and the hypostatical union into their place: which, being the work of all the synods held within the time of the sixth^o, seems to be enough to condemn any heresy, that can arise in these times, by the catholic Church.

CHAPTER XX.

[OF ASSURANCE OF SALVATION.]

[Certainty of perseverance through predestination a branch of the heresy of the Faustica.]

Now let us see, what assurance of salvation it is, that the Reformation preacheth^p; and what interest of the common Christianity it hath, to insist upon it. For it must be acknowledged, that one part of the Reformation imagineth, that St. Paul hath linked predestination to justification, even predestination to life everlasting; so that whosoever is once in the state of grace by justifying faith, is as sure to be saved as God's decrees are sure^q. Whereas the state of grace by justifying faith is that, which the whole discourse of the eighth chapter to the Romans presupposeth: tying to it God's predestination of Christ's cross, to be borne of all that attain it; but with full assurance of the grace thereby purchased, to work out their glory by persevering in it. And so God's election, in many passages of the apostles, signifieth nothing else but the state of grace: as, evidently, in the words of St. Peter, willing us to "make our calling and election firm" (for so "*βεβαιω*" signifies, not "sure" and certain^r); which cannot be uncertain, if it signify God's decree: but the state of grace may be made still more and more "firm" by the ways which the apostle recommendeth. Now to

[2 Pet. i. 10.]

^a See Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xix. note t.

^o See True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. iii.; Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties, c. v.

^p See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxi.

^q See *ibid.*, c. xxvi. § 5, c. xxxi. § 25—27.

^r See *ibid.*, c. xxxi. § 25, 26.

make justifying faith to consist in believing that a man is predestinate, is the main heresy of the Fanatics*. But to make him that hath justifying faith sure that he is predestinate, is a branch of it. For, from the time of that assurance, the condition of the covenant of grace can have no more place; seeing it is God, That is thenceforth to make good His own decree, His own word of faith: man need not, or rather must not, take that upon him, wherein God is engaged.

§ 2. It is a great mistake to think, that this opinion ever was in the Church before the Reformation†: unless perhaps the poor Albig[ens]es*, forerunners of the Reformation in some parts, might have it. 'The Lutherans' having discharged themselves of it, it is time that the notion of justifying faith, which I have established, clear us of it, as the source of all fanatic sects among us. For the profession of baptism being the condition of the covenant of grace, that which is held by it must fail, as the condition faileth; the predestination of him, that returneth and persevereth till death, not concerned*. And therefore it is not the remembrance of baptism, that can give the comfort of that assurance we seek; unless it be that remembrance, that makes way to renew the condition and so to restore it. Nor does it avail, that the pardon of him, that is once justified, is for ever sealed; which must be at our baptism and by it. For it is sealed conditionally; that whoso returns and restores the condition once made, for the future is in the same state of assurance as once.

§ 3. Now how much all Christians are concerned in the comfort, which it is possible for any to attain, of being as well assured of the helps of grace, to go through all temptations, as they can be assured, that they sincerely intend the Christianity which they profess: this will best appear,

* See *ibid.*, c. vii. § 7, 8: and above, c. xvii.

† See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxxi. § 45—50: True Princ. of Comprehens., sect. vi.

* Some violent doctrine on the subject of predestination is attributed to Wickliffe by the Council of Constance, Sess. xv. (Labb., Conc., tom. xii. p. 126. C, D); and see Collier, Ch. Hist., cent. xiv. Bk. vi. vol. i. p. 584: but nothing

of the kind is mentioned of the Albigenes either by Ussher (*De Christ. Eccl. Success. et Statu*, c. viii. Works, vol. ii. pp. 231, sq.), or by Allix (*Hist. of Albigenes*), or by Maitland (*Facts and Documents respecting the Albigenes and Waldenses*).

† See True Princ. of Comprehension, sect. vi. note d.

* So in MS.

CHAP. when we come to complain of the ways, by which the
 XX. Church of Rome disperses the intention of seeking this
 comfort.

CHAPTER XXI.

[OF THE POSSIBILITY OF FULFILLING THE LAW, TO CHRISTIANS.]

[Christians
 can fulfil
 the evan-
 gelical
 law.]

THIS is the first controversy and of most moment, as well within the Reformation, as between it and the Church of Rome, which the true notion of justifying faith determines. That of the possibility of fulfilling the law⁷ is still easier: as consisting only, in that it is not determined, what law of God it is that we mean. For neither does any man dream of the civil or ceremonial law of Moses in this dispute: nor can the moral law, according to the measure which made the condition of justifying faith under or before the Law, be intended by and for us, that live under the gospel: nor, for the same reason, the original law of righteousness in paradise, that obliged the then state of innocence. We must therefore rest in the evangelical law; which is nothing else but the covenant of grace, tendering everlasting life on God's part, under the condition of taking up and bearing the cross of Christ on our part, in making the profession of Christianity at our baptism, and living according to the same till death. To call this a law⁸, is no more than to make the covenant of grace a covenant, and not a mere promise: which is, to be no Fanatics. For, this law being settled for the condition of our reconcilement with God, the moral law comes in force as the matter of it: though neither according to the measure of original righteousness in paradise, nor that which was the condition of justifying faith before and under the Law; but according to that measure, which the precepts and example of our Lord Christ introduce, together with the promise of pardon for human infirmities, and of the helps of grace to go through the rest for the future. For, this law being passed under the state of original sin and the bondage of concu-

⁷ See Epilogue, Bk II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxii.: Just Weights and Measures, c. xi. § 1.

⁸ See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. iii. § 9, c. vii. § 6, note e.

piscence, the condition of it cannot be to live without sin, but faithfully to fight against sin. And therefore under this law, and within the bounds of it, there is a distinction to be made between mortal and venial sin^a. For as the promise cannot be forfeited unless the condition be renounced (which no surprise, no offence in small matters, can be construed to among "friends," which is the person that God assumes); so is it not usually possible among men, that he, who hath an habitual resolution to maintain the terms of his peace with God, should on an instant with full consent do that, which he knows must immediately dissolve it: especially, so as not to return to the habitual resolution which a man had; which if he do, the forfeiture then is as readily recovered as incurred, we know. And upon these terms it is, that under the gospel, though a law of so great perfection, yet God commands nothing impossible. For those sins, which have such strong temptations as are hard to be resisted, supposing the temptations already overcome by resolutions habituated to the contrary, we see, are easily resistible.

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[John xv.
14, 15;
Rom. v.
10.]

CHAPTER XXII.

[OF MERIT AND SATISFACTION.]

Now between the controversies concerning merit and satisfaction^b there can be no more difference, than there is between the recovery of the state of grace and the attaining of the state of glory. And therefore they may both be reduced to one; because there is no controversy, that by the grace of God in Christ, and through Christ, both of them must be decided. Indeed I have often marvelled to see learned men not distinguish between the merit of grace by nature and the merit of glory by grace^c. For to oblige God to reward any endeavour of man's free will with that grace, which only the death of Christ could purchase, is the same inconvenience that St. Paul infers Gal. ii. 21; "If righteousness come by

[The merit of grace by nature to be distinguished from the merit of glory by grace.]

^a See *ibid.*, c. xxxii. § 5, 6.

^b See *ibid.*, c. xxxiii.: Just Weights and Measures, c. xi. § 4.

^c See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxvi. § 5, c. xxx. § 19, 23—26, c. xxxiii. § 13, *sq.*

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the Law, then is Christ dead in vain :'' the righteousness of the Law being the work of nature, setting the grace of Christ aside. But the merit of glory by grace signifies no more, than a grant of everlasting life upon the condition which the covenant of grace requireth. And therefore it is grounded upon God's mere grace, which moved Him both to tender the covenant, and to provide helps to perform the condition of it. Therefore that is condemned by the Church for the very ground of Pelagius his heresy^d; this is owned by St. Augustin^e on every turn, and by the rest of the Church in terms of the same value.

[Jesuit doctrine of merit upon terms of commutative justice.]

§ 2. It is true, the Jesuits of late, to oblige the see of Rome, do hold in their courses of divinity, that the works of grace merit glory upon terms of commutative justice^f. But the worse divines the better Christians; allowing them to contradict themselves (as others do, when they run from the Church of Rome without reason or measure), in imagining commutative justice in obliging God by that, which His own grace furnishes, and valuing the works of corrupt nature by the incorruptible principle that works them. Besides, this doctrine is so new, that it cannot be said to have passed into the decrees of the council of Trent^g.

[School doctrine of merit of congruity and condignity.]

§ 3. As for the School, which usually hath made a difference between the merit of congruity and condignity^h, allowing satisfaction to the works of repentance merely in the way of congruity (because no man can properly merit while he is out of the state of grace, and yet it is agreeable to the grace of God to receive them to pardon that seek it as He requires), but to the works of grace the merit of glory, [that is,] of condignity: they should have considered, that the works of repentance are under the promise of the gospel towards the recovering of grace, as well as the works of grace towards the attaining of glory; and therefore the condignity, which has no ground but God's free promise, will never bring any reason of commutative justice into that merit, which is grounded upon nothing else. And therefore no man need

^d See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xix. § 19.

^e See *ibid.*, c. xxvi. § 20, 24, c. xxxiii. § 12, 13.

^f See *ibid.*, c. xxx. § 21, note u; c. xxxiii. § 15, 16: Just Weights and

Measures, c. xi. § 4.

^g See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxx. § 22, c. xxxiii. § 15.

^h See *ibid.*, c. xxxiii. § 16.

to consider, that the works of grace proceed from the Spirit of grace, inhabiting all that are in the state of grace, as their own: the works of repentance, from the same Spirit, as moving and acting them, that have forfeited, to recover the gift and endowment of it again. For, both being held by virtue of the same promise, there is no difference in the consideration, whereupon they are granted. And this, I hope, deserves to make the true notion of justifying faith recommendable, as well in reconciling, as determining this controversy. For all that depends upon the covenant, which proceeds from God's mere grace, derogates nothing from His grace, while it maintains His holiness.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

[OF PRECEPTS AND COUNSELS.]

THE difference between precepts and counsels, between works of debt and of supererogation, comes from the same source¹. The law, which the covenant of grace enacteth, requires only things essentially good. Retirement from the world, single life, and all that conduces to the service of God, are not such; for they are not commanded all Christians. They, who, moved by God to keep the Christianity which they profess, undertake such a course of life, that so they may do; think you they are not under the same promise, that all Christians are under, of grace and help to fulfil that which they undertake? Then would not our Lord have encouraged it: then would not St. Paul have advised virgins to it: then would not the Church from the beginning have used and frequented it. Tertullian's book *De Velandis Virginitibus*² shews, that virgins were under their bishops' charge from St. Paul's time. The virginity of our Lord's mother¹, as it is a warrant that the curse of barrenness by the Law is turned into a blessing by the gospel, so was it an example for the Church to follow. And the example, having been followed by all ages of the Church, shews the effect of the promise.

[Single life and retirement from the world are not perfection, but the means to it.]

[Matt. xix. 11, 12; 1 Cor. vii. 25—28, 36—38.]

¹ See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxxii. § 34—42: Just Weights and Measures, c. xi. § 2, 3.

² See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxii. § 9, note q.

¹ See Mill, *Christian Advocate's* Publication for 1843, Accounts of our Lord's Brethren in the N. T. vindicated against Mythical Interpreters, pp. 301—310. Camb. 1843.

CHAP. XXIII. For it is no more marvel, that the fruits of single life, than that the fruits of Christianity, have decayed by process of time. Neither is it improper to call the profession of single life for the service of God, a state of perfection; considering the perfection, which the gospel requires above the Law. For this perfection consists not in single life, nor in any thing that is not commanded. But, the profession of single life being the means to attain that perfection, which consists in the service of God, whereof this retirement from the world gives opportunity, in that regard it may be called a state of perfection without offence. Whereas our Fanatics, that imagine themselves to be in a state of perfection, above that Christianity which bringeth life, are in a blasphemous heresy; placing perfection in that, which the common Christianity containeth not.

CHAPTER XXIV.

[OF THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM.]

I HAVE said, that the sacrament of baptism is included in the nature of justifying faith; that is, in the condition of the covenant of grace. And I cannot imagine, why the Socinians on one side, and all sects of Fanatics on the other side, should exclude it^m: only this, that so great an effect cannot be imputed to it but in respect of the grace of Christ, which the Socinians deny; but in respect of the covenant of grace and the condition of it, which no Fanatic owns. For, the profession of Christ's cross being the condition upon which the promises of the gospel become due, what marvel is it, that they should become due upon such a profession as engages all the actions of a man's life to all the world? It is not possible for all the world to name a condition more considerable, on the part of a Christian, for God to accept on His part, and make the promise due. For who can engageⁿ

[Baptism included in justifying faith.]

^m See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. vii. § 24, notes m, n: Bk. II. Of the Cuv. of Gr., a. i. § 7, note x,

c. v. § 6, notes b, c: Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. vi.

ⁿ Miswritten "engageth," in MS.

more than his whole life, which the covenant of baptism engageth? CHAP.
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§ 2. Heretics are so wise in their own conceit, that they see nothing in baptism but the washing of the flesh by water, on man's part. Did they consider the profession, which is made with a good conscience by him that is baptized, they would see the grace of Christ in undertaking it; they would see the condition of the covenant in rewarding it. And, seeing this profession is formed by every heresy and schism according [to] their several fancies, they would see, that the salvation of the world was not provided for, till the catholic Church was founded, that this profession might be measured by the faith of it, and made in the unity of it. For, the Church being founded by God to conduct those that have made the profession of baptism in the performance [of it], he, that violates the unity of it, forfeits his reward by hindering the salvation of all, that the unity thereof might have saved.

§ 3. It is true there was no law from the beginning in the Church, that the children of Christians should be baptized infants^o. But there was a law, and extreme care was always taken by virtue of that law, that no man should die unbaptized^p. It was desired, that they should understand what they did, when they undertook their baptism. But what Church, what authority, ever promised salvation without it? When all came to be Christians, and the Church could not presume that all would do their duty and be ruled, as when they were fewer, [and] necessity forbad, that all should be trusted with so great a concernment; all were provided for at once, by baptizing all infants. Pelagius would have answered, as Socinus does^q, that baptism is only a sign of purging those that had been defiled as Jews or Gentiles; if it would have served his turn. They, that saw the catholic Church united in the observation which they had received from the apostles, would have cast out Socinus as well as Pelagius, and Fanatics as well as both; had they then, as now, promised salvation without baptism.

[The profession of baptism to be made in the faith and unity of the Church.]
[1 Pet. iii. 21.]

[Baptism invariably required by the Church from the beginning.]

^o See Epilogue, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. iv. § 6, c. xix. § 12; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. viii. § 1, sq.

^p See *ibid.*
^q See *ibid.*, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. i. § 7, note r.

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CHAPTER XXV.

[OF THE SACRAMENT OF THE EUCHARIST; AND THE CAUSE OF THE PRESENCE OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST IN THE ELEMENTS.]

[Two questions made concerning the Presence in the Eucharist; by what means, and in what manner, it takes place.]

[Answer of the Calvinists may be two ways understood.]

[Answers of the Lutherans.]

As for the sacrament of the eucharist; in which both the manner of the presence and the reason of a sacrifice are questioned, how near they concern the salvation of Christians: it is to be considered, that there may be two several questions made; and that it would first be resolved, how and by what means, and then how and in what manner, the Body and Blood of Christ becomes and is present in the sacrament^r.

§ 2. For though they, that maintain transubstantiation, determine no more than the manner; yet those of the Reformation, that in opposition to it resolve that it is present by faith, may be two ways understood. For they may mean, that it becomes present by the faith of the Church, which celebrates the sacrament in confidence of the institution of our Lord, and of the promise which it containeth. But they may also mean, and so are understood, that it becomes present by the faith of him that receives, and to him alone, not to them that receive without a living faith^s. In neither of these meanings is there any answer to the question, in what manner the Body and Blood are present; but only to the question, how they become present in the sacrament.

§ 3. They, that hold consubstantiation, do seem to answer no otherwise than they, that hold transubstantiation: how they are, not how they become, present; concerning the formal, not concerning the effective, cause. But they are become divided within themselves. And some of them^t will have their consubstantiation to be effected by the hypostatical union; so that the Body and Blood of Christ are no more present in the sacrament, than they are every where: others^u will not have the hypostatical union to communicate the ubiquity of the Godhead to the Body and Blood of Christ, but by the means of God's will, appointing where

^r See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., cc. i.—iii.

^s See *ibid.*, c. i. § 3, note g, c. ii. § 8,

sq., c. iii. § 1—6.

^t See *ibid.*, c. iii. § 7—9.

^u See *ibid.* § 10, *sq.*

they shall be present, where they shall not. And this difference makes the dispute to be, between themselves, by what means their consubstantiation is effected; agreeing, that by consubstantiation the Body and Blood of Christ are present in the sacrament. CHAP.
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§ 4. Now all, that hold transubstantiation, believe that they become present by consecration: but those, that will have them present by the faith of him that receives, had need to consider, how they receive them in the sacrament any more than out of the sacrament; and, consequently, how they will maintain the sacrament to be any way necessary. For the discourse of our Lord in the sixth of St. John's gospel, as it was held before the sacrament was instituted, so is it to take place as well without the sacrament as in it. And therefore the faithful do eat the Flesh of Christ and drink His Blood, when they receive not the sacrament, when the time and occasion of receiving the sacrament is not. What reason then will they give, why they celebrate the sacrament, why God would have it celebrated; that have the whole effect of the sacrament without celebrating it? Why are they Socinians and Fanatics, that tread it under foot upon that account? Why is not all bread the Body, all wine the Blood of Christ, to them that receive it with faith? For if once they have recourse to the institution of Christ, they have recourse to the consecration by which it is executed, and to the faith of the Church in which the sacrament is celebrated. [The sacrament no way necessary on the Calvinistic theory.]

§ 5. And so must all they have, that will have their consubstantiation depend upon the will of God, which makes the hypostatical union to take place where and when it appoints. For where or when can he imagine that God will have it take place, but where the sacrament is celebrated by virtue of His institution that His Body and Blood may be received? And so must all say, that will have the Body and Blood of Christ to be by consubstantiation present every where as much as in the sacrament. For what reason will they give, why they celebrate the sacrament, the Body and Blood of Christ being every where present without celebrating of it? [Nor on the Lutheran, unless it has recourse to the institution of Christ.]

* See *ibid.* § 10: *Just Weights and Measures*, c. xiv. § 5, 6.

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[Attribute the Presence to | the institution and consecration, and all dispute is superseded respecting the manner of it.]

[1 Cor. xi. 27.]

§ 6. If this were agreed upon, which cannot be resisted but by Socinians and Fanatics;—that the Body and Blood of Christ become present in the sacrament by the institution of our Lord, by celebrating the sacrament, whereby His institution is executed by consecrating the elements to the purpose that the Body and Blood of Christ may be received:—the whole dispute concerning the manner of presence in the nature of the formal cause might be superseded. For then all parties must agree, that they are present sacramentally, as the nature of a sacrament requireth. And that, as it would be enough to make them “guilty of the Body and Blood” of Christ [that “eat and drink] unworthily,” so it would still require living faith to make that presence effectual to all that receive it; which all parties are obliged to require to the effect, as much as they are obliged to require consecration to the sacramental presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the sacrament.

CHAPTER XXVI.

[OF THE PRAYER OF CONSECRATION ; AND THE MODE OF THE PRESENCE.]

[How the words of institution effect the consecration.]

[Matt. xxvi. 26—28; Mark xix. 22—24; Luke xxii. 19, 20; 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25.]

THE Greek Church holds, that consecration is done by the prayers of the Church: the Latin Church², by the words of our Lord, “This is My Body—This is My Blood of the New Testament;” which they call “operating,” because the repeating of them they say makes the change. This conceit hath in it more appearance of magic, than of the word of God, if we take it as it sounds; which we have no reason to do. For the institution of our Lord being executed by celebrating the sacrament; and the celebration of the sacrament requiring a prayer, that the presence of the Body and Blood, which the institution promises, may be made good: what doubt is there, that this produces the effect? But by virtue of the institution; containing the narrative of what our Lord did, and commanded to be done. And therefore those words are to be repeated in celebrating the sacrament;

¹ See Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 51; and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. iv. § 8, sq.

² See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 1: and Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 3, 4.

not as "operating," but as signifying the promise which the precept insinuates, when our Lord says, "Do this in remembrance of Me." For so are we assured, that the elements, which the Church consecrates, are the Body and Blood of Christ; as those were, whereof our Lord speaks. And therefore it was our Lord's "blessing" or "thanksgiving," which made them so: according to an observation in my book^a, that *εὐλογία* and *εὐχαριστία* signifies no less than the celebration of the eucharist in the ancient fathers. What the thanksgiving used in the services, that are extant, was wont to contain, is there to be seen^b. But it ended in a prayer; —that the Holy Ghost may come down upon the elements proposed, to make them the Body and Blood of Christ.

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§ 2. This being done by virtue of our Lord's words, "Do this in remembrance of Me," declaring that the elements, which He was giving, were the Body and the Blood of Christ: what need any dispute, how they came to be so? nay, what need any dispute, how and in what manner they are so? What interest hath the salvation of Christians in the abolishing of the elements? Is the Body and Blood of Christ [any^c] whitt the more conveyed by bare accidents of the elements, than, the substance remaining? Was the flesh and the blood of the blessed Virgin abolished, that it might become the Flesh and Blood of our Lord? Was the flesh and the blood, that by nourishment of bread and wine was made in our Lord's nature, abolished, that it might become the Flesh and Blood of the Son of God^d? Is it not change enough, that the elements become the Body and Blood of Christ, which they were not before, unless they cease to be what they were before? Let twenty fathers teach (as all do teach), that the Body and Blood of Christ are present in the sacrament; and let one teach (as not one but many do expressly teach), that the elements are not absent. This one shall abate and derogate the force of tradition from the doctrine of transubstantiation; because a received doctor of the Church has taught otherwise without offence to the Church.

[No reason
remains for
transub-
stantia-
tion.]

^a Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. x. § 40. See also Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. iv. § 6, sq., c. xxiii. § 1, sq.; Just Weights and Measures, c. xv. § 9.

^b Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., *ibid.* § 41—43.

^c Miswritten "every," in MS.

^d See Just Weights and Measures, c. xiv. § 5.

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XXVI.[Nor for
consub-
stantia-
tion.][No tra-
dition for
transub-
stantiation,
and there-
fore it can
be no ar-
ticle of
faith.]

§ 3. Neither shall there remain any reason for consubstantiation: when it is received in the Church, that the elements are not absent because the Body and Blood of Christ are present.

§ 4. Let who will, peruse the sayings of the fathers, as they are lately expounded by Arnauld^e, in favour of transubstantiation, by Claude^f, in favour of living faith; or rather let him peruse the same, as he finds them expounded by the Archbishop of Spalato^g, in favour of the sacramental presence, which the consecration produces: then let him say in conscience, how he can take that for the tradition of the Church, the law of faith, the condition of salvation, and of communion with the Church, which he sees so much said to reprove. But let him say withal, whether he find any thing against that presence which the consecration inferreth. Let him make that an article of faith, that suffered so much dispute under Carolus Calvus; which the doctors of the Greek Church understand and express otherwise; which was never decreed, while the canonical power of the pope was in force, while Christian people could trust their guides for the good of their souls against their own secular interest.

[Enough
without it
to make
good
Christ's
institu-
tion.]

§ 5. Certainly the comparison of the hypostatical union leadeth all to believe the like in the sacrament^h, that believe the Spirit of God to come down upon the elements, and make them the Body and Blood of Christ; as the Church always prayed. For who can say, that they conduce not as much to the effect which the Spirit worketh by them, continuing bread and wine, as ceasing so to be? Or who can deny, that, if the union of the Spirit with the elements continue so long, and to such purposes, as the Church intends by consecrating, the institution of our Lord is made good and His doctrine fully verified?

[La Mil-
letiere and
others.]

§ 6. Whether or no this be the opinion of Rupertus Tui-

^e La Perpetuité de la Foy de l'Eglise Catholique touchant l'Eucharistie, défendue contre le Livre du Sieur Claude, Ministre de Charenton, 4to. Paris. 1669: by M. Antoine Arnauld.—Bks. iii.—v., and vii., viii., discuss the opinions of the Greek Church, the other Eastern Churches, and the Latins of the 7th to the 10th centuries.

^f Réponse au Livre de M. Arnauld,

entitulé La Perpetuité &c. 4to. Paris. 1670; and again in 1671: by Claude.

^g De Repub. Eccles., lib. v. c. 6, tom. ii. pp. 70, sq.: the appendices to which chapter discuss the testimony of the Fathers respecting the Presence in detail.

^h See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. ii. § 24, 25; c. iv. § 28.

tiensisⁱ, who is owned for an outlyer from the herd of transubstantiation; whether or no some Greek doctors have intimated it^k; whether or no consubstantiation may and would be reconciled to it: my business shall not be here to dispute. Nor do I marvel, that La Milletière, in his French book of transubstantiation, attested by so many prelates and Sorbonne doctors^l, should every where grant, that whatsoever belongs to the nature of the elements remains under the account of the accidents. But I would ask, what he says to that position, which our philosophy schools have maintained:—that there are no substantial forms of material substances; but that, when you have named a thing white, and bitter, and heavy, and by the rest of the accidents thereof *in concreto*, you have said the very form and substance of it. And I would know, what sense they have for the canon of the council of Trent; that bids anathema to all, that shall affirm the substance of the elements consecrated to remain^m.

CHAPTER XXVII.

[IN WHAT SENSE THE EUCHARIST IS A SACRIFICE.]

THE sacrament of the eucharist must needs be the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, because the Body and Blood of Christ are present in it as sacrificedⁿ. But is it not enough, that the sacrifice of Christ is represented first and commemorated, then offered to God to obtain the blessing of His cross for His people? That which the decree of Trent saith further,—that Christ is “sacrificed” in the eucharist,—is certainly to be reduced to that signification^o. For the act of sacrificing Christ upon the cross, that is, of crucifying Him by the Jews, is a thing consisting in motion and action; and can be no more repeated, than the present time can become the present time another time. Much less can the changing

[The eucharist is the sacrifice of Christ's cross, represented, commemorated, offered, not repeated.]

ⁱ See *ibid.*, c. iv. § 62, note n.

^k See *ibid.* § 62, 63.

^l *Le Moyen de la Paix Chrestienne, en la Réunion des Catholiques et des Evangeliques sur les differens de la Religion*, Pt. i. 8vo. Paris. 1637; the third part of which treatise is on the subject of the eucharist. The reference

has not been verified, as that part of La Milletière's book has not been met with.

^m See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 9, note d.

ⁿ See *ibid.*, c. v. § 13, 14.

^o See *ibid.* § 25.

CHAP. of the elements in consecrating the eucharist, to be offered
XXVII. to God, be the sacrificing of Christ upon the cross, or the
elements so changed the sacrifice.

[In what
sense propi-
tiationary.]

§ 2. But grant it were: what would it conduce more to the propitiation for sin, that it is the very sacrifice which Christ offered upon the cross, that is offered in the eucharist, as far as the nature of the business will endure without doing violence to our human senses; than consisting in offering the sacrifice of the cross unto God, being represented and commemorated in the eucharist? For I must caution, that there can be no propitiation for sin by the cross of Christ, but that which takes place by virtue of the covenant of grace; and that the condition of the covenant of grace is the common Christianity, professed once at our baptism, and performed or restored at the eucharist. Now let me know, how Christianity is performed or restored at the eucharist without communicating in the eucharist^p; and I will tell, how it is performed or restored by communicating in it. For he, that finds himself liable to infringe the Christianity undertaken at his baptism, and communicates to obtain the Spirit of Christ by and in His Body and Blood, that he may not, obtains it without peradventure. And he, that knows he hath infringed it, and hath run that course of mortification which his sin requires, hath not attained his propitiation, till he hath renewed the covenant of his baptism by receiving the eucharist. Having restored the breach made in his covenant, he hath found propitiation for his sin. And therefore the sacrifice of the eucharist is truly propitiation for sin, and applying of the propitiation of the cross.

[Abuses of
the Church
of Rome
in the pre-
misses.]

§ 3. But he, that sees a mass, and knows not what it means, and perhaps is told by his priests (as the greatest part of priests, that is, the debauched, are ready to tell him) that he is not concerned to know, only saying over his *Patens* and his *Aves* the while^q; what propitiation shall he find for his sin, in repeating the sacrifice of the cross by the sacrifice of the mass? Propitiation requires the communion; the

^p See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. v. § 26, c. xxiv. § 9, 10, c. xxx. § 11; and Just Weights and Measures, c. xv. § 7.

^q See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxiv. § 11, 12; and Conclus., § 71.

communion requires repentance; repentance is not repentance, if it may attain the communion and doth not. The Church, that can dispense with this and promise propitiation, may dispense with the gospel and continue the same Church.

CHAP.
XXVII.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

[OF MASSES FOR DELIVERING THE DEAD FROM PURGATORY,
AND OF LIMBUS PATRUM.]

BUT it is not enough, that this sacrifice is propitiatory; unless it be propitiatory for the dead, as well as for the living. And truly, if there be purgatory-pains, out of which souls may be delivered into all the essential bliss, that souls can have without their bodies, by masses and other the like offices; why should not I grant the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice? But I shall not allow that, unless I can allow another translation, of the souls of the fathers under the Law, out of such another skirt of hell as purgatory is said to be under the gospel, by the descent of Christ's Soul into hell during the three days of His death*. For though I see no necessary dependence between these two opinions: yet I see, that the condition of the covenant of grace, well understood, will dissolve them both. For he, that understands the apostles, arguing that the fathers before and under the Law were saved by faith and not by the works of the Law, must believe, that they were not saved as Jews but as Christians*. He must understand a spiritual law, veiled under the carnal law of Moses: which all Jews, "according to the spirit" as well as "according to the letter," promised themselves salvation by believing as well as by observing; as they promised themselves the land of Canaan by the literal law of Moses†. And so the fathers before the Law. In like manner, he, that under the gospel dies in the state of grace, in that right which the covenant of his baptism invested him with, and that restored from time to time by the communion of the eucharist, not

* See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxviii. § 22, c. xxix. § 2, &c.

† See *ibid.*, Bk. II. Of the Cov. of

Gr., c. xxix. § 12—18.

* See *ibid.*, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. xii., xiii.

CHAP. XXVIII. usurped by hypocrisy but obtained by sincerity; shall I say, that such a one falls into the devil's hands, till his number of masses and services, impertinent to the condition of his baptism, be completed? Surely, though I cannot but own a great difference in the qualification of those, that may die in the state of grace, for a ground of their difference in glory; yet, the race being spent at the hour of death, and the world either being or having overcome, why God's children should remain in the devil's hands I understand not^a.

[Of the descent of Christ into hell.]
[2 Tim. i. 10.]

§ 2. Indeed, before "life and immortality was brought to light by the gospel," as St. Paul says, it is no marvel, that all along the Law and the prophets even those which the apostle says expected salvation by faith are represented as lost in death; because the curse of death was not abolished by the dispensation of the Law. And therefore it is no marvel, that the primitive Christians in the Apostles' Creed have made the descent of Christ into hell an article of the faith. For that was it, which the curse of death upon the sin of Adam signified in the spiritual sense of the Law. And so far was the second Adam liable to the curse, that He might clear the first Adam and his posterity of it.

[The fathers respecting *Limbus Patrum* did not understand the spiritual sense of the Old Testament.]

§ 3. But I do marvel, that the fathers so generally should understand it of His human soul delivering the souls of the fathers before and under the Law out of the verge of hell and translating them into heaven with His own Soul^a. And more I do marvel, that Tertullian^b and others of the same opinion^c (enough, I suppose, to make *Limbo Patrum* to be no tradition of the Church, besides that it is no point of faith that it questions, but of reconciling the Scriptures of the Old with the Scriptures of the New Testament), placing Dives in hell as they were to do, should place "Abraham's bosom" in hell also at such a distance as Lazarus might discern. But all signifies no more than this: that they did not understand, what consequence the difference between the dispensations of the Law and of the gospel requires in the understanding of scriptures; which either veil the spiritual sense of the Law, or suffer beams of it to break forth.

[Luke xvi. 22, 23.]

^a See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxix. § 2—20.

^c See *ibid.*, c. xxviii. § 13, sq.

^b See *ibid.*, c. xxix. § 2, notes r—v.

^c See *ibid.* § 2—5.

§ 4. For it is very evident, that the writings, which we have from Jews according to the spirit^a (as I suppose, from the captivity of Babylon to the time of our Lord), though they came not by prophecy, yet set forth the world to come more clearly than the prophets themselves do. And these are they, that tell us, "The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God;" and that call upon "the spirits and souls of the righteous" to "bless the Lord," to "praise Him and magnify Him for ever." Neither, if it were Samuel's soul^b, that by necromancy appeared to Saul, doth it follow, that it was the devil's power, but God's, that brought it. So that they do exactly agree with those things, which our Lord in the gospel proposeth, of Dives and Lazarus, and the good thief in paradise: "bringing life and immortality to light," before He took possession of it in His own body.

§ 5. But the covenant of grace being preached by the apostles, and the condition thereof as well promised on God's part as required on ours; for them, that depart the world with a good title to it, being utterly past all further trial, to remain under the curse of the first Adam, being without fail the purchase of the second Adam, seems not to hold with the grace of the covenant. It is true, all reason requires,—the condition being better fulfilled by some than by others, who are notwithstanding entitled to the promise,—that there should be a difference between their succeeding estate, answerable to that which went afore here: as well after the day of judgment, as afore it^c. But for that which comes after the day of judgment, I am not here concerned. Before the day of judgment, though "the souls of the righteous" be "in the hand of God," according to that ray of light which shined through the veil of Moses before the coming of Christ; yet there may be a stain or a wrinkle in the souls, that have passed their trial, as well upon the account of the strict trial of that day, as of the mean time while it comes. For who cannot conceive,—that sees the souls of the martyrs, in the Apocalypse, so concerned for the glory of God in the vengeance which they knew He would take upon their persecutors, that sees the consolation of the "white robes" that

C H A P.
XXVIII.

[The Apocrypha sets forth the world to come more clearly than the prophets do.]

[Wisd. iii. 1; Song of the Three Children, 64; Ecclesi. xvi. 20.]

[Luke xvi. 19—31, xxiii. 43; 2 Tim. i. 10.]

[Faithful souls no longer under the curse of Adam between death and the judgment; yet have different degrees of happiness.]

[Apoc. vi. 9—11.]

^a See *ibid.*, c. xxvii. § 3, c. xxviii. § 7.

^c See *ibid.*, c. xxviii. § 31, c. xxix.

^b See *ibid.*, c. xxviii. § 8, and c. xxix. § 30, sq.

CHAP. XXVIII. God allows them to stay their stomachs,—what want those of lower forms may have of God's comfort; whether by visitation of angels, or by those that come from hence, or by His own Spirit, as St. Augustin^d distinguishes? Or who can deny, that it is any more than the office of the Church, to pray for their "rest and peace and light and refreshment?"

[No delivering of souls therefore from purgatory, yet room for prayers for the dead.]

§ 6. But this is not the propitiation for sin, which they pretend by delivering souls from purgatory-pains by masses^e. Only it is the benefit of the communion of saints, in virtue of propitiation attained for the living by communion in the eucharist, qualifying the soul for the benefit of prayers, which the word of God warrants. And therefore, whereas no time, no place, no part of the Church can be named, wherein prayers for the dead had a beginning, and were contradicted at other times and in other parts^f: it will be no less manifest, that the ancient Church did believe no translation of souls from pain to bliss before the day of judgment; but that Origen's purgatory^g (that is, the fiery trial of souls by the judgment of that day, as well as of bodies, by the fire that shall burn up the world) had a vogue in the primitive Church^h, sufficient to assure men of common sense, that there could be then no belief of the delivering souls out of purgatory into happiness. The same will appear in later times by the contentions between the Greek and Latin Church about purgatoryⁱ.

CHAPTER XXIX.

[NO ESSENTIAL AND ABSOLUTE HAPPINESS FOR BLESSED SOULS UNTIL THE RESURRECTION OF THEIR BODIES.]

[Nothing either in Scripture or in the primitive Church of blessed souls seeing God's face before the judgment.]

As for that state of happiness, into which they pretend to translate out of purgatory; it cannot appear, that the martyrs in the Apocalypse did see the throne of God, when they served God before the throne in the white robes that were given them for that purpose^j. It is St. John, that sees the throne in a vision of prophecy; in which he sees them in the court of the temple, beneath the altar upon which the

^d See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxix. § 35, note f.

^e See *ibid.* § 55—62; and Just Weights and Measures, c. xvi. § 1—3.

^f See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 38—54; Just Weights and Measures, *ibid.*, and c.

xxii. § 9.

^g See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 59, note h.

^h See *ibid.*, notes i—r.

ⁱ See *ibid.* § 34.

^j See *ibid.*, c. xxvii. § 9, 10; c. xxix. § 30.

prayers of the saints are offered to God. The throne, with the four angels surrounding it, is in the holy of holies; where the throne of God sitting upon the cherubim always was. And "the temple of God in heaven was opened" to the prophet (Apoc. xi. 19), "and the ark of His covenant was seen in His temple;" when He revealed to him the conversion of the Gentiles by the calling of the Roman empire to Christianity^k. But this alters nothing in the martyrs: of whom, as Tertullian^l most rightly understands it, Apoc. xiv. 13, "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labours and their works follow them." Nothing there or anywhere else of their seeing God's face. Nothing in the doctrine of the primitive Church: which, according to the Scripture, suspending the expectation even of martyrs, and by consequence of all blessed souls, upon the day of judgment, sufficiently teaches us, that, as there is no translation from pain to bliss till the day of judgment, so there is no essential happiness for blessed souls before the resurrection of their bodies^m.

§ 2. Only, as the increase of superstition and ignorance in the Church shut out that understanding, upon which the confidence of Christians concerning their peace with God may and ought to be grounded; they became easy to be imposed upon, by an imagination of redeeming their sins with monies: which the dreams of hypocritical monks improved to that wealth, which they, who had given out of superstition, were ready to ravish by sacrilege. But the consent of the Church in the imperfect happiness of the dead, so long as they are without their bodies, was so vigorous in all ages, that nothing was decreed concerning the happiness they pretend to translate to, till the court of Rome sat at Avignon; and the popeⁿ, that would have decreed the contrary, was found too weak, with the then king of France, in whose power the court then was, for the school of Sorbonne that had engaged in it. So it is become an article of the faith, that souls are translated out of purgatory to see the face of God, chiefly by the propitiatory sacrifice.

CHAP.
XXIX.

[Apoc. iv.
—vi., vii.
9—15.]

[How late
and in
what way
the Roman
doctrine
came in.]

^k See above, c. xi. § 1.

^l See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxvii. § 10. note q.

^m See *ibid.*, c. xxix. § 41—52.

ⁿ Scil. John XXII., A.D. 1316—1334. Philip VI. was the king of France. See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 34, notes b—d.

CHAP.
XXX.

CHAPTER XXX.

[CONFIDENCE OF SALVATION TO BE ATTAINED IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.]

[The
Church of
England
hath the
"word
and sacra-
ments:"]

HERE have we a ground for that comparison between the reformation of the Church of England, and that of the council of Trent, whereof I intend this discourse for a prospect. Let those of the reformed, that make "the word and sacraments" the mark of the true Church^o, give me leave to limit their saying by my own terms; and I am ready here to say, that whatsoever the Church of Rome hath preserved of antiquity, countervails not that confidence of their estate in God's grace, which all the Church of England may attain, upon the ground of the condition of the covenant of grace, and the use of baptism and of the eucharist taught and restored by the reformation of the Church.

[being
a true
Church.]

§ 2. For I must first observe, that this position supposes the Church for which it standeth to be a true Church. And that I presume in behalf of this Church, by reason of a visible authority, visibly derived into it, by a visible succession of the bishops thereof; the reformation pretending no more, than to restore that which had been decayed by the fault of times past, unto that which first was instituted by the apostles and the authority of the apostles. And therefore, all this being done by authority of the whole Church against the interest of the present Church of that time, the mischiefs of separation will remain imputable to them, that prefer their own will in giving law of themselves to the Church, before the salvation of souls, concerned in restoring that which was so decayed; and so excommunicate all, that make any change without their authority.

[The
"word,"
meaning
the con-
dition of
the cove-
nant of
grace;]

§ 3. Secondly, I suppose, that "the word," in the terms of this position, signifies the very same that it does in the writings of the apostles: that is, not the Scripture; but the message of the gospel, the condition of the covenant of grace, preached by our Lord and His apostles, and enacted between the Church on God's behalf, and every Christian soul for itself, by giving and receiving the sacrament of baptism, estating all in God's grace and the inheritance of the world

^o See Epilogue, Conclus., § 7.

to come, that sincerely undertake it and faithfully live by it. It is the same, which the true notion of justifying faith signifieth in the writings of the apostles, according to that determination of things controverted between the Reformation and the Church of Rome, which I have premised^p. CHAP.
XXX.

§ 4. But chiefly comprising in it the sacrament of baptism: which the article of our creed and the consent of the whole Church agrees, that it cannot be effectual to salvation unless it be given and received in the unity of the catholic Church; unless it be in the case of those persons, who either have not the knowledge or the choice of receiving it in the catholic Church, and are obliged to undertake the Christianity which they hope to be saved by professing. For this it is, that rendereth the communion of the Church necessary to the salvation of particular Christians; there being no Church, no prelate, no person or body of persons, that can give authority to baptize, unless they hold it themselves from the catholic Church. [and including baptism;]

§ 5. This is that, which saves me the care to say any thing of the eucharist, but that it holds the place of baptism for all a Christian's life after baptism, as works do the place of faith: so that no man can blame any thing but himself, if, God having provided the sacrament of the eucharist to furnish grace and strength to perform that which we undertake at our baptism, to restore all breaches greater or less that may have been made in it by sin, we had rather continue in sin, than dispose ourselves by repentance and receive the eucharist so disposed. [and the eucharist:]

§ 6. For this being that which all Christians are called to by the gospel, which all undertake by their baptism, and that, in order of nature and reason, before they be members of the Church; the Church, which was founded by God to procure this disposition, not to hinder the effect of it, can by no means forbid that, which is before the authority of it. [and so being, in order of nature and reason, before the Church.]

§ 7. If this be duly considered, it will appear, first, that in this lamentable and dissolute estate of this Church, and notwithstanding the persecution under which it [groans^q], there is nothing in the Church of Rome that can countervail that [Good reason for remaining in the communion of the Church of England.]

^p Above, c. xvi. § 3; and Epilogue, § 1, &c.
Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. vii.

^q The word is illegible in the MS.

CHAP. help to salvation, which neither the disorders of it nor of
 XXX. this Church can defeat a simple Christian of, doing what he may do: secondly, that I, who am persecuted by the tongues of those, that would have me to speak for hope from that Church, not for love of the truth^r, have given a reason why I continue in the communion of it, and advise all to do the like, without charging the pope to be antichrist and the papists idolaters, which those that have charged them cannot prove them to be; which I can challenge all the tongues that persecute me to give so just a one.

CHAPTER XXXI.

[NEED OF CONFIRMATION BY THE BISHOP.]

[The ground of confirmation.] BECAUSE it is necessary to salvation to preserve the unity of the Church, therefore is it necessary to be subject to the bishop of every Church. For the bishop being authorized by the Church, to resist him in any thing, wherein he is authorized by the Church, is to call in question the unity of the Church. This is the ground of confirmation^s, that appears in the first use of it: when the apostles went down to Samaria, where Philip had baptized; and, to shew that he had acted according to the authority which they had given him, in approbation thereof laying their hands upon them, they received the visible graces of the Holy Ghost, testifying His invisible presence: Acts viii. 14 [—17].

[The baptism but not the confirmation of heretics admitted by the Church.] § 2. The same reason is eminent in the reconciling of heresies to the Church; at such time as it was resolved, that those who had been baptized in the form of the Church (that is, “in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost”), should not be re-baptized^t. For I suppose I have shewed in my Latin book^u, that this was not received by the Church from the beginning, as settled by God’s law, but agreed upon for the benefit of religion, that heretics might be the more easily reclaimed to the Church. So the baptism of

^r See above in c. i. § 1, note d.^s See Just Weights and Measures, c. xviii. § 2, c. xxi. § 9.^t See *ibid.*, c. xiv. § 2, note n, and

references there.

^u De Ratione Fin. Controv., c. xx. pp. 368, 369.

heretics was admitted to stand good in that case; which had it been made void, it had not been re-baptizing, but baptizing them, that had not been baptized, because their former baptism was void. But the confirmation of heretics was not admitted to stand good, when they were received into the Church by imposition of hands^v, praying for the Holy Ghost, which their baptism had given had not their separation hindered. For it is to be supposed, that the most, if not all heresies, did give confirmation after baptism; as the Church did, whom they studied to counterfeit. And therefore that confirmation was taken for nothing, when they were confirmed at their coming to the church. And so there is no exception left, why, as baptism imprints a mark for God upon every one that is baptized, so confirmation should not imprint a mark of God and of His Church upon him, that receives it under a profession of holding unity with it, under the authority of the bishop, the guardian of it.

§ 3. Now see a further necessity hereof in the state of religion which now we see. For setting aside the heresy of the Anabaptists, and granting for the reasons aforesaid that it is and was, when all came to be Christians, necessary to baptize infants^{*}; it is to be owned for the greatest defect that ever the whole Church was guilty of, that there was no course taken for the catechising of them when they came to profess for themselves. A defect very excusable, because the necessity of it fell not out in an instant. Neither was so great a body as the whole Church ever obliged, more now than then, to seek a remedy for it. But by this means Christianity decayed, when the solemnity of profession engaged not to that which had been professed. In this regard, the order of this Church being so excellent^v, especially in such a time as this, when all lies in the fidelity of them that declare their choice, there is comfort enough in the communion of it, though zeal be wanting to bring it to effect by practice.

[Defect in the whole Church, and excellent order in the English Church, for catechising.]

^v See *ibid.*, p. 363; Just Weights and Measures, c. xxv. § 2. note 1: Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xiv.: and references there.

^{*} See above, c. xxiv. § 3, notes o, p.

^v Canons of 1603, can. lix.; Rubric at the end of Catechism; Exhortation

at the end of the Form of Public Baptism of Infants.—The Directions of Charles II. concerning Preaching, of Oct. 14, 1662 (in White Kennet's Register &c., pp. 794—796), order preaching "on the Catechism or the Liturgy" in the afternoon of the Sunday.

C H A P.
XXXII.

CHAPTER XXXII.

[THE MINISTRY OF THE KEYS NOT ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO THE
PURGING OF SIN AFTER BAPTISM.]

[Forgiveness of sin after baptism attainable by Christians without the keys of the Church.]

I SUPPOSE I can here give a peremptory reason^a, why the office of the Church, and the ministry of the keys thereof, is not absolutely necessary to the purging of that sin, whereby the state of grace is forfeited; which cannot be given but upon the principles premised. Distinguish first between that which is necessary to the salvation of particular Christians as particular Christians, and as members of the Church. Then grant me, according to the premisses, that the condition of salvation contained in the word and sacraments, as it hath been declared, is good to particular Christians before their baptism; supposing the resolution of undergoing it by receiving baptism. And there can be no reason alleged, why he, that hath forfeited the benefit of it, knowing wherein the recovering of it lies, should not be able to restore himself to that benefit, with those helps of grace which the condition itself implies; not supposing the being of a Church, as being in order of nature and reason before it.

[That which concerns particular Christians as such, is written in the New Testament; that which comes by tradition, concerns them as members of the Church.]

§ 2. And truly the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist our Lord Himself in person instituted; together with the power of the keys in His apostles, as in St. Peter, and in His Church. The rest that belongs to the ordering of His Church, seeing He left it all to His apostles and their successors, it is thereby to be understood that it is not necessary to the salvation of Christians in general; but as it comes to be the office of them, that come to be concerned as members of the Church. So the case comes to be quite opposite under the gospel, to that which was under the old law. For under the Law, that which was necessary to salvation, was not delivered by written law, but by traditions received from the fathers, and maintained by the rulers, priests, and prophets of God's people. Under the

• gospel, the condition of salvation, in the word and sacra-

^a See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. ix. § 5, sq.; c. x. § 29, sq.

ments, I have shewed to be written in the Scriptures of the New Testament. That which comes by tradition from the custom of the Church, which the authority thereof hath created, concerns the salvation of Christians as it concerns the exercise of their piety in the unity of the Church. As for the tradition of faith, it is nothing else but the limiting of the sense of the Scriptures within those bounds which the use of the Church from the beginning hath owned and received, and therefore cannot be learned from the written word.

§ 3. The application hereof confounds the bold ignorance of the School, which the council of Trent hath canonized; in making the effect of contrition, which they own for the full condition of pardon, to depend upon the resolution of seeking it from the keys of the Church^a. For in baptism the reason is manifest; because it is not the resolution but the profession of taking up Christ's cross, which God requires for the condition of the gospel. But the condition being fulfilled, to make the effect to depend upon the Church, is an inconsequence; and therefore it is gross impudence to pretend tradition for that which we see so perpetually interrupted by practice.

§ 4. I have said already, that heretics were reconciled without penance^b, for peace' sake. Who could satisfy the keys of the Church, in that case, of the penitence of all that returned? Because all might return penitent, it was best, for peace' sake, to admit all without satisfying the Church.

§ 5. When the clergy were degraded, but not excommunicated, some have disgraced the ancient Church, as if the clergy favoured themselves^c; others more reasonably justify the order,—that for the clergy to be degraded and excommunicated, was two penalties for one of the laity that are excommunicated. But seeing degrading did not put them to penance, it is manifest they were trusted to impose it upon themselves, knowing by their degree what was requisite.

§ 6. But the mention of public penance is so frequent, of private so rare, in the most ancient writers of the Church^d,

^a See *ibid.*, c. xi. § 4; and Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxiii. § 9.

^b See *ibid.*, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 31, 32: and above,

c. xxxi. § 2.

^c See Selden as cited in Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. x. § 30, note f.

^d See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 20—40.

[Attrition not made contrition by the keys of the Church.]

[Heretics reconciled without penance.]

[The clergy degraded, but not excommunicated.]

[Of public penance in the primitive Church.]

CHAP. XXXII. that it would be an injury to common sense to imagine, that all forfeitures of the covenant were cured by the keys of the Church. Rather are we to admire the simplicity and integrity of their Christianity: that could persuade their people to submit to public penance, sins not public; and when afterwards the world was come into the Church, could maintain such a rigorous discipline by dispensing in the rule where the case required. For they, that condemn the rigour of the canons, forget themselves, when they take no notice of the power of dispensing which the bishop is by them allowed.

[Corruption of the Church of Rome in the premisses.]

§ 7. In the western parts, they placed the prodigals in their office, when they proposed indulgence to all that undertook the voyage of the Holy Land^e; but it was to the advantage of the see of Rome, taking into their protection all indebted to God or man, taking upon them to fight for their greatness against the infidels. But though corrupt designs had no better success, yet is it to be acknowledged, that the interest of religion fell in with the interest of their greatness, when they made use of it to establish a law of private confession once a year, when public penance was come to nothing by such abuses^f. And we are beholden to the council of Trent, that they are content to acknowledge that public penance is a thing lawful^e, instead of acknowledging, that by their misgovernment public penance is abolished, to license every debauched priest to abuse his office at pleasure.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

[THE MINISTRY OF THE KEYS NEEDFUL IN THE CHURCH. YET THE DOCTRINE OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT RESPECTING PENANCE, MORE DANGEROUS TO SOULS, THAN THE ABANDONMENT OF DISCIPLINE BY THOSE OF THE REFORMATION.]

[The ministry of the keys needful in the Church.]

BUT having granted that it is possible for sin, even sin that forfeits the covenant of grace, to be cured without the keys of the Church, have we therefore granted, that the keys of the Church and the ministry of them is instituted by our Lord to no purpose? It must be a sickly time in religion,

^e See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xi. § 8.

§ 16—20.

^f See *ibid.*, c. x. § 34, note s; c. xi.

^e See *ibid.*, c. xi. § 18, note e.

that shall induce such a consequence. If one of a thousand can do that for himself, which a thousand of the rest cannot do for themselves without the help of the Church, are we not to thank God for the help He provides us by the Church? Set aside all difference of education, learning, experience, knowledge in God's word, whereby one man becomes qualified above another to judge of the contrition professed, how justly it entitles to pardon with God, to the presumption of pardon with the Church: the very inclination, that every man hath, to pardon himself right or wrong, makes it discrete for the wisest to give themselves up to a physician with the authority of a judge.

§ 2. And herein the Church of Rome might seem to have an advantage, the authors of the Reformation having abandoned so much of this discipline to the will of them that would not follow them otherwise. But they are fain to prostitute so much of it to the licentiousness of the debauched priesthood; that, as civil war is the ruin of the country on both sides, so the schism is the ruin of religion, which side soever prevails. For there is nothing more certain than the resolution of Firmilianus to St. Cyprian^b, that the Church pardons sin by fitting the sinner for pardon; tying him to that penance, the undergoing whereof fits him for it. And, therefore, when the council of Trent grants, that attrition disposes to grace, to be obtained by the keys¹; it makes the keys the pander to let in all the debauched to communion: which is to void the gospel, by the power of the Church, founded upon it.

§ 3. Again: satisfaction for sin can no other way be tendered to God, than as to appease His wrath, and testify the desire of a sinner to be reconciled: which among Christians can have no ground but the satisfaction of our Lord Christ, by which these terms of reconciliation were obtained for us. And, therefore, no works of satisfaction can have any other end, than to demonstrate the contrition with which a sinner seeks pardon. And, therefore, the council utterly disables them, and takes them away, by proposing all reasons but that one which is necessary for the obtaining of pardon

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XXXIII.

[Gross abuse in the Church of Rome in making attrition with the keys sufficient.]

[And in its doctrine of satisfaction.]

^b Quoted *ibid.*, c. x. § 16.

¹ See *ibid.*, c. xi. § 4, note a.

CHAP. (cap. viii.)¹; that it may leave an outlet for the necessity of them in sins already pardoned. For if they be appointed by God to redeem the temporal penalty, always reserved after sin is pardoned; it will be the easier to believe, that they serve to redeem the temporal penalty remaining to be paid in purgatory: which is the opinion their practice favours, but they have not the face to own².

[The Church none the better for auricular confession on these terms.]

§ 4. But they, who know, that they were required by the ancient Church to demonstrate the sincerity of that contrition, wherewith Christians submitted to penance, [and] to exercise and to perfect the same; may easily see, that Christian souls are murdered, when they are persuaded, that their disposition for pardon becomes sufficient by submitting to the keys, when of itself it was not. Neither can any thing be more destructive to the terms of [the] gospel, than to make the keys supply the defect of that disposition for pardon, which a man must have before he can have benefit of communion with the Church. And, therefore, how much better the Church is for having auricular confession upon these terms; and whether the knowledge, which the Reformation brings, secures not the faithful better than so: God, and His Church, must judge.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

[OF EXTREME UNCTION, AS A BRANCH OF PENANCE.]

[Extreme unction a branch of penance.]

I MUST not leave this point, till I have remembered that which I have proved more at large in my Epilogue¹;—that extreme unction, according to the institution thereof in St. James v. 14—16, is nothing else but a branch of penance, that is exercised upon them that lie in danger of death. And this will be more manifest, admitting that which I conceive I have proved;—that, under the apostles, it was a matter of question whether or no all sins should be admitted

¹ See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 11, note u. The uses of works of satisfaction, which the council specifies, are, the temporal punishment of sins already pardoned, the deterring from a repetition of sin, the cure of evil habits, the making

men conformable to the sufferings of Christ.

² See Epilogue, *ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, c. xii. And see *Just Weights and Measures*, c. xxi. § 10.

to reconciliation by the keys of the Church. For then it will be evident, that confession must go before, that judgment might pass, whether such or not. CHAP. XXXIV.

§ 2. And yet it will be nothing strange in my opinion, that it should follow there, "Confess your sins to one another, and pray for one another that ye may be healed." For if it be possible for a Christian to cure himself; much more will it be possible for him to do it with the help of a simple Christian, not trusted with the keys of the Church. Far more is it, that St. Paul teaches, Gal. vi. 1:—"Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such a one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted:"—speaking to all, and not to them only that ministered the keys; for in those times they did without jealousy use the advice of the most faithful, without prejudice to authority. And yet, when the faith is spread, and the world come into the Church; and the unity thereof concerning the salvation of all, more than such orders, though they had been under the apostles: no marvel, if authority prevail to oblige charity in preferring unity. I hold with the Greek Church, that the eucharist is consecrated by the prayers of the congregation^m; and that all Christians are priests so far. But neither I, nor the Greek Church, ever imagined the authority of the priesthood communicable to the peopleⁿ, in which the succession of the apostles invests it^o. [How far the congregation are concerned in it.]

§ 3. But, the text of the apostle being cleared of these difficulties, it is manifest enough, that as the disciples of our Lord did cure the sick by anointing them with oil, whom they had not yet made Christians, so God granted to His primitive Church the cure of diseases as He found it required; assuming howsoever the cure of sin, according to the terms of the gospel^p. And as it is no inconvenience to my opinion, that the dispute which remained under the apostles is so many ages since determined, for our times; now that the world is come into the Church, and all sins admitted to and by the keys in danger of death: so can- [What ought to take its place at the present time.] [Mark vi. 13.]

^m See above, c. xxvi. § 1, note y.

ⁿ See below in c. xxxv.

^o So in MS.

^p See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the

Laws of the Ch., c. ix. § 21—23;

c. xii. § 4: Just Weights and Measures,

c. xviii. § 8, 11.

CHAP. XXXIV. not a more necessary office be done by those, that have the power, than visiting the sick ; provided that they be warned, that the disposition for pardon must be maintained by themselves all along their life, which no ministry can procure in a moment.

CHAPTER XXXV.

[OF ORDINATION.]

[Ordination indeleble.]

[Numb. xvi. 37—40.]

[What grace it confers.]

As for ordination^a, who can deny the character that it stamps, but he that believes no such thing as a Church? For what consecration can be more visible than that of persons to the service of the Church? Or what obligation can be so indeleble as that which is contracted by it? Do we not see, that the censers of Korah and his followers, though consecrated in schism, are nevertheless challenged by God? A heavy charge upon those, that are ordained in and for schism. For the obligation will remain upon them after their return from their schism, which they cannot discharge but by rendering themselves fit for the service of the Church. In the meantime the Church is free to employ them or not, as they shew cause.

§ 2. But the grace, which is the effect of ordination, appears clear enough by the institution of our Lord, and the authority that executes it. For if the prayers of the Church, grounded upon our Lord's appointment and executed by the authority He giveth the Church, prevail not for the effect upon persons qualified according to His ordinance; what shall be thought of the Christian religion, which takes not effect when it is not transgressed? But the grace is twofold, as I suppose. For the grace of God upon the person ordained, must needs depend upon the condition where-with he is qualified; not only at present, but as for the future he shall continue in the office he undertaketh. But if he fail of it, will any man believe, that believes God hath founded Himself a Church, that the Church shall fail of the effect of his ministry, because he is not in the state of God's grace?

^a See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xvi. § 17—21; c. xx. § 43, sq., 59; c. xxx. § 25 —29: Just Weights and Measures, c. xviii. § 3, 4; c. xxi. § 10.

Therefore, in the second place, the authority of the Church draws after it a promise of God's blessing upon the ministry that is according to authority, though by ill ministers. CHAP.
XXXV.

§ 3. Now the succession of the apostles, extant in the order of bishops, manifestly shews, that there can be no power of ordination without their authority^r. But otherwise in propagating their successors, than in their coadjutors and ministers. For it is the consent of bishops, that makes a bishop; and since provinces were distinguished by the Church according to the state^s, the consent of the province, not without the bishop of the mother city. Before, it was enough for the sincerity of the nearest to agree; when there was no fear, that the charity of their neighbours would except at that which was done for the best with the least trouble. [Of bi-
shops.]

§ 4. As for priests, and their office and ministry; they are relative to their respective bishops as their coadjutors, and therefore to be promoted by them whom they are to assist: as also deacons, that are to attend upon both, and upon the people, in the ministry of their offices^t. And though it had been no law of God, but the custom of the whole Church, that hath made the difference; yet ought it no less firmly to hold, that only bishops manage the keys in the outward court of the Church, priests in the inward court of the conscience^u. I refer myself to the reasons elsewhere produced; that the ministry of the keys, in admitting to or repelling from the communion, is of equal extent with the power of celebrating the eucharist^v. [Of priests
and dea-
cons.]

§ 5. I marvel at those great scholars, that were put to a stand, in a point received all over the Church, by the reading of one copy of Tertullian: "*Ubi ecclesiastici ordinis consensus non est, et offers et tinguis et sacerdos es tibi solus*"^x. For a good copy may fail: and there was a more reasonable reading then printed; "*Et offert et tinguit sacerdos, qui est ibi solus.*" And what should Tertullian oppose to "*consensus ordinis,*" [Mistaken
reading in
Tertullian.]

^r See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xx. § 50—62; and other passages there referred to.

^s See Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 26—28, and other passages there referred to.

^t See Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. xii. § 8, sq.; Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. iv. § 6, sq.; Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. ii. § 44—70; Just Weights and Measures, c. xxi. § 11, notes k, m; &c.

^u See Just Weights and Measures, c. xxiv. § 9.

^v See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iii. § 13, sq.

^x Quoted in Prim. Gov. of Ch., c. ix. § 8, note t.—The "more reasonable reading" is Pamelius' correction, who also reads "*consensus est*" (see Pamel. *ad loc.*). The other, which Thorndike condemns, is the received text.

CHAP. viz. in a mother Church; but "*sacerdos solus*," in a congre-
XXXV. gation under one priest? And when he says, "*Digamus tin-
guis? digamus offers?*" it is because laymen baptized in case
of necessity; and laymen offered at the communion, because
the Church took it to be consecrated by their prayers.

[Clergy to be con- § 6. But though a priest or a deacon had the rank of a
fined to priest or a deacon all over the Church, yet he ministered no
their own where but under his respective bishop, unless upon civility or
dioceses.] charity; till he was dismissed by him⁷. This is one point,
that a due reformation requireth; seeing it is the irregularity
of the see of Rome, that hath disordered it.

[Of the inferior degrees of the clergy.] § 7. As for inferior degrees of the clergy, brought in by
the Church⁸; were their education and ministries restored to
that, which they were when they were instituted, there would
be cause for antiquity to take place. But for the name to be
restored, when the thing is lost, were to trouble the quiet of
the Church for words.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

[OF MATRIMONY.]

[Interest of the Church in matrimony.] As for the sacrament of matrimony, remaining of the seven
so called by the School: I will speak of the word "sacrament"
in due place^a. In the mean time, the Church must needs have
an interest in allowing, and therefore in celebrating, of it;
because Christian marriage is under a peculiar law, which
makes it an indissoluble conjunction of one with one^b.

[Dispensation of polygamy under the fathers before Christ.] § 2. This was indeed the primitive law of paradise; and
Lamech seems to be marked for the first that violated it. But
after the flood, we have all the reason in the world to believe,
that it was dispensed with; though that dispensation were re-
strained with the fathers more than under the rest of the sons
[Gen. ii. 24, iv. 19.] of Noe, and more afterwards by the Law^c. I do not think we
are to stand to the credit of the Jews^d, how far this dispensa-

⁷ See the canon quoted in Just Weights and Measures, c. xxiv. § 1, note k.

^a See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 64, note f.

^b Below, c. xli. § 4.

^c See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xlii. § 1, sq.;

and Just Weights and Measures, c. xviii. § 9, c. xxi. § 11.

^d See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 5—7, and c. xv. § 6—8; and Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxi. § 35.

^e See *ibid.*

tion extended. But that such a one there was:—when so clear a reason is rendered, how the fathers, who were saved by faith, lived neither according to the law of paradise nor that of Moses; when the Scriptures admit no other interpretation: there is no cause to refuse that, which Christianity contradicts not.

§ 3. But if the law of paradise were restored by our Lord Christ, there will be no manner of reason left, why the Levitical law should be a rule to the Church in the prohibiting of degrees*. For that those, who can have no more wives than one, should be no more restrained than they, that might have more, is a hindrance to the propagation of Christianity by marriage. And therefore, as the law of Moses restrained the precept of the sons of Noe in that behalf, so will it be necessary to grant, that the law of Christ is to restrain the law of Moses. Not that there was from the beginning any measure of restraint published by the apostles, but that, the Church having the allowing and so the solemnizing of marriage from the beginning, the reverence of public honesty (that is, the sense of what seemed decent before the world) prevailed by degrees to restrain that, which neither the Levitical nor the Roman law had restrained.

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[Levitical law not a rule to the Church in prohibiting degrees.]

§ 4. And therefore I must needs commend that measure, which in St. Gregory's time had obtained the force of law in the Roman diocese^f (that is, in those provinces of the empire, that had been anciently governed by the city of Rome and the magistrates residing there^g); which prohibited marriage within the seventh degree. For when the Roman laws called all within that degree to succeed in the inheritance of those that died intestate^h; it seemed, that public honesty pointed them to abstain from marriage with those, that were so near.

[Roman rule in the time of St. Gregory the Great to be commended.]

§ 5. I believe it will be as notable an instance of that ignorance, that that barbarism breeds, and the usurpation of the see of Rome thereupon, as is to be found any where: to find the reason of the difference between the civil and canon laws in counting the degreesⁱ; and why the see of Rome, having first restrained marriage twice as far as under St. Gregory

[Computations of the civil and canon laws respectively.]

* See *ibid.*, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xv. § 4, 5; and *Just Weights and Measures*, c. xviii. § 9.

^f See *Epilogue*, *ibid.* § 21.

^g See *ibid.*, c. xx. § 12, notes s—v.

^h Justinian, *Instit.*, lib. iii. tit. 5. § 5. See *Epilogue*, *ibid.*, c. xv. § 21.

ⁱ See *Epilogue*, *ibid.*, note i.

CHAP. upon the matter (for such is the consequence of that difference, counting by the civil and by the canon laws), was afterwards forced to be content to restrain it to the fourth degree^k, according to the canon law; because it was found, that the world could not endure the hardship of the former restraint. For it is a thing certain, that the measure of St. Gregory's time came from the laws of the empire; which were afterwards forgotten in Italy, till they were revived by Lotharius the Saxon^l. In the meantime, the pope's power being grown infinite, they increased the restraint, as they thought the increase of their power required: till, finding it necessary to be released, they released it not to the point that had been, as not understanding the reason of it; and yet so near it, that they failed not much of it. Had they not failed of it, I cannot see, what reason there could be for a change; and do wish with my heart, that it may be restored so, as for so just a reason, and not merely for the pope's pleasure. For the same reason and measure having taken place and still taking place under the patriarch of Constantinople^m, and the reason being such as no other can be valued with; the Roman laws having taken place so far, that there can be no better measure of public honesty; and the Churches of Rome under St. Gregory, and Constantinople till now, carrying that authority which none can be valuable with at present: I can see no better end of the controversy to be wished, than the restoring of it.

[Of spiritual kindred.]

§ 6. But as for the opinion of public honesty in spiritual kin[d]redⁿ, I shall admit it when I see that it was admitted before superstition and usurpation took place in the Church.

[Marriage of the innocent party after divorce for adultery not forbidden by Scripture.]

§ 7. But now, whether or no the bond of marriage, otherwise insoluble, be dissolved by adultery as to the innocent party, remains still in dispute^o. For that the words of the Scriptures do bear that sense, that it is; and that there is no tradition of the Church to the contrary: I remit myself to that, which I have said in my Epilogue^p. But that the guilty party should not gain liberty to marry again by committing adultery, seems to be so clear, that the Church

^k See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 21, 22.

^l See *ibid.* § 21, note p. Lothaire the Second, A.D. 1133, revived the Roman civil law in Italy and Germany (*Univ. Hist.*, vol. x. p. 666).

^m See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 21, notes t—z.

ⁿ See *ibid.* § 30.

^o See *ibid.*, c. xiii. § 29, 30; c. xiv. § 1, sq.

^p *Ibid.*, c. xiv. § 1, sq.

might be said to be pander to that adultery, if it should. And that the innocent party should remain tied, when the trust is dissolved, must have been so clearly signified by our Lord in the gospel, that there could remain no doubt of it in the Church. But that our Lord's hearers understood not this, appears to me, in that neither Jews' nor Romans' law knew any such limited divorce from bed and board, the bond remaining^a, at the time when our Lord gave the law: so that, the case of adultery being excepted by our Lord from the prohibition of divorce, this divorce, which our Lord meant, seems to be that, which the Jews' law then knew; to wit, with license to marry again.

§ 8. As for the ancient canons, that seem to punish them that marry again in that case^r; it seems to me, that they punish them for usurping their marriage of themselves, without leave of the Church. For the Church has reason to interpose for reconciliation: whether because the matter of fact may prove not evident to the Church, as to the party; or whether, the guilty party being purged by penance, it was and is much to be wished the bond that was dissolved may knit of itself again. Such was the simplicity of primitive Christianity, in the case of Fabiola in St. Jerome^s; as it seems. For having married again and not conferred^t by the Church, because the case was notorious, she is commended by him for doing penance of herself for her attempt, and the preserving of discipline.

§ 9. I am induced the more by the case, which St. Paul regulates, of a Christian married to a heathen: whom he sets free of that bond, if he please; that is to say, as I suppose, if he find not his party willing to hold wedlock upon those conditions, which Christianity requires, being married when neither party was Christian: which sense I prove, because there was no other freedom understood by the Roman laws at that time^u. And certainly St. Paul, imposing no burden of continent life upon any Christian but by his own consent, seems not to tie a Christian to live unmarried, because the Gentile which he was married to will not be tied to Christian wed-

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[On what ground forbidden by the ancient Church.]

[Marriage of heathens how far held dissoluble by St. Paul.]

^a See *ibid.* § 5.

^r See *ibid.* § 14, sq.

^s See *ibid.* § 20, note y.

^t So in MS., but not very legibly.

^u See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xiii. § 12; c. xiv. § 10, 18.

CHAP. lock. And this is the sense of St. Chrysostom^a, of great weight
XXXVI. in expounding the New Testament.

[Course
taken in
England
upon the
subject of
marriage
after di-
vorce.]

§ 10. Indeed the difficulty is great; for to provide, that the Church be not abused, and made a stale to reward adultery. In which regard I cannot condemn the course of the High Commission,—to bind the parties to continue single^r,—because there remains hope of reconciliation: and must needs lament to see the legislative power of the kingdom^a proclaim adultery lawful, by giving the innocent party leave to marry again, not giving over the guilty to the penance of adultery. But I confess the difficulty is not taken away, till there be provision for shutting up the guilty party to perpetual penance, not to come forth till death; unless the law of Moses and of the Romans be revived, to make adultery a crime of life and death^a.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

[OF THE STATE OF CONTINENCE.]

[Monas-
tical life
not neces-
sary, yet
desirable,
in the
Church.]

OPPOSITE to the state of marriage is the state of continence^b. And having resolved afore, that it is advised by our Lord in the gospel; and therefore hath the promise of His grace, to them that embrace it as Christians: it is in the next place to be said, that it is most acceptable to God, and honourable to Christianity. But as the best things, when they are corrupted, turn the worst; so is the danger greatest, now the world is come into the Church, that they, who choose the most sublime course for low and mean reasons, will not be able to hold their choice. And therefore, seeing the whole order and course of monastical life is introduced by the Church, and rather by sufferance than by law, the want

^a See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 21, note e.

^r See *ibid.* § 24, note l.

^a Referring to Lord Roos's case: for which see Burnet's *Hist. of His own Time*, Bk. ii. vol. i. pp. 454, 455; Clarendon's *Life of Himself*, pp. 331—337. Oxf. 1817; Cosin's *Works*, vol. iv. pp. 489, sq.; and Evelyn's *Diary* under date March 22, 1668, vol. ii. p. 321. Cosin argued that "adultery works a dissolution of the marriage," inasmuch that the innocent party may marry again. The divorce bill (which was

supposed to point to a divorce for the king also) was carried by a majority of two votes only, Cosin and one other bishop, but only one, voting for it. It was the first bill of the kind, and the first instance of such a principle being sanctioned in England. See also Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xiv. § 24, note l.

^a See Epilogue, *ibid.*, § 25.

^b See *ibid.*, c. xv. § 24, 25; c. xxxii. § 2, sq.; and Bk. II. Of the Cov. of Gr., c. xxxii. § 34, sq.

of it cannot be a bar to the salvation of them, that live in the Church that hath it not. But seeing it is a perfection to Christianity, it is certainly a blot in the reformation which we profess, that we are without it^c.

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§ 2. The difficulties, that have hindered the effect of it, seem to be chiefly two: the one, the study of princes and great persons in Christendom to propagate their names by heaping riches upon large foundations of abbeys and nunneries; the other, proper to the western Church, of exempting them from the jurisdiction of their ordinaries to the immediate government of the see of Rome; which in the late orders of friars is original, because they subsist by allowance and privilege of it. Whether of these is more prejudicial to the profession, it is hard to say. For all monks being originally mere lay persons, and having no privilege of clergy, further than necessity requires that they should have some clergy to minister to them the offices of Christianity according to the order of the Church; what reason can be imagined, why they should be exempt from ordinary jurisdiction? They that profess retirement from the world, why should they be brought into the world, to make the noise in it which for divers hundreds of years they have done? I grant, that it is to be wished, that some may be employed in learning, as well as others in the labour of their hands; according as their breeding may have been, when they leave the world. But neither is any learning, no, not that of the Scriptures, acceptable to God, or beneficial to His Church, that is not subject to the government of it: neither can they, that only distinguish the intervals of their devotions by the work of their bodies, create occasions to employ extraordinary power in the Church.

[The chief difficulties have been the wealth and the immunities of the abbeys and nunneries.]

§ 3. But when great persons took up a fashion, to vie with one another in the greatness and riches of their monastical foundations: first, they laid as fit a foundation as the devil could have wished, to corrupt the sublimity of that profession, which they pretended to propagate; secondly, they gave a very colourable pretence to their successors, to find fault with their love to their country in mortifying so much of the goods of them from the service of it. Whosoever will look into their histories, shall find this to have been a continual tempta-

[Evils that have thence arisen.]

^c See *ibid.*, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxii. § 14—16.

CHAP. XXXVII. tion to sacrilege, on the part of the laity; and, on the part of the clergy, the justest plea, that ever they had, to conspire to advance the temporal power of the Church, which could not be secure from sacrilege otherwise. Lastly, there is in this course an appearance of want of trust to the salvation of souls in the clergy. For we know, that prayer with fasting and alms is the means to recover the favour of God, and to reconcile a sinner to Him; as performing and demonstrating true contrition and conversion of heart. But when Christian people were taught the redemption of purgatory-pains, and were not taught how to regain a well-grounded assurance of grace: how easy was it for flesh and blood, being taught to redeem purgatory-pains by their goods, to think God's grace was regained into the bargain; and so, not only the profession of monastical life, but the founding and endowing or furthering of it, make commutation for sin, without the change of the inward man?

[Advantages to be derived from monastic institutions.]

§ 4. But setting aside these corruptions, how great an advantage is it to Christianity, to have before the eyes of the world the examples of them, that wholly forego it: to warn them, that live in it, to use it as if they used it not; that is, for the service of God, not for the satisfaction of themselves. How great a benefit to the world, that they who are shipwrecked in it, being taught by their afflictions to love it no more, may have a haven to retire to the service of God, being incapable to serve Him any longer in serving their generations. How great a provision for the discipline of penance, to have the convenience of such places to confine penitents to, either for a time, or during life, that they be not cast away. Lastly, how great an encouragement to youth to choose the highest pitch, and to run such a course as may bring them back into the world to serve the Church in the clergy; being furnished with that resolution against the snares of it, which that education furnisheth.

[Desirable to restore them; and in what way.]

§ 5. Which being so, how much is it to be wished, that the public faith may be engaged in the protection and maintenance of the institution: providing, first, that the public suffer neither in the persons nor goods, that shall be mortified to the maintenance of it;—and that is best done, when provision is made, that it be so moderate as to create no envy;—that the time, which is spared from the

works of devotion, be employed in the exercises either of the body or of the mind, according to men's education and capacities; and that this employment may turn to an account of charity: according to the orders recounted in St. Basil^d and Cassian^e. For upon these terms there will be no cause, why the direction and correction of such places should not resort, in the first place, to the bishop of the diocese, having his clergy to assist him in it; and then to the respective synods, whereof the bishops are members.

§ 6. I will add one thing:—that some of the fathers are of opinion to excuse them, that upon trial find themselves unable to go through with the rigour of that monastical life, which they had professed; and to admit them to marriage without penance: though others are more rigorous^f. Which seems to argue, that,—now the world is come into the Church, and a necessity has followed of abating the rigour of primitive discipline, that Christianity may be maintained without hypocrisy, though not without defect,—there is very great reason to allow it, and to make the profession signify, according to the signification of *votum* in Latin, an earnest desire to go through with that which we profess, though for human infirmity, and the difficulties of the world, not irrevocable. For when the sincerity of men's intentions is left to God alone to be judged, a great temptation of our first parents is taken off; of desiring things prohibited, because prohibited.

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[Vows should not be irrevocable.]

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

[OF THE MARRIAGE OF THE CLERGY.]

BUT the great question is of the marriage of the clergy^g; [The order of the clergy more honourable than that of monks.] and whether holy orders (adding subdeacons to the three mentioned in Scripture^h, because they minister at the altar) are by God's law tied to continence. And truly it cannot

^d Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxii. § 12, note a.

^e Ibid., notes s—z.

^f See Hoapinian. De Monachis, lib. iii. c. 13. pp. 178—186: Bellarmin., De Monachis, lib. ii. cc. 26, 27, 30; Op. tom. i. pp. 1604. B, sq.: Bingham, VII. iii. 7, 22.

^g See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxii. § 24—40: Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 23: Just Weights and Measures, c. xxv. § 3.

^h See Epilogue, ibid., c. xx. § 64, note f; c. xxxii. § 24, notes q—a.

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[Mark x.
28.]

be denied, but all orders of the clergy are and ought to be of higher rank in the Church, than any degree of monkery¹; inasmuch as they bear a part in the government of the Church, at least as ministers of those that are trusted with it. For their office is founded in the distinction, that our Lord made of His disciples: whereof some "left all" to follow Him; others followed Him for His doctrine as opportunity served, not abandoning their estate in the world by being His disciples. But monks leave the world to avoid the temptations of it in the course of their Christianity^k. And therefore I do not find, that it is properly called a contemplative life, or that any life should be more active than it; having always business of a charitable nature to employ the time it spares from the works of devotion^l. But the clergy being engaged in the world upon the account of the salvation of others, the more difficult it is, the more honourable it ought to be; and when it is not, certainly signifies the ruin of the common Christianity.

[Two reasons for the single life of the clergy.]

§ 2. There are therefore two reasons of great importance for the single life of the clergy. The one is taken by the fathers from St. Paul's advice to all Christians, to forbear the work of marriage for extraordinary times of prayer: by the consequence,—if all Christians for extraordinary times, then the clergy always, because they are always to attend upon the occasions of the people, especially of celebrating the eucharist^m. For the eucharist especially, among other offices of God's service, was so frequented in those best times of the Church, that the ministers of the altar were daily engaged to the occasions that might fall outⁿ. The other, from the revenues of the Church; which the clergy had the dispensing of, without any propriety in it^o. For being consecrated, not to their benefit, but to the maintenance of the Church, they must be consecrated to the frequenting of the assemblies of it. Therefore to the maintenance of the poor, that they might frequent them the more. Therefore to the maintenance or building of churches, where they were found wanting. There-

¹ See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxxii. § 23.

^k See *ibid.* § 18—21.

^l See *ibid.* § 17.

^m See *ibid.* § 28, 33.

ⁿ See *ibid.*: and *Serv. of God at Rel. Ass.*, c. viii. § 37—43.

^o See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxxii. § 32; and Bk. I. Of the Fr. of Chr. Tr., c. xvi. § 22, sq.: *Due Way of Composing Differences &c.*, § 22: *Just Weights and Measures*, c. xxv. § 3.

fore to the maintenance of persons, attending on them; but not to the raising of estates for their posterities. Which when it cannot be avoided, to keep them from contempt if left unprovided, and to the order whence they come; what remains, but that we must think them prohibited marriage, whereupon such inconveniences follow.

§ 3. There is a very great reason to the contrary of these two, which may justly seem to have been in consideration with the apostles themselves not to command it; that is, the difficulty of so high a strain for all the clergy which the Church should need: which must needs weigh much more, now the world is come into the Church, and Christianity settled all over kingdoms and nations^p. [One very great reason to the contrary.]

§ 4. For we do not see, that the apostles have left in writing any precept of continence upon any degree of the clergy. And though it is certain, that the custom was very ancient and very general, for bishops and priests to forbear the use of wedlock, when they came to their orders^q: yet can it not appear, that it was imposed upon them, but that they imposed it upon themselves; and, therefore, that it was no bar to hinder them from orders, that were thought fittest otherwise^r. So neither can we say, that the apostles tied themselves to it; nor their first successors and assistants^s. For neither were they unprepared at any time to minister to the people; nor was there any fear, that they should spend their oblations otherwise than was intended. [Neither precept nor practice of the apostles in its favour.]

§ 5. When the Church was enlarged, and these things must needs be feared; then became it a rule, rather by voluntary choice than by constraint, because of the great good the Church had by it: but so that, as all rules of the Church gave way to necessity, so they, that were otherwise recommendable, found forbearance. We see some abatement at the great council of Nicæa^t. And the canon of Ancyra^u allows a deacon to protest against single life, and yet admits him. In the west they took another course we see. For we see the attempts of Jovinian in Italy^x, and of

^p See Cassander as quoted in Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxii. § 39, note k.

^q See Epilogue, ibid. § 24, sq.

^r See ibid. § 35, note q.

^s See ibid. § 31.

^t See ibid. § 24, notes y, z.

^u See ibid., note l.

^x See De Dominis, De Republ. Eccles., lib. ii. c. x. § 26: and S. Jerom's tract cont. Jovinianum.

CHAP. XXXVIII. Vigilantius in Spain⁷. And if St. Jerome had not told us, that he was favoured by bishops⁸; we could not oversee the concurrence of the Roman, Italian, African, Spanish, and Gaulish, Churches, under St. Ambrose⁹, Syricius¹⁰, and other chief bishops¹¹, to whom their decretals are directed, in settling the strictness of the rule. And I can easily believe, that under so good governors it might be held up to the edification of the Church. But by the time that the Greeks abated it further by the canons of Trullo^d, then was the west guilty of abominable hypocrisy, to wink at so much uncleanness, that the canon might have force.

[What rule upon the subject is desirable.] § 6. I will rake no further in the kennel; but hope, that the temper, which I proposed here at his Majesty's happy return^e, may serve everywhere;—that cathedral and collegiate Churches be tied to continence, consisting of those that have years and experience before they come into them, and being furnished of employment for their time in the service of the Church, but retired from occasions unto the company of themselves. As for the country clergy, that must have the care of souls in parishes: the indifference of the apostles' times may be their pattern; the single not to confuse^f the married, nor the married the single, but both to contend who shall best improve the advantages of this and that state to the salvation of souls.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

[OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES AND CEREMONIES OF DIVINE SERVICE.]

[Communion in the eucharist better than hearing sermons.] CONCERNING the circumstances and ceremonies of God's service, and the offices thereof, the greatest difference is that which is least spoken of; that the exercise of religion is thought to consist, on one side, in hearing a sermon, on the other side, in hearing a mass^g. A controversy easily resolved upon the premisses. For there can be no question made,

⁷ See De Dominis, *ibid.* § 38; and S. Jerom's tract *Adv. Vigilantium*.

⁸ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 35, note a.

⁹ See the quotations in De Dominis, *ibid.* § 28, 39.

¹⁰ Quoted in Epilogue, *ibid.* § 35, note b.

¹¹ See *ibid.* § 35, 36; and De Dominis as above.

^d Quoted *ibid.* § 34, note o.

^e Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 21—33.

^f So in MS.

^g See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxiv. § 1, sq.

that the eucharist is the chief office of God's service and the most to be frequented. And so the Church thought, when for this reason they went so far for the continence of the clergy^h. But this is not a dry mass without communion: which Christians may be taught, that they are not concerned to understand what it means; but that they have the effect of the sacrifice by the intent of him, that celebratesⁱ. Therefore the sermon is to go before, and to instruct the people in the condition of their covenant, wherein their salvation consists. And this will as much condemn the *opus operatum* of hearing a sermon, as that of hearing a mass; which a great part, on the one side, place their salvation in, as in this on the other side.

§ 2. And I do freely profess, that Christian people are much abused, when they are called to church to hear learned and eloquent speeches in the matter of the Scriptures, but not concerning the common salvation for the most part. For I am persuaded, that the pulpit ought to rest content with that, which the whole audience may make their salvation by; and that the faculty of the preacher consists in making vulgar diet acceptable, the Christianity of the hearers in encouraging the same. This for the generality of the world, that is come into the Church; whatsoever exception the wisdom thereof shall allow for more solemn assemblies. It is a hard choice between a blind ignorance and a false opinion of the skill of the Scriptures. The one is attended with debauched life: the other with divisions in the Church; when men think themselves as good divines by hearing sermons, as those who are to govern the Church. I said, that the greatest fault the whole Church ever did, was the not catechising those that are baptized infants^j. But grant them catechised, and confirmed, and partakers of the eucharist; are the precious hours of the Church to be spent in the curiosities of the Scriptures, far removed from the common salvation? New generations come up; and the old, as much as they grow in years, so much will they grow in understanding that which they learned young: that is, the

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[Sermons should not be spent upon the curiosities of the Scriptures, but upon the common salvation.]

^h See above, c. xxxviii. § 2, note m.

^j Above, c. xxxi. § 3.

ⁱ See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. v. § 24.

C H A P. covenant of grace, the grounds and reasons, the consequences
XXXIX. and productions, of it.

[The difference between the Law and the gospel a fit subject for the pulpit, nevertheless.]

§ 3. One thing of the trade of a divine I could wish the pulpit could innocently undertake. It is the difference between the Law and the gospel. It meets us in all the duties of Christians, which we treat out of the Old Testament. But when Christians have attained all knowledge in the Scriptures conducing to salvation, it will be necessary to say, that things clear in the gospel are not to be questioned for things obscure in the Law. And therefore it is easy for the preacher to forbear that curiosity, which he must teach his audience to forbear, if he will teach them with a good conscience.

[How frequently the eucharist should be celebrated.]

§ 4. And thus far I will particularize, as concerning the eucharist: that the Church is to endeavour the celebrating of it so frequently, that it may be reserved to the next communion. For in the mean time it ought to be so ready for them, that pass into the other world, that they need not stay for the consecrating of it on purpose for every one. The reason of the necessity of it for all, which hath been delivered, aggravates it very much in danger of death. And the practice of the Church attests it to the utmost. Neither will there be any necessity of giving it in one kind only; as by some passages of antiquity may be collected^t, if common reason could deceive in a subject of this nature.

CHAPTER XL.

[OF THE CONSECRATION OF TIMES, PLACES, AND PERSONS, UNDER THE GOSPEL.]

[Principle and limitation of consecration under the gospel.]

CONCERNING the times, the places, the persons, which God is served by; the reason is the same for all under the gospel. All is God's; and all He challenges, when His service requires it. But He also requires, that the world subsist for the entertainment of Christianity, and the completing of His kingdom; and, therefore, that times, places, and persons, be so consecrated to His service as the necessities of

^t See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxiv. § 16—28.

the world will bear¹. This St. Jerome (upon Gal. i.) observes from the first Christians in the Acts, that spent all their time in the service of God; which held not, when the faith had been propagated^m. And because persons and times and places are at the command of the powers of this world, their consecration cannot exempt them from the service of the world, when the necessities of the world call for it. Thus did Hezekias redeem the temple and people of God by a present of consecrate things. Thus did the high-priest give David the shewbread to eat. And Judas Maccabeus ordered his men to fight on the Sabbath. If under the Law, under the gospel much more. For under the Law the species was consecrated. That which was the service of God on such a time, in such a place, done by such a person, was abominable if done otherwise. In the Church, the service of God is always, everywhere, and from all, acceptable. When the Church hath determined the times, the places, and the persons, it is holy when it is done by order, sacrilege when otherwise.

§ 2. If this were understood, men could not abuse themselves to think, that the holiness of the Saturday under the Law falls upon the Lord's Day under the gospel: quite contrary to the reason of the fourth commandment; unless it be possible, that the day on which God rested from His works should be the day on which He began His works^a. The rest of Christ's body in the grave all Saturday, sanctified all days to the rest from sin of all Christians. From thenceforth it is for Jews to imagine, that God is served by doing nothing. The times of His service are consecrated to the offices of His service. And the more time His people consecrate to His service, the necessities of the world being provided for, the more are they Christians.

§ 3. The same is to be said of places and persons. The Emperor Maximian might justly forbid his soldiers to turn monks^e, if he saw the necessities of the empire require their

¹ See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 13, sq.; Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. xxv., xxvii.; Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., cc. xxi., xxii.; Due Way of Composing Differences &c., § 39—42; Just Weights and Measures, c. xvii.

^m Quoted in Just Weights and

Measures, c. xvii. § 1, note a.

^a See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxi. § 1—30; Just Weights and Measures, c. xvii. § 1.

^e Maximian appears to be miswritten for Maurice. See the law of the latter to the effect mentioned in the text, and

[2 Kings xviii. 15, 16;—1 Sam. xxi. 3—6; Matt. xii. 3, 4; Mark ii. 25, 26; Luke vi. 3, 4;—1 Macc. ii. 41.]

[Of the Lord's Day.]

[Of religious persons and the clergy.]

CHAP. XL. service. Perhaps, if he saw hypocrisy in the case, as done without conversion of heart. To prohibit consecration to holy orders were to destroy the Church. But to prohibit an idle priesthood, that can do nothing but say such masses as tend not to communion, perhaps would be to prohibit the Church to abuse their own right, and the world both, by that abuse. To maintain the continual service of God by maintaining convents of religious persons, is the greatest honour and security, which a Christian kingdom or commonwealth can have; because the necessity of the world is the only reason, why all Christians do it not. But to exempt so great a part of subjects or members from the secular laws, [and] from the ecclesiastical laws which are ministered by subjects or members, to be immediately under the pope, is to oversee the premisses. Persons consecrate profess a Christianity above the people. If these fall underneath their rank, the clergy is to disown, the world is to punish, them. Indeed persons consecrate have souls to save; which times and places and things have not. Therefore these may return to common use, when they can serve no longer to that use for which they were consecrated; or if that use be furnished better otherwise. For the consecration of the gospel lies not in the thing consecrated, but in the service to which it is consecrated; which service under the Law was tied to the time, the place, the thing, consecrated. But persons consecrated in heresy and schism, when they understand their heresy and schism, will understand, that they remain under the same obligation to God as those that are consecrated in and by His Church; though the Church is not bound to own and employ them for such, till it sees cause.

[Of places consecrated, and of the solemnity of consecration.]

§ 4. I shall need to say nothing to our fanatics of the holiness of places consecrated; having nothing to say here but that, which the general reason enforces. Neither have I said any thing of the solemnity of consecration, usual in the consecration of places and things (whereof the consecration of times, which are invisible, is not capable); unusual in the consecration of divers things, which are nevertheless

Pope Gregory the First's remonstrance against it, in Gregory's letters, lib. iii. Epist. 65. Ad Mauricium Augustum;

Op. tom. ii. pp. 675. A—677. C: and see Thorndike, De Rat. Fin. Controv., c. xxxii. pp. 643, 644.

well enough understood to be consecrated by declaring a man's intent. If this deserve a consideration among the ceremonies of the Church, there must I point at it. CHAP.
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§ 5. But I must not here forget the offices of fasting and festival days, of Lent and Ember weeks, of Wednesdays and Fridays; and of the hours of the day, which have been [Of Fasts, Festivals, and Hours.] anciently and generally deputed to their proper prayers all over the Church^p. Nor need I dispute, whether they be the apostles' own orders; or of [their^q] successors, willingly received by the whole Church. The nature of the matter confounds all difference imaginable in the obligation; forasmuch as, being within the power by which both act (though the apostles were able to choose the best, as the Church is not), yet there must be an order by law, and the unity of the Church obliges all to cherish the laws they have, so long as they help and not hinder the salvation which they should procure.

§ 6. And certainly the frequenting of prayers with fasting, according to the orders which I have mentioned, hath in it so much of the very substance of Christianity, and the means of salvation; that the taking away of the abuses in them can never make it seem reformation to root out the offices themselves. It will always appear to be licentiousness, and carnal gospelling, to pretend it; till an effectual course be held, to replant the good laws, setting aside the abuses. [Prayers with fasting have in them of the substance of Christianity.]

§ 7. Indeed, when fasting is made to consist in the difference between fish and flesh^r, and when the observation of these laws is as strictly accounted for as murder and uncleanness in confessions; there is a necessary ground for superstition, and will-worship, in the laws of the Church. For we know, that at the first, when men were brought willingly to these customs by the example of the clergy, there was an account had of every one's ability in fasting and alms^s; yea, and men's zeal provoked one another: and yet the backward excused, because of the excuse that might be where it was not. Happy were it with the Church, now the world is come [Abuse in the observance of fasting.]

^p See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Church, c. xxi. § 31—57.

^q Miswritten "his" in MS.

^r See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxi. § 42—44.

^s See Bingham, XXI. i. 14; and Jer. Taylor, Duct. Dubit., Bk. iii. c. iv. rule 13, § 4 sq., rule 19, § 4 sq. (Works, vol. x. pp. 340, sq., 395, sq.); there quoted.

CHAP. XL. into it, could the rules and customs of it be observed with so much indifference, with so little effort. But till the people may be instructed in the difference between Church-canon and the condition of the covenant, which only that difference between things necessary to salvation and not, which I endeavour to describe, can do; it will be hard to say, whether the strict observing of them will do the common Christianity more good, or the opinion of paying God in coin of our own stamping harm, than when the observation of them is left free to every Christian's choice. For it is to be hoped, that the obligation of these offices will be kept alive in particular men's examples, as long and as far as Christianity can continue.

CHAPTER XLI.

[OF THE CEREMONIES OF DIVINE SERVICE.]

[Authority of the Church to command ceremonies.] Now, for the ceremonies of Divine service; I am astonished at the position, that some schismatics from this Church have advanced,—that they could endure them were they not commanded^t. For what is this but to demand, that Christians should live in the Church as the Cyclopes in Euripides; among whom, “*ἀκούει δ’ οὐδὲς οὐδὲν οὐδένο*,” saith Euripides^u. They think not of St. Paul, telling the Corinthians, that, if a Gentile come into their assembly and see them in confusion, “will he not say they are mad;” that is, that the Christian religion is madness.

[1 Cor. xiv. 23.]

[The devotion of the soul must needs be helped by bodily solemnities.]

§ 2. I confess, many times, when I see in our churches men and women say their prayers in the form of spread eagles, face to face and back to back; when I saw at the coronation his Majesty on his knees at the litanies, and the peers of the kingdom standing or sitting: I was abashed to see religion placed in neglecting common civility. But to

^t See Just Weights and Measures, c. xxv. § 7. note g; and True Principle of Comprehension, sect. xi. It was a common topic with the non-conformists of the reign of Charles II. So too Lord

Say and Sele in Laud's time. See the latter's Answer to Lord Say and Sele's Speech; Works, vol. vi. p. 114. Oxf. 1854.

^u Cyclops, v. 120.—“*οὐδὲς οὐδένο*.”

men not disquieted in their senses by such apprehensions, CHAP. it will be enough to say, that, man being a compound of XLI. soul and body, the devotion of the soul must needs be [Gen. xviii. 22, 2 Chron. xx. 9; Mark xi. 25, Luke xviii. 13; —1 Kings viii. 54, 2 Chron. vi. 13, Ezra ix. 5, Dan. vi. 10; Acts xx. 36, xxi. 5; —Gen. xvii. 3, 17; 2 Chron. vii. 3; Apoc. iv. 10, v. 8, 14, vii. 11, xi. 16, xix. 4.] helped by bodily solemnities. That, which is solemnly done, commandeth more attention of the mind, more devotion of the spirit, not only in others, but in them that do it, inflaming that which commandeth it. There are three postures of prayer used by the saints in the Scripture; standing, kneeling, and grovelling^a. Standing may signify and kindle devotion, when it is customary; as it is, and was, both in the Scripture and in the primitive Church^b. But he, that calls Christians from kneeling, being customary, to standing or sitting; I will say to him, with the prophet, “offer it to thy ruler,” the mayor of the town, or the next justice of the peace, and see how he will accept it.

§ 3. There is a further reason, why our schismatics would not have the Psalms used or sung standing^c. For there are even religious persons and orders in the Church of Rome, that use it so; and they are not wont to disquiet the laziness and sensuality of their friends. But our men would not have any psalms but the Geneva psalms to be an office of God’s service^d; choosing rather to exclude an office of God’s service out of the Church, of more consequence a great deal than the hearing of sermons, than that their own wilfulness should not give law to it. [Mal. i. 8.] [Objection of the non-conformists to use the Psalms standing.]

§ 4. The controversy of the seven sacraments^e wholly resolves into this point concerning ceremonies, upon the signification of this word sacrament. For it is manifest in the Latin fathers, that this word extends to signify all sacred ceremonies^f. The kiss of charity^g, the sign of the cross^h, divers others of like natureⁱ, have been and are so called [Of the seven sacraments; and the difference between baptism and the eucharist, and the other five.]

^a See Rt. of Ch. in Chr. St., c. iv. § 3.

^b See Bingham, XIII. viii. 3—7.

^c That it was the practice of the non-conformists to sing the Psalms sitting, see, e. g., a tract entitled “A Character of England” &c. (in the Harleian Miscellany vol. x. p. 191), originally published in 1669.—The primitive Church stood during the Psalmody: see Bingham, XIV. i. 14.

^d See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxii. § 20; Just

Weights and Measures, c. xv. § 3; Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxvi.

^e See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxx. § 8—35: Just Weights and Measures, c. xviii. § 10, 11; c. xxi. § 8—10.

^f Just Weights and Measures, c. xviii. § 10, note f.

^g See *ibid.*, note a.

^h See *ibid.*, note d.

ⁱ See *ibid.*, note f.

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by them. And is it then a point to divide the Church, that extreme unction and matrimony are counted sacraments in the Church of Rome, as well as baptism and the eucharist, so much more concerning salvation, as I have said? Especially the council of Trent professing, that there is difference enough between the effects of them^s. I wish the difference, that I have set forth, could take effect:—that baptism and the eucharist are necessary to the salvation of all upon the terms that I have delivered; the rest, either proper to some orders, or requisite upon other terms. For sure no ordinance of God executed by the Church according to office can fail of the effect of His grace. But the difference will be so clear between the condition of the covenant, contained in the two, and the office of the Church, executed by solemn prayers in the rest; that “necessary to the salvation of all^h,” which is the limitation of this Church’s catechism, is to be refused by none but schismatics; much less the offices. That monster of mankind, that would not have marriage an office of the Church^l;—those wretches, that discourage the visitation of the sick, because the Church of Rome useth unction, which is so innocent a ceremony of healing either soul or body^j,—those, that would solemnize ordination and confirmation without the solemnity of imposition of hands^k,—deserve to be sent to the Cyclopes, as brutish and barbarous. Private penance, as the Church of Rome now uses it, I grant to be an office of the Church: but I grant not, that it is properly called a sacrament; because it is private, and therefore cannot make a solemnity. The washing of the feet, which St. Ambrose maintains to be a sacrament^l, I easily grant to be so in the large sense that I spoke of, as a sacred ceremony; and so private penance. And therefore I think I do more

^s See Just Weights and Measures, *ibid.*, and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxx. § 13. note i.

^h “Generally necessary to salvation.”

^l Scil. Hobbes; and perhaps L. Du Moulin. See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 31.—So also Selden: see *ibid.*, c. xiii. § 19.—So also the Parliament under the Commonwealth in 1653: see Review of Serv. of God at Rel. Ass., c. viii. § 12. note r; Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxx. § 20,

and Conclus. § 56.

^j See Epilogue, Conclus., § 56, note r; and Just Weights and Measures, c. xxi. § 11, c. xxv. § 6.

^k See Epilogue, *ibid.*

^l “Quantum vero ad *mysterium*, pedes debet lavare suos qui vult partem habere cum Christo.” S. Ambros., De Virginitate, c. x. § 57; Op. tom. ii. p. 227, E. And see also his Expos. Evang. sec. Luc. lib. viii. § 78; *ibid.* tom. i. p. 1491. C.

service to religion in giving a reason for the necessity of baptism and the eucharist only to salvation, than they that dispute against the number of seven sacraments, received by the eastern as well as the western Church. CHAP. XLII.

§ 5. And yet I acknowledge, superstition and will-worship may creep into the ceremonies of the Church. Two occasions have been noted. When ceremonies are so multiplied, that they serve not for circumstances to solemnize the offices of the Church with, but are either done of course without attention or attended for themselves as offices of God's service. This is will-worship; and it lies in the ceremonies: which, signifying nothing but as helping God's service, are of themselves and for themselves imputed to Him for the account of His service. Again, what mysteries have our masters of the Church of Rome found in the vestments, rites, and solemnities, of the mass; which are so far from common sense, to help it in serving God, that it understands nothing of them. They cannot be stood upon, but by a mind that thinks to discharge the obligation we have to serve God, upon bodily observations, signifying no motion of the mind to be helped with it. [Ceremonies may give occasion in two ways to superstition and will-worship.]

CHAPTER XLII.

[OF THE WORSHIP OF THE EUCHARIST, OF THE CROSS, AND OF IMAGES
OF OUR LORD CHRIST.]

THE reason, that we give for ceremonies, is the solemnizing of God's service in the offices of it. What then shall we say of the worship of the eucharist, the cross, and images of our Lord Christ? For these are neither offices of Divine service nor ceremonies of the same. Indeed the celebration of the eucharist is the chief office of Christianity; that is, tending to communion in it. But that it should be carried through the streets, that men may kneel to it, is far from that office^m. The truth is, that in the ancient Church it was not received without reverenceⁿ. Neither do we nor would we receive it [The eucharist to be received with reverence.]

^m See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 9.

ⁿ See *ibid.* § 5.

CHAP. otherwise. St. Cyril's Catecheses* teach us, that they did
 XLII. reverence at receiving it. And the saying of St. Augustin signifies the same;—" *Nemo manducat nisi prius adoraverit*." But this reverence is construed to be tendered to our Lord Christ, as present in the sacrament; and that presence a just occasion of tendering the reverence.

[Abuses of the Church of Rome in the adoration of the eucharist.] § 2. And so it may be construed, even in the Church of Rome. For what if they call it God? Is it not manifest, how many times in the Psalms and the Prophets the ark of the covenant is called God? And certainly the eucharist, consecrated in order to communion, hath as much relation to God, as any ark of the covenant could have. But the Church of Rome now commands the adoration to be done at the consecration; to assure us, that they command us to believe more than the primitive Church believed, that is, transubstantiation. This is one point of spiritual idolatry, in setting up a schism by commanding to believe that which was not delivered from the beginning. A second [is] in celebrating the consecration, as concerning salvation, without order to the communion. For when it passes the streets in order to communion, it may be then so well understood, that it may be then but due reverence to that great office.

[The reverence shewed to the cross justly abrogated.] § 3. The reverence shewed to the cross on Good Friday† is capable of the exception which I have made";—that it began since the cross was found by the mother of Constantine. For thereupon hangs a dispute, whether or no it ought to have begun from thence: seeing it is manifest, that it nourisheth a carnal confidence of God's grace in them, that know not, much less think of, the covenant of baptism, by which it is held; being the taking up of Christ's cross, which the sign ought always to signify. And therefore, as

* The communicant is to receive the elements, "κύριον, καὶ τρῶπῃ προσκυνησας καὶ σεβάσματος λέγων τὸ ἄμην." S. Cyril. Hieros., Catech. Mystag. v. § 19; Op. p. 301: and see Bingham, XV. v. 3.

† Quoted in Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 5, note r.

‡ See Grotius, Rivet. Apol. Dissusio, Op. tom. iii. p. 699. b.—The altar of Moses is so called, Exod. xvii. 15: and of Jacob, Gen. xxxiii. 20: and of Gideon, Judg. vi. 24: and the city of Jerusalem, Jerem. xxxiii. 16,

and Ezek. xlviii. 35; and compare also Gen. xxii. 14.

§ See Maskell, Anc. Liturgy of the Church of Engl., pp. 92, 94; for the date of the custom of elevating the host at the consecration, viz. shortly before the council of Lateran under Innocent III.

¶ See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxiv. § 9, 10; and Just Weights and Measures, c. xv. § 7.

¶ See above, c. xiii. § 5.

¶ *Ibid.*

at the time, when it was received, it might have been refused by any part of the Church, so is it not to be taken for a just cause of schism, that it is abrogated, upon experience of the superstition and the will-worship which it hath occasioned. CHAP. XLII.

§ 4. I said, that Constantine caused some monument of Christ to be fastened upon the standards of his armies^x; that they might be used to pay their devotions to Him, which formerly they had used to pay to their idols, whose images were formerly fastened there. I said not, that he fastened any image of Christ there; for the use of images had not then prevailed in the Church. [Use of images of Christ not so old as Constantine.]

§ 5. Now it is to be considered, that they are not content it should be said, that the image is a circumstance or occasion of remembering the principal and of paying the reverence due to it; but it must be granted, that the image, the cross, the consecrated elements, must have the same worship paid them, that is due to the principal: though they contradict themselves into the bargain; and say, that the honour of God can be given to a secondary, and that it can be honoured secondarily with the honour infinitely above it⁷. But what is this, but to hold people in a hope to be excused of the condition of the covenant, which they are neither taught nor know, by observations, which they may perform without minding what they do, much more without performing the profession of Christians. So, though it be not idolatry to worship the eucharist, the cross, the images of Christ; yet there was an end to be put by reformation to the superstition, that increased without bounds and measure in the worship of them, if we would have Christianity to continue⁸. [Worship tendered by the Church of Rome superstition, though it be not idolatry.]

CHAPTER XLIII.

[OF THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS, AND THE WORSHIP OF THEIR RELICS AND IMAGES, AND OF PILGRIMAGES.]

THIS is so much more to be said of the invocation of saints and the worship of their relics and images⁹, as it is more [No worship of saints in]

^x See *ibid.* note t. This passage corrects the statement made in the text there.

⁷ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 47, notes

j, k.

⁸ See *Just Weights and Measures*, c. xix. § 3—5, c. xxv. § 10.

⁹ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 12—57.

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building
churches to
their me-
mories and
at their
tombs.]

evident, that there is no office of God's service, whereof they can be circumstances and ceremonies. Heathenism makes it good courtship, to treat the courtiers of heaven, the angels (for saints heathenism cannot acknowledge), with part of God's honours. But even Judaism (much more Christianity), distinguishing between God and the creature as between finite and infinite, suffers nothing that may give appearance of communicating their perfection. And certainly no man will say, that there is any such appearance in reverencing the bodies of martyrs, in treating the relics of them honourably, in assembling to serve God at their monuments^b. Yet is this the whole pretence of building churches to their memories; that is, to God, in remembrance of their victories.

[Miracles
wrought
there, partly
true, partly
inflamed
above
truth.]

§ 2. It pleased God afterwards to honour their memories with miracles, done to attest their cause; that the world might be brought into the Church. This is the honour, which wild sectaries think shall be done them by our Lord, when He comes to reign a thousand years upon earth. For so He promised to honour the Jews, that had suffered under Antiochus, in the last of Daniel^c. And certainly he must be a very strong infidel, that can disbelieve St. Augustin, and the miracles which he reports to have been done, not only in his knowledge, but in the eyes of all the country and empire^d: which makes it credible, that there was a beginning of miracles done at the memories of most of the martyrs of several countries, that are celebrated by the fathers, and made use

[Dan. xii.
2.]

^b See *ibid.* § 15, 35, 57; and *Just Weights and Measures*, c. xvii. § 4.

^c See *Epilogue*, Bk. III. Of the *Laws of the Ch.*, c. xxxi. § 15.—Burroughes, in his treatise upon *Hosea*, alleged this text of Daniel in defence of the millenary dogma (see *Baillie's Dissuasive*, c. xi. p. 238).

^d See the list in the *De Civ. Dei*, lib. xxii. c. 8; *Op.* tom. vii. pp. 663. A, sq.: of which miracles he says that he *knew* some and had seen them "*oculis nostris*." Some indeed occurred at Hippo. He says of them in general, comparing them with Scripture miracles, that whereas the latter are everywhere known through the reading of the Bible, the former "*ubicunque fiunt, ibi sciuntur vix a tota ipsa civitate vel quocunque commanentium loco*;" and intimates, that accordingly "*non tanta ea commendat*

auctoritas, ut sine difficultate vel dubitatione credantur, quamvis Christianis fidelibus a fidelibus indicentur" (*ibid.* § 1. p. 663. E). In his tract *De Unit. Eccles. contr. Donatist.*, c. xix. § 50 (*Op.* tom. ix. p. 373. C, D), he again affirms the occurrence of miracles in the Church, although refusing to appeal to them as a proof of its catholicity. Several other passages from S. Augustin and other fathers on the subject are collected in a note to J. H. Newman's *Essay on Eccles. Miracles* prefixed to the transl. of a volume of Fleury, pp. xli., xlii. Oxf. 1842. Their general tenor is, that miracles speaking generally had not ceased in the Church, but that there were still some, here and there, although not to be relied on as evidence to doctrine, or as a ground of faith.

of in bringing the anniversaries to be the times of fairs, that the Gentiles hearing of them upon that occasion might be converted. We see it took effect. And why should we not see, that report inflamed them above truth for so holy an end; when we see the end attained, and the reports increase? For then it must be acknowledged, that counterfeiting them came in for worse ends; that need superstition and ignorance to foment such fictions.

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§ 3. I doubt not, that, when it was grown the fashion to pray at the memories of martyrs, it was hoped that the martyrs would know what was prayed for, and would intercede for it. But I am yet to seek for any testimony under five hundred years after Christ of prayers made to them*. For the ejaculations, which the fathers make to them in their panegyrics, I take to be no more than letters sent without promise of being delivered†; for human wishes, not for offices of God's service. When litanies first came in, I am yet to seek for a testimony that they called upon them to pray for us‡. In St. Gregory's litanies, credible it is, that they were in use^b. But that is too far from the primitive [times], and resents a decay of Christianity. After that there was no stop for superstition, till the hours of our lady came in¹; about the time of Gregory the VIIth, when the infinite power of the pope was advanced. For to this day, in the mass, I know no prayer, but that which is made to God, that He will hear the saints for us^k. The litanies were indeed an office of God's service. But whether or no they did believe the saints heard them, is questionable. The banks were broke down, when every superstitious bishop or priest might hope for preferment, without merit, for prescribing such forms to those of his cure; such forms, as prayed them to give that, which they meant they should obtain of God by their prayers.

[No prayers
to saints
for five
hundred
years after
Christ.]

§ 4. But how shall simple Christians, whom they have never bred to distinguish the honour of our Lord from the honour of His mother, be excused of idolatry, which the terms of their prayers expressly signify; the Church neither having

[Gross
abuses of
the Church
of Rome in
the pre-
misses.]

* See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 28—31, and Just Weights and Measures, c. xvi. § 5.

† See Epilogue, *ibid.* § 34.

‡ See *ibid.* § 31.

^a See *ibid.* note j.

¹ See *ibid.* § 24.

^k See *ibid.* § 22.

CHAP. XLIII. the face to own them, nor the conscience to forbid them? Here let me ask, what moves the poor people to cast away their time and their pence upon such devotions? What, but the motive of all superstitions;—a sense of the bond of religion, a desire to be discharged of it, an ignorance of access to God by Christ, or a sense that it is fruitless without the condition of the covenant of grace. It is true, those that know it, and submit not to it, have reason to seek all that may palliate the non-performance of that which they profess. But those, that should preach it and do not, may find an account of gain from them, whom they held to a false hope of heaven without it. Let the experience of the archbishop of Spalato¹ and of La Milletière^m, neither of them otherwise affected to the Church of Rome than I would wish, set forth the particulars of the practices of their people: whereby it may appear, how they go about to pay God in monies of their own coining; that is, what fruit the customs, which they are bred to, bring forth. Let me recapitulate the particulars, of masses without communions, of services to be delivered out of purgatory-pains, of pilgrimages for opportunities of those services, of ceremonies not serving to promote God's service, a devotion of crosses, relics, and images, invocation of saints: which could never have come in fashion, had Christians, when the world came into the Church, been instructed in the condition of the covenant of grace, how to be estated in a comfortable assurance of the state of grace. Let who please, I say, recapitulate those particulars, mentioned here and there in the premisses: and it will appear,

¹ Scil. in his *De Republica Ecclesiastica*, Parts i. ii. fol. Lond. 1617, 20, and Pt. iii. fol. Hanov. 1622: or in his *Ostensio Errorum P. F. Suarez*, at the end of lib. vi. of the first named work. See for an account of him the references in Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxiii. § 42, note c.

^m As De Dominis left his archbishopric of Spalato and the Church of Rome to join the Church of England, although afterwards rejoining the former Church, so Théophile Brachet, Sieur de la Milletière (spelt by Thorndike as Bramhall spells it, viz. Milletière), deserted the French Reformed body in order to join the Ro-

man Church. Grotius speaks highly of him. See an account of him in Bramhall's Works, vol. i. p. cxl. note d, and in Bayle's Dictionary. His principal work (see above in c. xxvi. § 6. note l) was entitled, *Le Moyen de la Paix Chrestienne en la réunion des Catholiques et des Evangeliques sur les differens de la Religion*; of which four parts were published at different dates prior to his open renunciation of the Reformed Communion. He was condemned by both parties, as may be seen in Bayle; and threatened to return to the Reformed body at one time, owing to the extravagant tenets of Romanists respecting the Virgin Mary.

that the Church had grossly failed of the trust, which God hath, and therefore faithful people should, repose in it; and, therefore, that an end was to be put to the superstition thence arising, by the Churches of several sovereignties, by such a reformation, as there was no hope that the Church of Rome would ever authorize; and that the division arising upon such a reformation, in matters of this nature, wherein Churches may disagree without interrupting communion, is to be charged upon them that excommunicate, not upon those that are excommunicated, for it.

§ 5. To instance in pilgrimages: what devotion may a penitent shew, to refuse the comforts of his country, and submit to the affront of strangers, on purpose to get opportunity of exercising conversion from sin? And yet even this profession, what account it was come to, in so short a time as the pilgrimage to the Holy Land had then been in use, we see by St. Gregory Nyssen's Epistle^a. When penance was commuted into the voyage of the Holy Land, and persons indebted to God and man called to put themselves under the pope's protection against both; what shall we say, but that the keys of the Church were bought and sold, to give men hope of heaven without living like Christians.

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XLIII.

[Pilgrimage, how abused.]

CHAPTER XLIV.

[OF THE TEMPORAL RIGHT USURPED BY THE POPE.]

I AM now come to consider the temporal right usurped by the pope, and how much it hath contributed to the corruption of Christianity. But I do not intend to go the way, that

[The usurpation of temporal right by the popes dates from the donation of Pepin.]

^a Epist. S. Greg. Nyss. Περὶ τῶν ἀπίστων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα; Op. tom. iii. pp. 651. C—654. D. Its purport is strongly condemnatory of "τῶν τὴν μονήρην καὶ ἰδιόζοντα βίον ἐπαρηρημένων, οἳ ἐν μέρει εὐσεβείας νερόμισται τὸ τοῦ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τόπους ἰδεῖν, ἐν οἷς τὰ σύμβολα τῆς διὰ σαρκὸς ἐπισημίας τοῦ Κυρίου ὁρᾶται." This he says the Lord has not commanded, has not reckoned among good works, has

not placed among the constituents of happiness. And although some utility might be derived from it (indeed he himself had performed such a pilgrimage), yet the mischief of the journey to character and habits, especially of women, greatly outweighs it: and after all, the Lord is not more present nor the Holy Spirit more abundant there than elsewhere.

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all have done hitherto; being engaged either for the popes or for the emperors. For posterity, that perceive the mis-carriages of predecessors, hear the truth to no purpose, by engaging themselves in their causes. The truth is, the usurpation of the see of Rome is to be dated from the donation of Pepin: who, being obliged by the pope for the crown of France, which he had usurped upon the French kings of the first line, could not requite them better cheap than by giving them a considerable part of the empire in Italy; which the emperors then could hardly protect against the Lombards.

[The Church had no authority to give Pepin a title in a matter of temporal right.]

§ 2. But let no man think, that my opinion stands upon condemning Pepin's title, either to the crown of France, or disposing of the "exarchate;" as then the government of the lieutenant of the empire, residing at Ravenna, was called^o. He, that considers the grounds of my opinion premised, will easily see, that the Church can have nothing to do to give sentence or to exercise any authority in titles of sovereign right. 'The pope himself can do no more in it, than give an opinion, whereupon Pepin in this case might secure his proceeding in point of conscience. But it may very well be disputed at this day; whether so many years' possession, as he and his predecessors had had, of the power of the kingdom, did not entitle him to the right of it. Sure I am, the pope, who by crowning Pepin authorized the subject to obey as well as the prince to command (otherwise his sentence would have stood Pepin in no more stead than the sentence of a private priest), as he could not have a better ground for his sentence, so could not prejudice the contrary title of the first line, without scandalizing the common Christianity by founding temporal dominion upon the grace which it bringeth.

[Both popes and emperors usurped upon one another in the contention between them.]

§ 3. But it is to be acknowledged, that this is the *πρώτον ψεύδος*, the beginning of that fallacy; which Christendom hath not yet understood, nor ever can understand, without bounding the rights of the Church, and of the state in Church-matters, upon the grounds which I have premised. And, therefore, I satisfy myself in the resolution of this case with applying them to the contentions between the popes and the emperors; notwithstanding that not only other states

^o See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 32, 33; c. xxxiii. § 63.

and kingdoms of Christendom, but even our own country, hath given posterity matter enough to be instructed by their miscarriages in it. For I am of opinion, that the emperors did not understand the rights of their crown in Church-matters. But I do maintain withal, that they usurped both the rights and the goods of the Church: which the popes were to maintain by all the means, that God had put into their hands; but not by deposing the emperors, and so usurping sovereign power, which God never put in the hands of His Church.

§ 4. The matter is not so clear in the state of the western empire, as in other sovereignties of Christendom; and therefore deserves to be fetched from the bottom. For Charles the Great, having succeeded his father Pepin as well in the crown of France as in the protection of the see of Rome, and going to war with the Lombards upon that quarrel, made a conquest of that kingdom. Now I bring not the title of this war and conquest into dispute here: which I suppose is best justified upon the want of protection, which they found of the empire, their sovereign; granting the hostility of the Lombards with the city of Rome to have no just ground.* For as for the Church of Rome, and the patrimony thereof, situate within the territory of the city; it doth not appear, that the Lombards were so ill instructed in their Christianity as to make it their own, being consecrated to God, if they should become masters of the city. Howsoever, upon this ground they adopted Charles, as they had done his father, into the style of *Patricius Romanorum*^p. It was an honour erected by

[Origin of
the west-
ern em-
pire.]

* After conquering the Lombards A. D. 773, says Sigonius (*Hist. de Regno Italiae*, lib. iv. p. 89. *Francos*. 1575), Charlemagne, "Romam ad consilia cum eo (Hadriano pontifice) communicanda iter intendit. Eo cognito Hadrianus extemplo sacros ex Italia proceres advocavit, et, cum episcopi centum quinquaginta quatuor abbatesque plurimi convenissent, Carolus sollemni occursum civitatis excepit, atque ad eos de illius honoribus retulit. Visum omnibus est, præsentì tempore convenire, ut rex potentissimus, atque optime cum patre avoque de Romana Ecclesia meritis, extraordinariis honorum afficeretur insignibus. Itaque universo procerum consentiente conventu decretum, ut Carolus Patricius Romanus esset; per angulas pro-

vincias archiepiscopos et episcopos institueret, ita ut nisi ab eo laudarentur et instituerentur, a nemine sacrarentur; et ut pontificem eligeret, sedemque apostolicam ordinaret. Cæterum patriciatus ordo ac dignitas post Constantinum Magnum Romano in imperio maximi ac splendidisimì tituli fuit, episcoporum autem quam dixi institutionem investituram illi vocarunt, eamque annulo et baculo porrigendo perfici voluerunt. Pontifici porro legendi jus videtur ad seditiones et dissidia Romanorum tollenda collatum." — See Saxius's notes to Sigonius, in *Opp. Sigonii* tom. ii. p. 231 (*Mediol.* 1731); and P. de Marca, *De Concord.* &c., lib. i. c. 12. § 1 sq., lib. iii. c. 11. § 1, sq.

CHAP. XLIV. Constantine the Great for his principal counsellors and commanders; whom thereby he called into part of the care over the public state of the empire and of religion, adopting them protectors of the Church also and of the poor and distressed⁴. Thus was the exarchate made part of the patrimony of the Church of Rome, under the protection of the king of France and of the Lombards. But this adoption of his protection, and the title of *Patricius*, could signify nothing in right; not being given by the successor of Constantine, but by his subjects, seeking protection from a stranger instead of their sovereign; unless we suppose them warranted by want of protection from the empire: always by the government of the city, as well as by the Church. And the assignation of the exarchate to the Church in despite of the emperor, demanding it in vain back from Pepin at the time of recovering it from the Lombards⁵, must be done upon a good or upon a bad title, according to the title of the war with the Lombards for the protection of the Church and city of Rome, which I have left under dispute: the best reason, which could be alleged for the Church of Rome to hold it, being that, which this age hath observed,—to make recompense for the patrimony thereof in Illyricum and other provinces of the empire, which the emperors had seized and confiscated upon the contentions they had with the Church about the adoration of images⁶;—but the best title of Pepin to do it, being the title of his war with the Lombards for the protection of the see of

⁴ See Du Cange sub voce *Patricius*: and other authorities quoted by Gibbon, c. xlix. vol. iv. p. 486, note 58. ed. Milman; who also describes there the scene related in the last note from Sigonius. Du Cange observes, that “neque alii fuere Patricii Romanorum quam Præfecti Romanæ urbis: quam quidem dignitatem postquam sese a Græcanici Imperii jugo subduxere, Longobardis etiam devictis et superatis, Pipino primum, deinde Carolo Magno et Carolomanno, Romani ipsi adscripsere, ut colligere est ex Anastasio in Vita Stephani IV. Papæ:” but “abstinuere deinceps hocce titulum gentis Francicæ imperatores, ut qui imperatoris dignitatem longe eminentiori obscuraretur, eoque ipso Romæ imperarent.” The title was formally held, however, by the German emperors, Otho, Henry III., IV., V.

⁵ “Nondum Romæ auditum erat Pipinum ad Alpes pervenisse, cum Georgius Protonotarius et Joannes Silentarius legati ad Pipinum ab Imperatore” (viz. Constantine V.) “missi Romam accesserunt. Hi secreta ab illo mandata habebant, Pipini ad Exarchatum et Pentapolim Imperio, non Ecclesiæ, restituendum orandi:” but Pepin “respondit se nullis præmiis humanis inductum sed Divinæ promerendæ gratiæ studio inflammatum Ecclesiam Romanam in fidem recepisse,” &c.; “Exarchatum et Pentapolim si recepisset, S. Petro se et successoribus ejus traditurum jurasse. Quare nulla adduci ratione posse, ut fidem fallat, officiove decedat.” Sigonius, as in note p. lib. iii. pp. 79, 80: in A.D. 755.

⁶ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 32; and De Rat. Fin. Controv., c. xxxiv. p. 690.

Rome. Now this new and unexampled act of Pepin and Charles the Great, in assigning the exarchate to the Church of Rome in sovereignty, and in protecting the Church and city in their patrimony and territory, whether clear in point of right or not, was certainly ill grounded in reason of government. For though the city could be content to be protected against the empire in the free disposing of themselves and of their territory, as well as the Church in their patrimony; yet, when any question should arise about sovereignty (which of necessity must arise), the reverence they owed religion would never serve to make them own the pope for their sovereign: especially at that time, when the people had a canonical right (as always they ought to have) in the election of their bishops. For that, which might move them to usurp beyond their right in these elections, would hinder them to make such elect sovereign in their temporalities. And this it was, that fell out in the cases recited in my Latin book¹ of violences done in the election of popes. And upon this occasion it was, that Charles the Great, coming to the city with force to take account of these violences, was by the city as well as the Church saluted "*Imperator semper Augustus*"; that is, acknowledged sovereign over those that so saluted him, as much as their emperors ever had been.

§ 5. And so the case is stated. For I have nothing to say to those, that admit not the premisses:—that the pope's sentence in crowning Pepin king of France, and in authorizing his war with the Lombards, and his son's conquest of them, could have secured no man's conscience, unless the title had been good before his sentence. Supposing that title good, and the city free of their allegiance to the empire from want of protection from it, they might give themselves

[The city of Rome free of its allegiance to the empire from want of protection from it.]

¹ De Ratione Finiendi Controversias &c., c. xxxiv. p. 691.

"Ubi dies nataliciorum advenit, Carolus summo mane Vaticanam basilicam adiit, atque ad confessionem progressus solemnem Dei obsecrationem inivit. Qua perfecta pontifex" (Leo III.), "qui ex composito aderat, chlamydem Augustalem et coronam auream pretiosissimam, quam de industria comparaverat, ei imposuit.

Quo facto, populus universus ter voce clarissima lætissimus acclamavit, Carolo Augusto a Deo coronato, Magno et Piissimo Imperatori Romanorum, Vita et Victoria. Deo inde divisque rite in auxilium invocatis, Imperatorius illi titulus a populo confirmatus est." Sigonius, as in note p, lib iv. pp. 98, 99: in A.D. 801. See Gibbon, c. xlix. vol. iv. p. 498.

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up to Charles the Great and to the sovereignty of his empire, as well as the Church; who were subjects as well as they, though under the privileges of the Church. Hitherto Pepin and his son Charles were patrons of the Church of Rome; undertaking to protect it in enjoying the exarchate, and all the rest, which they had consecrated to God for the use of that Church. And all this rightfully; supposing (as here I suppose), that it was their own which they gave. Whether prudently or no, the succession of time must enable us to judge. For if the want of government in the city constrained them to proclaim him their sovereign, whose protection they saw availed not to keep the peace among them; then it appears, that the right of protection, which made them patrons of the Church, served not to make them enjoy their rights, so long as the city did not accept them for their sovereigns.

[The city of Rome could give Charles the Great no title to all the dominion of the empire.]

§ 6. There is another point of no less consequence to be observed in the case. For it is well known, that Baronius^x, and Bellarmine^y, and generally the advocates of that see, do make the empire to have been translated from the Greeks to Charles the Great by this act; that is to say, that he and his lawful successors from henceforth had the same title to all the dominion of the empire as to the city of Rome: a thing so ridiculous and so mischievous as nothing more^z. For neither city nor Church of Rome could give

^x Baronius, Annal. in an. 800; tom. ix. pp. 489—492.

^y Bellarmine (De Pontif. Rom., lib. v. c. 8. Controv., tom. i. p. 1071. B, C) states the case thus—"Septimum exemplum est Leonis III., qui imperium transtulit a Græcis ad Germanos, propterea quod Græci nullum auxilium laboranti Ecclesiæ Occidentali adferre possent. Ex quo factum est, ut licet imperatoria dignitas absolute considerata non sit a Pontifice, sed a Deo mediante jure gentium, ut supra ostendimus," &c., "tamen imperatores qui fuerunt a tempore Caroli Magni, pontifici debeant suum imperium." See also his fuller discussion of the case in his work in three books De Translat. Imperii Roman. a Græcis ad Francos. 8vo. Antv. 1569.

^z "His positis, quo jure, quo auctore, a Græcis ad Romanos translatum imperium sit, tribus verbis responderi

potest; hactenus saltem, ne quis propterea Romanæ Sedi summarum potestatum vel constituendarum vel destituendarum jus esse autumat. Nam cum Romanorum consensu, auctore Papa, qui prius Romanorum 'Patricius' fuerat Carolus Magnus, jure a patre quesito, ei 'Imperatori semper Augusto' Romæ ab omnibus ordinibus acclamatum est; non est putandum aliud jus populi Romani acclamatione quæri potuisse, quam quod imperatori suo populus Romanus amplius quam patricio tribuere poterat. Demonstravit Petrus de Marca eatenus cultam a Romanis, constituto Pipini patriciatu, imperii majestatem, quatenus sub exarchia, a quibus in Pipinum translatus fuerat, colebatur. Quod si invasum ab obitu Pauli Pont. I. pontificatum a Constantino Pont., et inde secuta mala spectemus; tum quæ pontificatum Stephani III. exercuerunt, viribus

that, which they had not. Grant them masters of themselves under the protection of Charles; no man can hinder them to change his right of protection into the right of sovereignty over themselves, that they might live in the

eorum, qui fœdam vim ulți fuerant, per quam obtinuerat illam sedem Constantinus, et secuta postmodum sub Hadriano I.; denique conjurationem in Leonem III., cui medelam attulit Caroli Magni ad urbem adventus; hæc, inquam, si ad animum revocemus, non erit dubium, experiendo agnitum non potuisse populum Romanum in officio contineri, quamdiu dicis causa summa potestas Imperio ascripta, administraretur quasi procuratorio nomine, ab eis qui sibi ejus arbitrium usurpabant. Cum igitur ultus injurias Leonis Carolus, 'rependente vices Leone,' ut ait Theophanes, unctus esset in imperatorem, acclamantibus universis, 'Carolo Augusto a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico Imperatori Romano-rum, Vita et Victoria:' recte Anastasius constitutum Imperatorem *ἐπιφανεῖς*. Neque enim dubium magis esse potest summam potestatem ab universis ordinibus, auctore pontifice, in Carolum collatam, quam conferre ipsos potuisse, quod sibi retinuerant. Itaque, si quando conservasse majestatem pontificis erga suos Carolum Magnum et posteros legimus, idem sibi ipsos adversus pontifices, quod pontifices adversus imperatores Orientis usurpasse dictum est, fecisse dicamus; ut auctoritatem eis conservarent, cujus vim et effectum arbitrii sui futuram constabat, penes quos tuendi armis pontificatus jus esset. Neque aliter obtinuit, priusquam solidum jus in civitatem Romanam et ducatum, Carolus Calvus, a Joanne VIII. Imperator renunciatus, in Sedem Apostolicam transcripsit. Sed hoc jus sola" [sic] "Romanæ civitatis Romanique ducatus finibus terminabatur. Neque enim ad exarchatum ipsum pertinebat: quem bello quæsitum (cujus gerendi jus nullum a Romana sede habere potuit Pipinus, quamvis ea auctore gesti), ex pactis cum ea initis in ipsam transcripserat Carolus Calvus. Neque enim ipsius intererat, qui fidem imperio nullam debebat, quatenus ea non teneri exarchatui subditos imperii cives Papa ip-sius auctor esset. Longobardis, si, alienum palam invadentibus, palam eriperet Pipinus, non poterat minori invidia hoc facere, quam si in sedem Apostolicam jus illud transcriberet,

quod, non agnita amplius imperii Orientalis majestate, summum exinde futurum erat. Sed utcumque se habeat, manifestum est, non prius tanquam imperatori Carolo acclamatum, quam bello quæsitum ipsi esset Longobardorum regnum; quod legitimum agnoscebant, qui tanquam imperatori acclamabant. Itaque cum regni Longobardici summum fuisse jus nemo neget; non potest videri imperatorii nominis majestas ad illud conferendum stabiendumve pertinere, quod ipsam tempore præcessisse palam est. Itaque videant quid sit de quo disputent, qui imperium Romanum a Græciis ad Francos Romanæ Sedis jure transiisse contendunt. Regnum Italiæ, quod Longobardorum fuerat, non potuisse collati imperii jure conferri, manifestum est: quod prius habuit Carolus quam imperator esset. Urbis dominium cum a se abdicarunt Franci, quicquid aliud imperatorii nominis, quantumvis Augusti, majestas significabat, jure ipso, quod in exarchatum reliquum sibi fecerant, contineri necesse erat. Insecutis temporibus, cum interpretandi juris Romani studium, ab imperatoribus Græciis revocatum, auctoritatem professoribus ejus attulisset; nemo nescit extitisse scriptores, his literis claros, qui tum imperatores orbis dominos assererent, ut in libris suis legebant. Et fortasse apud principes alicubi et respublicas umbras rerum pro rebus ipsis valuisse observari poterit. Sed umbris rerum veritate profligatis, necesse est id tantum juris inauguratione imperiali Franci tributum videri, quod tum senatus proceraeque Romanæ urbis auctore Papa sibi vindicare poterant. Dico autem *videri*, quia, quo jure se imperio Orientis subdixerint, non est opus me auctore asseri. Quæ si vera sunt, non potest hoc exemplo constituendarum destituendarumque summarum potestatum jus Romanæ sedi asseri." Thorndike, *De Ratione Fin. Controv. &c.*, c. xxxiv. pp. 691—693.—And see F. Spanheim, *De Ficta Collatione Imperii in Carolum M. per Leonem III.*, *Miscellan. Sac. Antiq. lib. iv. Dissert. iii. Op. tom. ii.* pp. 558, sq.

CHAP. XLIV. better peace among themselves. No man could hinder the Church to change the right of protection into the right of sovereignty over the exarchate: that his right of patronage might be effectual, to make good unto the Church, whatsoever the advancement of Christianity could require; not only in maintaining it in the disposition of consecrate goods, but also in the civil government and the ordering of it to the end of Christianity. But when this is done, shall we be so ridiculous [as] to imagine, that the city of Rome could give him the empire, as they could give him the style of "*Imperator semper Augustus*?" that the Church of Rome could give it him, from whom they had received the gift of the exarchate? For king of Italy, in the right of the Lombards, he was as much before the title of emperor as after it; to wit, by the title of his war with the Lombards, by which he had given the Church of Rome the exarchate, approved by the Church by receiving the gift.

[What it did give him by the title of emperor.]

§ 7. It was then a title, that made Charles the first of all Christian princes of his time; as he was indeed before he had it: and gives the same precedence to all his successors in the western empire, by prescription of time; though neither by the patronage of the Church of Rome, which is come to nothing long since, nor by extent of dominion and power, which changeth as the world changes. But further than this it could never signify in point of right: and without inconvenience might have been personal to Charles; as without doubt it is not to be ascribed to any, that never was crowned by the pope. In the meantime, happy had it been for Italy, if Charles and his successors had made use of this sovereignty to keep the city and Church of Rome in a due temper of government; and the exarchate in the like obedience as his kingdom of Italy, though to the profit of the Church of Rome.

[Use made of the title of emperor by some of his successors.]

§ 8. But I cannot say, that some of them did not extend the title of their empire to challenge that by, which came in difference between them and the emperors of the East; though perhaps the succession of the Lombards afforded them a better than it. For when the emperor Basilius Macedo complained of Lewis the Second, emperor and king of Italy, that he styled himself "*Augustus*," and should

only style himself king^a: I cannot be persuaded, that he demanded of him to leave off the title of emperor, which he had from so many predecessors; but that he would content himself with the rights of the kingdom of [the] Lombards, and challenge no more of the empire by that of "*Augustus*," which he might challenge all as well as any part. For I see, that princes are apt to embrace those titles, which they are not always persuaded to be well grounded. And if the Lombards, confining with the Greeks at Benvenuto, might give a title of war to their successors in Italy; the title of emperor would give it, wheresoever they could have opportunity to win from the Greeks.

§ 9. But this dispute was thenceforth silenced for almost a hundred years. For, this emperor Lewis the Second dying without issue to inherit his kingdom of Italy, his uncle the king of France, Charles the Bald, obtained preposterously of the pope, John the VIIIth, the imperial crown; and, as it seems, in recompense of that favour, gave him up the sovereignty over the city and territory of Rome, which had been cast upon his grandfather Charles the Great^b. I have pointed at the proofs hereof in my Latin book^c. But I suppose it was in hope, that by the same authority of the pope he might prevail with the Lombards to receive him for their king. This proved to no effect. For, the sons of his brother, that reigned in Germany, bringing in an army to oppose him, he died without obtaining possession of it; and his son, reigning in France, Ludovicus Balbus, contented himself to demand his share in the kingdom of Italy among the successors of Charles the Great; as we read in Sigonius^d. So, from the death of Lewis the Second to the coming in of Otho king of Germany, the title of emperor and the kingdom of Italy had their turns. Sometimes the pope bestowed the title of emperor, that the kingdom might follow. Sometimes the most eminent of the princes,

[Charles the Bald gave up the sovereignty of the city of Rome to the pope.]

^a See Baronius, Annal., in an. 871. tom. x. pp. 486, sq.; where is given the letter of Lewis in reply, there first published. It is given from Baronius in Du Chesne. Hist. Francor. Scriptt., tom. iii. pp. 555, sq.

^b Charles promised, that if John would crown him, "se Ecclesiam in perpetuum a quibuscunque hostium

injuriis defensurum, et Romanam ditionem penitus remissurum." Sigonius, Hist. de Regn. Ital., lib. v. pp. 132, 133; in A.D. 875. And see De Marca, De Concord. &c.; lib. iii. c. 10. § 6, c. 11, § 11.

^c De Ratione Finiendi Controversias, as quoted above in § 6, note z.

^d As above in § 4, note p, pp. 135, sq.

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[Agreement by which that sovereignty was restored to Otho the Great.]

whether natives or strangers, that were neighbours, taking upon them the kingdom upon the support of inferiors, by the force thereof awed the pope to crown them emperors.

§ 10. In the meantime, the princes and nobles, that were neighbours to the city, exercised so horrible a tyranny over the city and Church^e, as I said was justly to be expected from an anarchy^f; the sovereignty being given back to the pope, but the people (who together with the Church had cast it upon Charles the Great) having never made the pope their sovereign. These disorders brought on an agreement between the princes of Italy as well as the pope, on one side, and the first Otho, surnamed the Great, on the other side^g; they receiving him for their prince and sovereign, he undertaking the patronage of the Church of Rome, in all that Pepin and Charles and himself now had, and did give and confirm to it (with some addition of his own, as the fashion of that time was, always to add to the Church, whether good for the state or not). Upon this account his posterity succeeded in the kingdom without contradiction, and consequently in the empire. Upon this account he did justice upon the most debauched villain of the world, the pope^h; that had concurred to the agreement with him, and could keep no faith with any man that stood in the way of his debauches.

[By what right Otho tried and deposed the pope.]

§ 11. They, that find faultⁱ with the council, that Otho called to sentence him whom no creature with the face of man could sentence without condemning, should remember, that all Christians are or should be subject to civil justice, all clergy above

* See authorities for the horrible iniquities of the popes in the tenth century, and for the oppressions of Marquis Adelbert, Alberic, &c., in Mosheim, Bk. III. Cent. x. Pt. ii. c. ii. § 1—5.

^f Scil. De Rat. Fin. Controv., as quoted above in § 6, note z.

^g Gibbon, c. xlix. vol. iv. p. 512, quotes the important sentence of the treaty from Luitprand, scil. that the senate and people of Rome were "firmiter jurantes nunquam se papam electuros aut ordinaturos præter consensum et electionem Othonis et filii sui." And see also Gieseler, Period III. Div. ii. Pt. i. c. i. § 22, note 15, and Sigonius, as above, pp. 175, sq. The "agreement" referred to, is in Baro-

nus, Annal., in an. 962. tom. x. pp. 764, sq.; and see authorities as to its genuineness in Gieseler, *ibid.* note 13.

^h See Baronius, Annal., in an. 963, detailing the crimes and the deposition of Pope John XII. by Otho, with a council at Rome. See also Luitprand, Hist. Sui Temporis, lib. vi. cc. 6, sq. ap. Du Chesne, Hist. Francor. Scriptt., tom. iii. pp. 627, sq.; and De Rebus Gestis Othonis, cc. x. sq. ap. Pertz., Monum. Hist. Germ., tom. v. pp. 342, sq.; and P. De Marca, De Concord. &c., lib. viii. c. 12. § 10. Baronius speaks of the pope as one "quem jure detestentur omnes boni."

ⁱ As Baronius of course and Romanist controversialists: see Baron. Annal. in an. 963, 964. tom. x. pp. 775, sq.

the rank of common Christians, all popes above the measure of their clergy. Had Otho tried the pope by civil justice, he had done the Church a notable right, in balking canonical trial in the person that notoriously had forfeited all privilege of the clergy. When he called a council of his suffragans to try him by, he shewed that to be true, which I said of Pope Symmachus^k;—that the council called by Theodoric the Goth

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^k Scil. De Ration. Fin. Controv. &c. c. xxiv. pp. 469, sq.—“Primum hoc testamentum canonici juris Romanæ sedis in arbitrium erigendi, traxit post se Symmachi Papæ causam; cum Festus senator Romanus . . schisma conflavit in electione Symmachi. Nam etsi rata fuit ejus electio, ex ejus tamen discidium cineribus conflatum est Symmacho postmodo adulterii crimen: quod cum Theodoricus a synodo Italiæ Romæ judicari jussisset, testati sunt episcopi, qui regis Ariani jussis obsequabantur, non legitime se ad synodum nisi a Symmacho vocari. Respondente rege ejus etiam consensu indictam, ita in synodo de causa cognoverunt, ut statuerent primam sedem judicari a se non debere; quod, quatenus papa a concilio judicari possit, nobis disputandum relinquit. Cum enim dictum sit neque synodum sine synodi præside neque sine hoc illam judicare, quomodo ad sententiam veniatur, cui altera pars obstat? Et tamen, laborante capite, corpus sine remedio esse, non potest ab apostolis, quibus hierarchiam ascribimus auctoribus, profectum videri. Neque ego Ecclesiam, aut Ecclesiæ partem jure canonico nexam (puta provinciam aut diocæsim), sine remedio esse concedam, quodcumque capiti vitium insit; quamdiu communis jus ad reliquam Ecclesiam aditum laborantibus aperit. Sed Italiæ synodi judicio, cui tum sedes Romana præerat, damnari eum, quem reliqua Ecclesia primæ sedi præidentem agnosceret, quid aliud quam schismati viam aperiebat? Itaque invalidam rebus ipsis, et de facto ut aiunt, quamvis jure ipso validam, posse eam sententiam esse necesse erat, quæ aliis, ad quos spectaret, invalida videri poterat. Quo minus mirum est, noluisse synodum sententiam ferre, quæ invalida esse poterat, et unitati propere obstat. Quod si hic metus non obstat, quid obstat, synodi judicio instaurari labem Ecclesiæ, innocentis substituto pontifice? Demonstratum

enim est, consensu Ecclesiarum valere, quicquid synodo constitui potest. Quod si quis idem esse dicat, remedium esse nullum Ecclesiæ malis, ac in totius consensu positum esse, quem constat obtineri non posse; is satis habeat, hoc loco, ex originario Ecclesiæ statu haberi posse legitimam omnibus ejus malis medendi rationem. Nam si quid delinquere dicatur pontifex, cujus nomine fidei ex plebe cuiquam carentium sit communione Ecclesiæ, is si reineat communionem Ecclesiæ per pœnitentiam, pontifex tamen esse non poterit, qui pœnitentiam profiteatur; quia pontifex esse non debeat, si pœnitentiam profiteri necesse habeat. Itaque summæ potestatis judicio obnoxius erit eis de causis, de quibus potestatis fidelibus cognoscendum est. Canonici autem de causis, cum nullum sit ex Dei fideique lege cognitio nisi eodem judicio rationem esse oportet. Ac etsi semper obstat rationi quam hic tractamus, difficultas ineundæ exequendæque canonice cognitionis; quod difficile sit de sententiæ veritate omnibus quorum interest satisfacere; satis tamen esset continendæ in officio tam circumspectæ potestati, scire se rationi obnoxiam, toties reddendæ quoties postulari eam expedit; satis continendæ synodi temeritati, quod sententiam suam ratam esse non posse sciat. si reliqua repugnet Ecclesia. Quæ igitur ratio juris assequendi, hoc rerum statu, iniri possit, cum suo loco in liquidum fuerit deductum, tum vero, quid singulis sequendum, ubi universi officium negligant, constitui poterit. Itaque sententiam synodi, qua causam ‘Deo judici reservant,’ quam a se judicari non debere censuerunt, non tam justitiæ quam prudentiæ rationibus consuluissæ contendo. Nam quæ ratio ferat, proferri in Symmachum sententiam, quam irritam apud Ecclesias Gallicanas futuram Aviti Viennen-

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[Alleged concordat between Gregory V. and the Germans respecting the election of the emperor by the German princes.]

§ 12. But, the third Otho coming to die without issue, there fell out a greater difference in the dispute between the rights of the pope and of the empire, than histories do use to observe. For Gregory the Vth, a German pope, had the credit with his country, as for the honour and advancement of it, to bring them to a concordat with the see of Rome; that whosoever should be chosen king of Germany by the princes of Germany, should be crowned emperor by the pope^m. This act seems, at the first sight, to

sis quæm habemus ad Symmachum Epistola ostendit?" &c. &c.—Thorndike goes on to argue, that "etsi totius Italiæ synodus damnare papam non debuit, damnata tamen a synodo generali VI. memoria Honorii Papæ satis ostendit, generalis synodi judicio damnari etiam papam et posse et debere." Compare Bramhall, *Just Vindict.*, c. viii.; Works, Pt. i. Disc. ii. vol. i. p. 255.

^l "Id quidem contestati sunt omnes episcopi in Romano Concilio sub Symmacho Papa" (scil. that they could not call a council "contra pontificem absque ipsius consensu"), "cum ipse pontifex adversariorum accusationibus obrueretur, non licere dicentes ab alio aliquo nisi ab ipso synodum convocari in causa sua." Baron., *Annal.*, in an. 963. tom. x. p. 775. See

Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl. ad sæc. ix. et x. Diss. xvi.* (tom. vi. pp. 371, sq.); and Thorndike as in the last note.

^m The history of the Council of Rome, A.D. 996, at which this agreement was said to be made, is maintained by Baronius, *Annal.* in an. 996 (tom. xi. pp. 907, sq.), against the Magdeburg Centuristors; and by Bellarmine, *De Transl. Imp. Rom.*, lib. iii. c. 1—4. pp. 276—326: and see Labb., *Conc.*, tom. ix. pp. 757. A., sq. The acts of the council are lost: and Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl. ad sæc. ix. et x.*, Diss. xvii. (tom. vi. pp. 374, sq.), has sufficiently shewn that the electoral college of seven German princes dates long after Gregory V.: see also Pagi, *Ad Annal. Baron.* an. 996. num. x., sq. tom. iv. pp. 71, 72. Col. Allob. 1706.

be done by a German pope for an advantage to his country. But he, that looks nearer at it, will find, that, as it was grounded upon no right, so it was like to be the occasion of great troubles to the disadvantage of the Germans. For by this means occasion was offered to any discontented party among the princes, to contest and quarrel the election of their kings; and give the popes a hand in swaying their elections, when it once should appear that they had a spoke in them. Accordingly, there needed afterwards a new limitation of the princes electors; which the popes had found reason by that time to claim to themselves, as having before the constitution of the seven electors often interposed to nullify or ratify them^a. And indeed, on another hand, the kingdom of Lombardy being included in the agreement between Gregory the Vth and the Germans without their own consent; it is manifest, that for the future they must claim it by the disposition of the pope, not by their agreement with the first Otho, containing nothing of the elect[ion] by the Germans.

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§ 13. He, that considers this, will not marvel, that by this time it was thought a good title to claim the dominion of the empire by the disposition of the pope, whensoever it was for their turn to claim it. For they, that suffered themselves to be so abused in religion; what marvel was it, that they should embrace a cracked title, that seemed for their advantage? But that which was no better grounded, no marvel if it had no better success. It would have concerned those, that condescended to claim under the pope, to keep him their friend by maintaining the rights of the Church. Not knowing the bounds of their right in Church matters, no marvel they found not how to do it. William of Malmesbury^o our English historian tells us, that Charles the Great, founding the Church together with his own dominion in Germany, thought it advisable for him to settle the greatest power upon the bishoprics: thinking, that they, who

[The emperors did not know the bounds of their right in Church matters.]

^a This appears to allude to the alleged decree of pope Innocent IV. at the council of Lyons A.D. 1243, affirmed by Baronius (Annal. ad an. 996. tom. x. p. 916) to have constituted the electoral body of seven and the form

of election: but this also is disposed of by Natalis Alexander (as in last note).

^o Quoted in Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 63, note q.

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XLIV. their own; which his lords, to advance their own succession, might design to abate. This is the ground of the greatness we see of the German bishoprics: which, no marvel, if the kings had given, that the emperors thought it was fit for them to dispose of at pleasure; not remembering, that, being consecrated to God's service, it must be disposed of according to the law of His service. And no marvel, if the popes, by maintaining the rights of the Church, sought to strengthen their party against those, that had made themselves their vassals.

[Investitures interferred with the Church's right in the election of bishops: but the popes not thereby justified in deposing the emperors.]

§ 14. The histories of these times write as they are affected; some crying up, others crying down, the cause and the proceedings of popes or of emperors. Posterity, that is not engaged in their passions, hath no cause to be engaged in their factions. There is no question, that the Church hath the election of bishops by canonical right; which God's law establisheth, if Christianity be the law of God. There is no question, that the sovereign in a Christian state, in regard of the protection thereof, much more in regard of the royalties which sovereignties had then endowed Churches with, hath a negative; a right of intercession in and to any instance of the Church's proceedings to canonical elections. There is no question, but the investitures, which the emperors then pretended, prevented all election by putting bishops into possession of their temporalities, whereof the very Church is a part, afore election were made. I have already blamed the clergy for this^p. It had been better for them, that Charles the Great had been otherwise advised, than that the envy of Church-goods should provoke so much sacrilege. For no question, this was the way for princes and courtiers to sell all the Churches of their dominions, and by consequence the office of the clergy, in any cause worth their notice; whereas the way for them to maintain their crowns in peace, is, to oblige their subjects to make good the Christianity, which they profess, by making good themselves that which they profess. He, that considers the agreement of this dispute under Calixtus the Second, will grant, that this was the

^p Above in c. xxxvii. § 3.

case⁹; and that the emperors had as much wrong on their side in the cause, as the popes had on their side by de-
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 posing the emperors.

§ 15. I must confess, I see no better end of so miserable a dispute, had the emperors prevailed, than the ruin of Christian religion some hundred years sooner, than our posterity are now like to see it ruined. But it was, and is amongst them at this day, easy to see, that excommunication cannot oblige the servants and ministers of princes to abstain from conversation, but only from communion with them in the eucharist. And therefore it is as demonstrative, as the Christian religion is, that excommunication can take away no sovereign rights; though it may take away from the subject that which the laws of the sovereign allow. Those emperors therefore may thank themselves, that they could not make their subjects capable of this their right; which if they would have them to believe, they should have owned no claim from the pope, which they knew he had nothing but the noise of excommunication to enforce. And therefore it is no marvel to see those emperors, many of them persons of great parts, beside the power of their dominions, constantly come by the worst in this quarrel with the popes.

§ 16. For, in the meantime, their kingdom of Italy came to be divided between the imperial and papal factions, and petty commonwealths, and usurpations of petty tyrants upon the cities of the kingdom as well as of the Church. Above the rest, there happened a change in the further parts of Italy by the coming in of the Normans: who, being invited by the natives to assist against the Greeks, as well as against the Saracens, upon experience of service done by some of them returning from the pilgrimage of the Holy Land (a thing that had not needed, had not the protection of the Germans grown short), founded themselves a dominion, rather like a romance, than historical truth. For coming to make war as volunteers, a company of private gentlemen, they carried themselves so, that they became masters of the two Sicilies, as they were called thenceforth; that is, of the Isle of Sicily, which they

⁹ The Concordat of Worms, A.D. 1122, between Calixtus II. and the Emperor Henry IV., confirmed in the council of Lateran, A.D. 1123, is

in Pertz, Monum. Histor. German., tom. viii. pp. 260, sq. See also Baronius ad ann.

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took from the Saracens, and of the now kingdom of Naples: and having first repulsed the Germans, and afterwards the popes (who had rather been masters themselves), made that use of their advantages by war, as to take the investiture of their dominions from them, who could have no right to them themselves; and to hold them of the pope and see of Rome in vassalage*. I cannot say but that, at this time, in this case, the opinion of the pope's power and the effect of his act might pass for a good title to them, that had possession without any claim of right to allege. For when the pope made them lawful kings, whom before they had declared to hold for unlawful dukes; what did they but pretend to Christendom a good title, because he had approved it, which was none at all before? For as to direct dominion in the see of Rome, what can be said to set forth any title of it to those dominions more than to the rest of the empire, or perhaps of the whole world? For when the world could be persuaded by the success of their usurpations, that they had right to dispose of the empire; it was then but setting doctors on work, to dispute the same title over all mankind: which they, that first made use of them to heal cracked titles, never forecast.

[Frederic
II.]

§ 17. Here then was a check provided for the see of Rome against the German emperors, till the emperor Frederic the Second had married the daughter and heir of these dominions*. This seems to have been the last pang, that the papacy endured in the progress of their conquest over the German empire, through innumerable and unspeakable mischiefs to their country of Italy. For when that powerful and excellent prince had failed of his designs, and found his end in the treachery of his own, that were as weary of them as his enemies; it was not possible for the see of Rome to ground any confidence in his posterity.

[Con-
nection of the
popes with
France.]

§ 18. The popes during their troubles with the emperors had oft found refuge in France. And indeed they and France

* Pope Nicholas II. A.D. 1059 invested Duke Robert with Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, and Richard Count of Aversa with the principality of Capua, to hold as the pope's vassals (Univ. Hist., vol. x. p. 402).

* Henry, son of Frederic Barbarossa,

i. e. of the *first* of the name, married Constance daughter and heiress of William King of Sicily, A.D. 1186; and by that means became master of the Norman kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Univ. Hist., vol. x. pp. 681, 685).

understood their common interest so well, that the popes knew they could be welcome there, so long as they made Germany unable to trouble France. This kindness was certainly the reason, why they attempted less upon the canons of the Church in France than in other parts of Christendom, and that the liberties of the Gallican Church are still on foot; which they profess themselves to be no privileges, but the common right of the canons, better maintained in France than elsewhere^t. But upon this kindness it was, that the then pope sought out a prince of the blood of France, Charles of Anjou, son to St. Lewis^u, to bestow upon him the investiture of these dominions: who, having with great success got possession, in the latter end of his days had the sorrow to see all the French in Sicily have their throats cut at the hour of vespers, and that kingdom fall from him to the Aragonese. Hence have descended the alterations, that have succeeded in Italy: until, Boniface the Eighth quarrelling the king of France upon a pretence of the temporal right of the Church over his dominions, and dying in the prison which he had contrived for him^v, this king, having the nomination of the next pope put into his hands by the conclave, persuaded his utter enemy (though subject), the archbishop of Bourdeaux, to accept of it upon articles by him proposed; and, for his security in these articles, to fix the residence of the see within his power at Avignon. During which time it was free for the Sorbonne doctors to preach up the council above the pope, and for the councils of Constance and Basil to proceed upon their principles; though, nevertheless, by feeding the Greeks with vain hopes of assistance against the Turks, and so joining them to the council of Florence, they brought that of Basil to nothing.

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[A. D.
1266.]

[Easter
Monday
A. D. 1282.]

[A. D. 1295
—1303.]

[A. D. 1305
—1314.]

[A. D. 1414,
1431.]

[A. D.
1438.]

[How the
Church's
patrimony
in Italy
became
establish-
ed.]

§ 19. I am here to look back upon two points. The one is the patrimony of the Church in Italy; which, being usurped by commonwealths or tyrants, or possessed by vicars of the Church, acknowledged the Church either not at all or as much as they pleased and no more. But, the empire languishing, and the Sicilies obliging their vassals, as oppor-

^t See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxiii. § 16, notes x. y.

^u Charles of Anjou was brother of Lewis IX.

^v See Mosheim, Bk. III. Cent. xiv. Pt. ii. c. ii. § 2—4: for the authori-

ties respecting the quarrel of Boniface and Philip the Fair, and the election (after a short pontificate of Benedict XI.) of Bertrand de Got, Abp. of Bourdeaux, by the name of Clement V., who transferred the papal court to Avignon.

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tunity served, they began to claim their rights: so long, that, taking the material sword into their own hands, they are become masters both of the exarchate and of all the territory of Rome; the city itself, which was wont to give them so much trouble in all their clashes with the emperors (because, as I said afore, they had never freely submitted to them in sovereignty), coming not many hundred years since to receive them for their masters. So that it must have cost Italy much misery, before they could settle upon the constitution which we see.

[How the
crusades
furthered
the pope's
power.]

§ 20. The second is the voyage of the Holy Land; which, how necessary, how Christian, how unnecessary, how unchristian, soever it may be disputed to have been (a thing which I will not be concerned for here), this cannot be disputed, that, being set on foot by the pope, it must needs tend to his greatness in Church-matters. Whether or no it had not been better for the princes-adventurers to refer themselves to him entirely, as well for the government of the war, as for the dividing of the conquest; I need not resolve. But how likely the success was, of an action, that was sure to bring in so much corruption into Christianity and no better provided to keep unity among so many pretenders; I leave to posterity to judge: that have so much reason, and may have a disposition, to join against the infidels. This for certain: all that remains of the conquest at this day, is the claim of the see of Rome to place bishops of their own obedience in all the Churches belonging to the Eastern patriarchs; and to bid them expect no other terms of reconciliation, and [of] joining to propagate the faith over those vast dominions of infidels. A course so mischievous; that Christian powers are to consider, how they protect them in a course, which gives so much hindrance to the propagation of the faith. There was a time, when the pilgrims became masters of Constantinople; and have thereby given the Greeks just cause to think, that, though the pretence were only against infidels, yet it stirred occasions of no less mischief to the Christians.

[The bi-
shops in-
truded by
them into
the eastern
Church,
cannot

§ 21. And therefore I must needs marvel, how the pope should count these councils general, in which the eastern sees were represented by those of his own making: much more, how he could bring the patriarch of Constantinople, whom he had deposed, and caused another to be ordained in his stead, to

represent the Church of Constantinople in a general council: most of all, that he can pretend an union so made in the general council of Lyons, which the Greeks were so far from accepting, that they suffered not their emperor (who had treated it in hope of assistance from the Latins) to have Christian burial^v.

§ 22. It was not, therefore, enough for the councils of Constance and Basil to maintain the whole to be greater than the part, and the council above the pope. It was requisite they should first have reformed the state of the Church of Rome: which was no more the Church of Rome, than any other Church of Christendom; consisting of members, that were heads or members of other Churches, that they may be sure to betray the canonical rights of their own country-Churches to the greatness of it. In vain it is to talk of holding a general council, till the canon of the Church be restored, and one person everywhere confessed to be head or member but of one Church; which the Church of Rome had held till the time of Charles the Great, as well as other Churches. This, they that held the council above the pope at that time, understood not. As little, that no Church can be obliged but by the consent of their own representatives, either present, or receiving and admitting that which had been done. This makes the council of Trent a mere nullity; that would oblige foreign Churches by a packed plurality of Italian bishops^x.

§ 23. Neither do I marvel, that the council of Basil should miscarry; which was constrained to have recourse to indulgences^y (the grossest imposture that the Western Church suffers), and endeavoured to make themselves plausible to superstition by voting the exemption of the Blessed Virgin from original sin^z.

^v The second council of Lyons, A.D. 1274, professed to have effected a submission of the Greeks to the Roman Church (Labb., Conc., tom. xi. P. i. pp. 937. A, sq.). For the refusal of burial to the emperor Michael Palæologus, see Cuspinian, Cæsares, p. 626. fol. 1540.

^x See Bramhall, *Just Vindic.*, c. ix.; Works, Pt. i. Disc. ii. vol. i. p. 258; and Cosin, *Scholast. Hist. of Canon of SS.*, c. xviii. § 190, 194; Works, vol.

iii. pp. 274, 277. Oxf. 1849.

^y See the Bulla Indulgentiarum remissionis omnium peccatorum semel in vita et semel in morte, in favorem subsidii pro reductione Græcorum procurandi, issued by the council of Basle, (A.D. 1436) Sess. xxiv. (Labb., Conc., tom. xii. pp. 573. C, sq.); and the "Indulgentiæ incorporatis concessæ," at the close of the council (A.D. 1442), in fin. Sess. xlv. (ibid. pp. 658. C, sq.).

^z Conc. Basil. Sess. xxxvi. (A.D.

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[The
council of
Lateran
under In-
nocent
III.]

§ 24. The council of Lateran under Innocent III. employed their usurped power the best, when they voted confession and communion once a year for all Christians^a. But it was, because they had done so much mischief before in bringing public penance out of use. That is one of the gifts, which the voyage of the Holy Land hath bestowed upon the Church. But Bishop, a learned seminary under Queen Elizabeth, being charged that there is an article of this council which denies the temporal power of the pope, answered, that those articles were never voted by that council^b. If so, then neither transubstantiation. Which M. Paris shews to be true^c.

1439), De Conceptione Gloriosissimæ Virginis Mariæ (Labh, *ibid.* pp. 622. C.—623. C). The council,—after reciting that “hactenus difficilis quæstio in diversis partibus et coram hac sancta synodo super conceptione ipsius gloriosæ Virginis Mariæ matris Dei et exordio sanctificationis ejus facta est, quibusdam dicentibus ipsam et ejus animam per aliquod tempus aut instans temporis subjacuisse actualiter originali culpæ, aliis autem e converso dicentibus a principio creationis suæ Deum ipam diligendo gratiam eidem contulisse per quam a macula originali illam beatissimam personam liberans et præservans, sublimiore sanctificationis genere redemit,” &c.,—decrees, “doctrinam illam disseverent gloriosam virginem Dei genitricem Mariam, præveniente et operante Divini Numinis gratia singulari, nunquam actualiter subjacuisse originali peccato, sed immunem semper fuisse ab omni originali et actuali culpa, sanctamque et immaculatam, tanquam piam et consonam cultui ecclesiastico, fidei catholicæ, rectæ rationi, et Sacræ Scripturæ, ab omnibus catholicis approbandam fore, tenendam et amplectendam,” &c.—There is a short statement of the course of this doctrine up to A.D. 1671, and of the passages of the fathers to the contrary, in note B. (pp. 491—498) to Mill's Sermons, Camb. 1845.

^a See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x. § 34, note a.

^b “A Courteous Conference with the

English Catholicikes Romaine” &c., “wherein it is proved .. that the Pope cannot depose her Majesty or release her subjectes of their allegiance to her; and finally, that the Bull of Pius V. is of no force; ... by John Bishop, a recusant Papist:” Lond. 1598: published after the writer's death. The object of the writer (in the words of Bramhall, *Replic. to Bp. of Chalcodon*, c. iii. sect. iv. Works, Pt. i. Disc. iii. vol. ii. p. 116) is “to prove, that the constitution obtruded upon the world under the name of the Lateran council, upon which the pope's authority of deposing princes and absolving subjects from their allegiance is founded, was not decreed by the fathers, nor ever admitted in England, but was a private decree of Pope Innocent the Third.”—Thorn-dike has inverted the facts, as will be seen: since the alleged decree is in favour of the papal temporal power, and Bishop was assailing, not defending that power.—See also Cosin, as quoted in the next note; Bramhall, *Schism Guarded*, sect. i. c. 6, Works, Pt. i. Disc. iv. vol. ii. p. 431; and above, Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. iv. § 67, 68, notes 1—o.

^c See the quotation from M. Paris (*Historia Minor*) in Cosin's Memorial against the Lateran Council in A.D. 1215 under Innocent III. (Works, vol. iv. p. 477): and from the same author's *Hist. Major*, Epilogue, as in last note, § 67, note l.

MR. HERBERT THORNDIKE'S JUDGMENT

OF THE

CHURCH OF ROME.

MR. HERBERT THORNDIKE'S JUDGMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ROME^a.

1. THE truth of the Christian religion, and of the Scripture, is presupposed to the being of a Church^b: and therefore cannot depend upon the authority of it.

2. The Church of Rome maintains the decrees of the present Church to be infallible^c; which is false, and yet concerns the salvation of all that believe it.

Therefore no man can submit to the authority of it.

^a The paper here printed was first made public by Stillingfleet, in a book published by him anonymously in 1679 (seven years after Thorndike's death) under the title of "Several Conferences between a Romish Priest, a Fanatic Chaplain, and a Divine of the Church of England, concerning the Idolatry of the Church of Rome: being a Full Answer to the late Dialogues of T. G." (i. e. Thomas Godwin) pp. 85—91.—It was, says Stillingfleet, "delivered by" Thorndike "to a lady a little before his death: from whom it came immediately to" his (Stillingfleet's) "hands." It bears internal evidence to its authorship, although hastily written, and in one or two places incoherent. Godwin or Godden (so called) had published a book at London in 1672, called "Catholicks no Idolaters, or a full Refutation of Dr. Stillingfleet's Unjust Charge of Idolatry against the Church of Rome;" in which he made great use of Thorndike's *Just Weights and Measures*, and other writings: and a second book at Paris in 1677, called "A Just Discharge to Dr. Stillingfleet's Unjust Charge of Idolatry against the Church of Rome" &c., "by way of Dialogue between Eunomius a Conformist and Catharinus a Non-conformist," &c.; which likewise quotes Thorndike's sentiments perpetually (but not always fairly) respecting the

worship of images and of the host, the real presence, and similar points. In answering the former book, Stillingfleet referred to Thorndike's paper (Answer to Several late Treatises occasioned by a book entituled a Discourse conc. the Idolatry practised in the Ch. of Rome, General Preface, 8vo. Lond. 1674); and in answering the latter, printed it at length. It was reprinted in the Appendix (Paper i.) to the first volume of Hickes's *Controversial Discourses* (3rd. edit. Lond. 1727, 8vo.): and see also Spinckes, *Essay towards a proposal for Catholick Communion* &c. answered, c. v. § 1. p. 119, c. xv. § 2. p. 272. 8vo. Lond. 1705.—The sentence for which Stillingfleet published it, is that in § 12, respecting the idolatry of the prayers offered to saints by the Church of Rome; the subject with regard to which Thorndike's language had given most offence (see *Reform. of Ch. of Engl.*, c. vii. § 2). Thorndike uses terms as strong in his Epilogue, quoted there in note p.

^b See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. iv.; Bk. III. of the Laws of the Ch., c. ix. § 11: *Reformation of Ch. of Engl.* &c., c. xxxii.: &c.

^c See Epilogue, Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., cc. iv. § 21, xxxi. § 51; and *Conclus.*, § 25, 26.

3. The Church of Rome in St. Jerom's time did not make void the baptism of those sects which did not baptize in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost^d.

But that baptism is void, and true baptism [is] necessary to salvation.

Therefore the Church of Rome may err in matters of salvation.

4. The Church of Rome may err in schism, following the wrong cause. If you except only things necessary to salvation to be believed. This shews, that infallibility only in things necessary to salvation is not enough. It is destructive to salvation to follow the wrong cause in schism.

Instance. The schism with the Greek Church for appeals to Rome. For there is evident tradition to the contrary^e.

5. The Church of Rome enjoins apocryphal Scriptures to be esteemed canonical Scriptures^f.

But this injunction is contrary to tradition and truth, and concerns the salvation of all that receive it.

6. The Church of Rome in St. Jerom's time did not receive the Epistle to the Hebrews for canonical Scripture^g; as now it doth^h, and as in truth it is.

Therefore the Church of Rome may err in declaring the authority of Scripture.

7. The Church of Rome doth err in teaching that attrition is turned into contrition by submitting to the power of the keysⁱ.

^d "Antequam Ariminensis synodus fieret, antequam Lucifer exularet, Hilarius Romanæ Ecclesiæ diaconus ab hæreticis venientes, in eo quod prius acceperunt baptismate suscipiebat. . . Diaconus eras, o Hilari, et a Manichæis baptizatos recipiebas. Diaconus eras, et Ebionis baptismata comprobabas. Repente postquam exortus est Arius, totus tibi displicere cœpisti. . . Legat et ipsius Hilarii libellos, quos adversus nos de hæreticis rebaptizandis edidit; et ibi reperiet ipsum Hilarium confiteri, a Julio, Marco, Sylvestro, et cæteris veteribus episcopis, similiter in poenitentiam omnes hæreticos susceptos." S. Hieron., Adv. Luciferianos, Op. tom. iv. P. ii. p. 305. —And see Thorndike, De Rat. Fin. Controv., c. viii. p. 141: and Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. x.

§ 31. notes 1, m.

^e See Epilogue, *ibid.* xx. § 20 sq., 30—37; and De Rat. Fin. Controv., c. xxiii. pp. 424, sq.; c. xxiv. pp. 454, sq.

^f See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxii. § 31—34; Just Weights and Measures, c. xv. § 4; &c.

^g "Caius . . . decimam quartam (Epistolarum Pauli), quæ fertur ad Hebræos, dicit ejus non esse; sed et apud Romanos usque hodie quasi Pauli apostoli non habetur." S. Hieron., Catal. Scriptt. Eccl., § lix. Op. tom. iv. P. ii. p. 117: and see also *ibid.* § v. pp. 103, 104.

^h Conc. Trid., Sess. iv. Decret. i. De Canon. Script.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom. xiv. p. 746. E.

ⁱ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xi. § 4.

But this error is destructive to the salvation of all that believe it.

Therefore it may err in matters necessary to salvation.

That it is an error. Because of the condition of remission of sins; which is before the being of a Church, and therefore cannot depend on the authority of the Church.

8. The Church of Rome enjoineth to believe transubstantiation, and to profess that which is false. For there is Scripture and tradition for the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the eucharist; but neither Scripture nor tradition for transubstantiation, viz. for abolishing the elements.

But the Church of Rome enjoins to believe it.

Therefore it enjoins to believe that, for which there is neither tradition nor Scripture. Witness the fathers that own the elements after consecration¹.

9. The council of Trent enjoineth to believe, that Christ "instituted a new passover," to be "sacrificed," as well as represented, commemorated, and offered, in the eucharist (*De Sacrific. Missæ*, cap. i.⁴): which is false;

For the sacrifice of Christ's cross is commemorated, represented, and offered as ready to be slain, in and by the eucharist; but not slain, and therefore not sacrificed, in it and celebrating it¹.

And, therefore, when it is said there, cap. ii.—"*Quod in missa . . . Christus . . . incruentè immolatur*"^m:"—if it be meant properly, it is a contradiction; for that which hath blood is not sacrificed but by shedding the blood of it; if figuratively, it signifies no more than that which I have said, that it is represented, commemorated, and offered, as slain.

And therefore, all parts agreeing to this, the Church of Rome requiring more is guilty of the schism that comes by refusing it. For the propitiation of the sacrifice of the eucharist is the propitiation of Christ's cross purchased for them that are qualified.

¹ See *ibid.*, c. iv. § 48—59.

² "Novum instituit pascha, Seipsum ab Ecclesia per sacerdotes sub signis visibilibus immolandum" &c. Conc. Trid., Sess. xxii. *Doctrina de Sacrific. Missæ*, cap. i.; ap. Labb., Conc., tom.

xiv. p. 853. A.

³ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. v. § 6, 13, 14, 19, &c.

^m Conc. Trid., as in note k, cap. ii. p. 853. C.

10. The council of Trent "commends" the mass without the communion (cap. vi.^a): wherein it erreth;

For the communion being the restoring of the covenant of baptism after sin, the want of it without the desire of it is to be lamented, not commended; as destructive of the means of salvation.

11. There is neither Scripture nor tradition for praying to saints departed, nor any evidence that they hear our prayers^o.

Therefore it evidences a carnal hope, that God will abate of the covenant of our baptism, which is the condition of our salvation, for their sakes.

12. To pray to them for those things which only God can give (as all papists do), is by the proper sense of their words downright idolatry^p.

If they say their meaning is by a figure only to desire them to procure their requests of God; how dare any Christian trust his soul with that Church, which teaches that which must needs be idolatry in all that understand not the figure?

13. There is neither Scripture nor tradition for worshipping the cross, the images and relics of saints^q.

Therefore it evidences the same carnal hope, that God will abate of His gospel for such bribes. Which is the will-worship of masses, pilgrimages, and indulgences, to that purpose.

14. Neither Scripture nor tradition is there for the removing any soul out of purgatory unto the beatifical vision before the day of judgment^r.

^a "Optaret quidem sacrosancta synodus, ut in singulis missis fideles assistant, non solum spirituali affectu, sed sacramentali etiam eucharistiæ perceptione communicarent; ... nec tamen, si id non semper fiat, propterea missas illas, in quibus solus sacerdos sacramentaliter communicat, ut privatas et illicitas damnat, sed *probat atque adeo commendat*. Siquidem illæ quoque missæ vere communes censi debent, partim quod in eis populus spiritualiter communicet, partim vero quod a publicæ Ecclesiæ ministro non pro se tantum sed pro omnibus fidelibus, qui ad Corpus Christi pertinent, celebrentur." Conc. Trid., *ibid.*, cap. vi. p. 854. C, D. —See Epilogue, BK. III. Of the Laws

of the Ch., c. xxiv. § 9, 10; Just Weights and Measures, c. xv. § 7.

^o See Epilogue, BK. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 20—34.

^p See *ibid.*, § 24, 27, 34; and Conclus., § 46; Just Weights and Measures, c. i. § 4, c. xxiii. § 4; Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties, &c., c. xxvii.; Reformation of Ch. of Engl. &c., c. vii. § 2, c. xii. § 1—4, c. xlii. § 17.

^q See Epilogue, BK. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxxi. § 1—8, 35, sq.; Just Weights and Measures, c. xix. § 1—5; Reformation of Ch. of Engl. &c., cc. xii. xiii. xlii.

^r See Epilogue, *ibid.*, cc. xxvii. xxviii. xxix.; and Reformation of Ch. of Engl., &c., cc. xxviii. xxix.

Therefore the same carnal hope is seen in the will-worship of masses, indulgences, pilgrimages, and the like, for that purpose: and that destructive to the salvation of all, that believe, that the guilt of their sins is taken away by submitting to the keys before they be contrite; and the temporal penalty remaining in purgatory paid by these will-worships.

15. Both Scripture and tradition condemn the deposing of princes, and acquitting their subjects of their allegiance, and enjoining them to take arms for them whom the pope substitutes*.

And this doctrine is not only false, but in my opinion properly heresy, yet practised by so many popes.

The Church may be divided, that salvation may be had on both sides†.

Instances. The schisms of the popes. The schism of Acacius‡. The schism between the Greeks and the Latins.

I hold the schism for the Reformation to be of this kind§.

But I do not allow salvation to any, that shall change, having these reasons before him; though I allow the Reformation not to be perfect in some points of less moment, as prayer for the dead¶, and others.

Remember always, that the popish Church of England can never be canonically governed, being immediately under the pope§.

16. There is both Scripture and tradition for the Scrip-

* See Epilogue, *ibid.*, c. xxxiii.: Reformation of Ch. of Engl. &c., c. xliv.

† See Just Weights and Measures, c. ii. § 6, c. xxv. § 4, 5.

‡ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xx. § 34, 35: and De Rat. Fin. Controv., c. xxiv. pp. 462—469.

§ See Just Weights and Measures, c. xxv. § 5; Disc. of Forbearance or Penalties &c., c. xxx.; Reformation of Ch. of Engl. &c., c. iv. § 2.

¶ See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxix. § 55—62: Just Weights and Measures, c. xvi.

§ 1—3, c. xxii. § 9: Reformation of Ch. of Engl. &c., c. xxviii. § 6.

‡ i. e. under a vicar apostolic, directly subordinate to the pope, who was an archpriest at first and not even a bishop in partibus, until the appointment of the bishop of Chalcedon (A.D. 1625—1654) in the reign of Charles I. See Dod's Ch. Hist., vol. iii. Pt. vi. bk. 1. art. 2, and bk. 2. art. 4. It is hardly necessary to mention the recognition of the defect and the attempted remedy in A.D. 1852. See also Palmer, Of the Church, Pt. II. c. ii. § 11. vol. i. pp. 469, 460.

tures and service in a known tongue^a: and for the eucharist in both kinds^b.

How then can any Christian trust his soul with that Church, which hath the conscience to bar him of such helps, provided by God?

^a See Epilogue, Bk. III. Of the Laws of the Ch., c. xxiv. § 1—8.

^b See *ibid.*, § 16—28.

CORRIGENDUM.

p. 35, note u. Dele at the end of the note the words, "nor does . . . from him:" and substitute, "And see the quotation from Plato in Epilogue Bk. I. Of the Pr. of Chr. Tr., c. xiv. § 24, note c."

ADDENDUM.

p. 451, note b. Add at the end of the note—"See also the authorities cited by Hickes, *Dignity of Episcopal Order*, c. ii. sect. 2 (among Hickes's *Treatises*, vol. ii. pp. 394, sq. Oxf. 1847); who refers there to Thorndike."

